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CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND CHANGING CULTURES

DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP: THE WORLD STRUGGLE

NEW EDITION

CURRICULUM

HAROLD RUG

SUMMER SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS

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MAN AND HIS CHANGING SOCIETY

The RUGG Social Science Series

VOLUME SIX
of the Second Course

Changing Governments and Changing Cultures

NEW EDITION

SUMMER SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS

MAN AND HIS CHANGING SOCIETY

The RUGG Social Science Series

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FOR TEACHERS

American Life and the School Curriculum

Changing Governments and Changing Cultures

DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP: THE WORLD STRUGGLE

New Edition by HAROLD RUGG, *Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*

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PREFACE

Changing Governments and Changing Cultures — Democracy versus Dictatorship: the World Struggle is one volume of the Rugg Social Science Course, entitled Man and His Changing Society. This series of semester volumes, fourteen in number, has been designed to help young Americans to understand the principal world cultures and their history. This present book can be used, either alone or with *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, as an up-to-date and self-contained study of modern civilizations.

A GENERAL COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Teachers using this present volume should acquaint themselves with the general scope of Man and His Changing Society, the series of which it is a part. A description and an interpretation of the material are presented in the following publications, which can be secured without charge from Ginn and Company:

1. RUGG. *Building a Science of Society for the Schools.*
2. RUGG and KRUEGER. *Social Science Course for Elementary Schools.*
3. BUCKINGHAM, B. R. *The Rugg Course in the Classroom.*
4. RUGG. *The American Way of Progress.*

An extended statement of the philosophy and psychology upon which they are based is given in Rugg's *American Life and the School Curriculum.*

The fourteen volumes of Man and His Changing Society are arranged in two series: the First Course, consisting of eight volumes, and the Second Course, consisting of six volumes. Additional volumes are in preparation for use in the later years of school. Each unit of curriculum contemplates a *Reading Book*, a *Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study*, and a *Teacher's Guide.*

The First Course offers a new program in the social science studies for boys and girls whose reading ages vary from about

100439

eight to eleven years. These eight volumes have been designed as a thorough introduction to the theme of people living together in tribes and races, in communities, in regions, and in nations. Hence the books portray the integrated story of man's advancing civilization: his economic, political, and social life, his mechanical arts, his social arts, and his æsthetic arts.

The Second Course, planned for secondary schools, carries on the integrated study of world civilizations in a carefully graduated and steadily maturing plan. The first volume, *An Introduction to American Civilization,* deals chiefly with economic and social life in the United States today. The second volume, *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World,* introduces the pupil to economic and social life in other lands. It considers especially the great industrial nations, the changing agricultural countries, and the interrelation of the two. The third, *The Conquest of America: A History of American Civilization, Economic and Social,* discusses the land, industrial and commercial history, and their effect upon American society. The fourth, *America's March toward Democracy — History of American Life: Political and Social,* deals with the experiments in government. Together these last two volumes comprise a comprehensive history of the civilization and culture of the United States in its geographic setting.

The fifth volume, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture,* completes the description of American society, treating especially the life of the individual in the communities of our changing civilization. It also serves the special purpose of introducing the economic, political, and social problems of American culture — problems the more adequate study of which may well engage the attention of students in the senior high school and the college. This present volume, *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures — Democracy versus Dictatorship: the World Struggle,* introduces American youth to an understanding of the chief political and social problems of other leading countries of the world.

Thus Volume V rounds out the material of Volume I, and Volume VI that of Volume II. The six volumes taken together are designed to provide a comprehensive introduction to modes of living and insistent problems of the modern world.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTRODUCING YOUTH TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

The author firmly believes that young Americans can be given an appreciation of the significant contemporary problems of living together. Current conditions in America throw into sharp relief the critical need of teaching our youth to understand American life and its relation to the modern world. Our schools are confronted with the difficult task of educating pupils to become informed, thinking citizens. During the past 150 years the rapid development of industrial civilization has produced problems of living together that baffle even the keenest adult minds.

It is of the utmost importance that schools bend every effort to introduce our young people to the chief conditions and problems which will confront them as citizens of the world. That is the essential purpose of this new unified course in the social studies.

THE MATERIALS ARE BASED UPON THE FINDINGS OF SPECIALISTS

The foundation of this new course is a series of research studies of the basic modes of living and the problems of modern life, the great movements through which institutions and problems have evolved, and the chief concepts and principles which, as history has proved, lie at the roots of living together.

Who knows best what these great institutions, problems, and trends are? Specialists on the frontier of thought who see society from a height, who detect its trends and the long-time movement of its affairs. From the mature thought of established students of modern life and its historical development, therefore, instead of from the single judgments of the textbook-maker, the skeleton of this course has been designed. It is based upon many years of investigational work.

A UNIFIED COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Why one general course rather than the separate subjects of history, geography, and civics? Because the chief aim is to understand modern life and how it came to be. To understand any institution or condition of life today the mind must utilize facts, meanings, generalizations, and historical movements that in the past have been set up in separate school subjects. For example, to understand the westward movement of the American people one must see in close relationship the tide of immigration across the continent; the blazing of trails; the evolution of new routes by land and water; the rapid development of new types of transportation; constantly changing forms of social life; the rise of cities behind the advancing frontier; the influence of mountains, deserts, climate, rivers, and soil upon travel, transportation, and communication; and where and how people live. All these factors must be tied closely together in their natural relationships. Hence the necessity of combining them into one general course instead of teaching them as separate subjects. In constructing this course one question has constantly been in the foreground: What historical movements, what geographic, economic, social facts, meanings, and principles do young people need to study together to understand the modern world?

In *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures,* as in the other volumes of this series, historical, geographic, economic, and other materials are studied *in close relationship.* Whenever history is needed to understand the present, history is presented. If geographic relationships are needed to throw light upon contemporary problems, those geographic relationships are incorporated. The same thing has been done with economic and social facts and principles.

This has *not* caused a reduction in the amount of history or of geography included in the course. Rather, it has produced a sharp increase in the amount of these subjects in the curriculum, and in addition has added to the curriculum a wealth of new material. Comparisons of the amount of history and geography in these six *Reading Books* with that of conventional textbooks in these subjects *should be based on a study of the total series and not on any one book.*

"LEARNING BY DOING": THE *PUPIL'S WORKBOOK OF DIRECTED STUDY*

The very center of this course in the social studies is the problem-solving activities of the *Workbook.* The chief goal of the social studies is active and intelligent participation in American civilization and tolerant understanding of other civilizations. To guarantee the attainment of this goal the school must organize its work around a core of dynamic pupil activities. *Young people grow in understanding only by participating actively in the study of the society around them.* Even to the present day the work in the social studies has consisted too much of memoriter recitation from the contents of encyclopedic textbooks in history, geography, and civics.

The essence of this new course in social studies is a succession of pupil activities, dynamic and thought-provoking. Many optional suggestions for these activities are incorporated in the *Workbook* and presented as a series of problems. Each problem of this course is an organized scheme of things for the pupil to do. Each unit compels him to find the answer to one or more important questions. The course, as presented in the *Workbook,* therefore, constantly confronts the pupil with stimulating problems, insight into each of which is important for an adequate understanding of the problems of the modern world. Hence the *Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study* is the very core of the course, and the *Reading Book* has been constructed, unit by unit, in close conjunction with it.

PLANNED REPETITION

One of the characteristics of this course is the carefully planned recurrence of important concepts, generalizations, and historical themes in varied settings. One of the weaknesses of current school courses in history, geography, and civics is lack of planned repetition. In the present course this defect has been remedied by designing a carefully planned scheme of repetition. In preparing each topic the outstanding concepts, generalizations, and themes that an educated mind should understand have been charted in advance. Episodes, narratives, statistical and graphic exhibits, pictures, and maps have been selected with the need for the illustration of these items clearly in mind. Hence the student will encounter the important meanings, principles, and movements over and over again, but constantly presented in new and varied settings.

In Acknowledgment

This enterprise could not have been developed without the coöperative support and friendly and critical advice of many persons. First, there are several thousand progressive administrators and teachers who contributed criticisms and suggestions. From 1922 to 1929 inclusive these educational leaders gave unsparingly of their energy to the experimental trial of the tentative editions of these books.

Second, there is the administration of Teachers College, Columbia University, and of the Lincoln School, which permitted and encouraged the development of this course by experimental methods.

This statement of my indebtedness should not be permitted to close without referring to the unsparing efforts of the staff of Ginn and Company to produce a practicable, attractive, and teachable body of materials. But especially I wish to express my appreciation for the encouragement and support given by Messrs. Charles H. Thurber, Henry H. Hilton, and Burdette R. Buckingham.

This New Edition is more than a "revision" of *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*, which was published in 1932. It is essentially a new book made necessary by the completion of the eight volumes of the Rugg-Krueger elementary series of Man and His Changing Society. Its preparation for the press has been a task of great difficulty. That it has been brought to successful completion at this time is due in large measure to my research associate Marvin Krueger and to my secretary and editorial assistant Ruth LaVoy. I wish to express to them my deep appreciation for their wise and untiring collaboration.

HAROLD RUGG

New York

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CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND CHANGING CULTURES

UNIT I

INTRODUCING CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND CHANGING CULTURES

CHAPTER I

STORM CENTERS OF THE WORLD: DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP

An epoch-making moment!

Armistice Day, November 11, 1918!

The one thought in the minds of the people of all civilized countries was "The War is over!"

The most terrible struggle of history was at an end. For four long years the peoples of the earth had been thrown into great confusion. The prosperous and happy life of the Europeans had been transformed into one of terror and grief. Husbands, fathers, and brothers had marched away from their homes never to return. Mothers had left little children to go to till the fields, to work in ammunition factories, to drive trucks. For four years people had thought of nothing but — War! War! War!

The results of the war were shocking. Twenty-six million men, women, and little children had died. Nearly $200,000,000,000 worth of homes, factories, churches, highways, farms, and schools had been destroyed. Prosperous cities had been transformed into dilapidated communities half their former size. Millions of people were starving, and terrifying bread lines crowded the streets of many of the larger European capitals.

On every battle front were terrible scenes of destruction. Twenty thousand factories had been blown up, 500,000 homes were destroyed, 8,000,000 acres of land were covered with the débris of war, and one sixteenth of France was demolished. The trade of much of Europe had crashed. Coal mines were closed, iron mines and railroad lines ruined, telegraph wires torn down. Fine macadam highways had become deep ruts; canals were almost useless; docks needed repair; river channels were clogged. Every European country was practically a debtor's prison!

Worse than all this physical destruction was the effect upon the minds of the people. Hate had been unloosed upon the earth. Englishmen hated; Frenchmen hated; Germans hated; Russians and Italians hated. Even Americans, who had had no ill feeling for the peoples of central Europe, had been taught to hate.

Such had been the toll of the World War!

Then came Armistice Day, 1918, and millions of people turned with hope to the tasks of rebuilding their communities and their countries. Seven months later the ambassadors of the warring countries signed the Treaty of Versailles, officially declaring peace. It was a tremendous moment in the world's march toward democracy. New nations came into existence, and peoples which had been oppressed were made independent. Dying monarchies and arrogant empires were destroyed, and democratic republics were set up in their places.

So it was that President Wilson's slogan of the war was rephrased and echoed round the earth: "The World has been made Safe for Democracy!"

But — was it true? Let us see.

Two decades later

Two decades later all these fine hopes are dead. The free-swinging march of the peoples of the world toward democracy has given way to the goose step of the dictators. In a score of countries strong, ambitious rulers have seized power. Today they have abolished parliaments and competing parties; they have forbidden free speech and public discussion. They rule by fear and force. Let us note the startling roll call of dictators and dictatorships.

1. In Russia Stalin and the Communist party dictate how 170,000,000 people shall live.

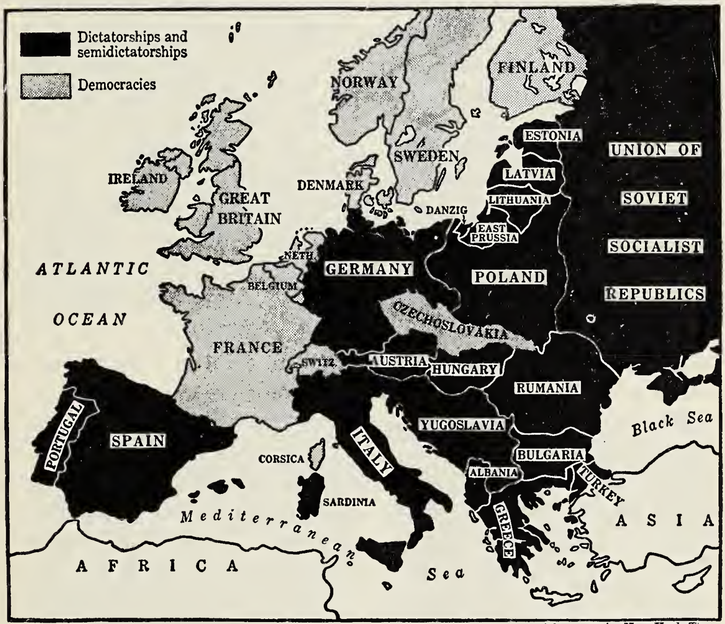
2. In Italy the 42,000,000 people are under the iron fist of the dictatorship of Mussolini and his Fascist party.

3. In Germany Hitler and his Nazis openly proclaim their contempt for democracy and tell 65,000,000 people exactly what they can and cannot do. Disobedience or difference of opinion means death, imprisonment, or exile.

4. In Austria the chancellor has officially suppressed all opposition. More than 6,000,000 people must do as he commands.

5. In Poland an army general dictates the lives of some 32,000,000 people.

6. In Greece another general has ousted democracy. Parliament has been dissolved, and the 6,000,000 people submit to a dictatorial government.


Dictatorships and semidictatorships
Democracies
NORWAY
FINLAND
SWEDEN
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
UNION OF
SOVIET
SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
DENMARK
DANZIG
EAST PRUSSIA
NETH.
GERMANY
POLAND
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
BELGIUM
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
YUGOSLAVIA
Black Sea
ITALY
BULGARIA
CORSICA
ALBANIA
TURKEY
SARDINIA
GREECE
ASIA
Mediterranean
AFRICA
Sea

After map in *New York Times*

FIG. 1. Dictatorships, semidictatorships, and democracies covered the continent of Europe by 1938

7. In China General Chiang Kai-shek controls the government of hundreds of millions of people.

8. In Japan 70,000,000 more people are without democratic government, since the military party dictates the policy of the nation.

Many other countries could be added to this list of leading dictators and oppressed peoples. In Europe are Turkey, Portugal, Lithuania, and the Balkan nations. Even in more democratic countries, such as Great Britain and France, self-styled "dictators" are using Mussolini's and Hitler's methods in trying to get control of government.

Three examples of ruling by fear and force

In later chapters we shall study the rise of the leading dictatorships of today. We shall understand our problem better if we first glance quickly at three examples which show how dictators work in our times.

1. *The terror of the Russian dictators.* In November, 1917, the Bolshevik city workers seized the government of Russia. A small group of less than 2,000,000 workers led by a mere handful of aggressive leaders — for example, Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin — completely captured the control of the government of 140,000,000 people. They dictated how land, factories, railroads, telegraphs, and stores were to be owned. They determined what wages and salaries were to be paid. They limited the number of rooms to be assigned to a family. They sent out orders as to how land was to be farmed. These and other aspects of life were controlled by this small group.

In this book we shall study carefully how it was possible for such a small group to control such a large nation. As we do so, we shall learn that one way was by terror. The Bolshevik leaders, *like all other dictators*, threw their opponents into prison. They exiled tens of thousands, and executed not less than 50,000 of their enemies in the first years of their seizure of the government.

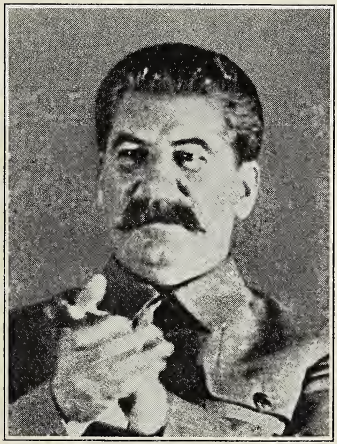
2. *The terror of Hitler's Nazis.* Even Germany, which was quite democratic under the new republican government established in 1918, did not escape the path of dictatorship. Under the leadership of Hitler the brown-shirted Fascists formed political groups throughout the German republic. In 1923 their attempt to overthrow the government of Bavaria failed. However, for several years their movement advanced, but very slowly. Then after 1929, with riots and armed force, brown-shirted youths attacked the meetings of their opponents in staid and orderly German cities. They turned propaganda, hate, and abuse upon all opposition. By 1933 this kind of "campaigning" gave the

Wide World

FIG. 2, *a*. Benito Mussolini, Italy

German Tourist

FIG. 2, *b*. Adolf Hitler, Germany



Wide World

FIG. 2, *c*. Joseph Stalin, Russia

Wide World

FIG. 2, *d*. Chiang Kai-shek, China

FOUR OUTSTANDING DICTATORS OF THE WORLD WHO ARE PLAYING THE LEADING RÔLES IN THE DRAMA OF WAR AND PEACE

Nazis almost 200 seats in the *Reichstag*, — the parliament, — and Hitler, their Leader, was appointed chancellor of Germany. A new election — and more brown-shirt propaganda — gave the Nazis and allied parties the control of the government. Once in control, they began a reign of terror against Jews, communists, pacifists — against anyone who dared oppose Hitler. Democracy was set aside. Parliament was abolished. The iron fist of Hitler and his aides became the law of the land.

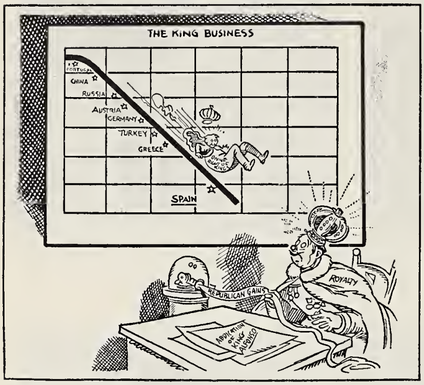


Fig. 3. The downward trend in kingships. Note the "ticker," which Royalty watches so anxiously, and the abdication, which lies ready to be signed. (Sandusky, Ohio, *Star-Journal*, N.E.A. Service)

3. *The terror of Mussolini and his Fascists.* Finally let us turn to Italy for a third example of the way dictators work. In Italy the World War brought serious problems of unemployment and government which the statesmen of that day could not solve. The King and the leading politicians tried one plan after another, but things did not get better. In the northern part of the country there were small groups of Fascists, whose members wore black shirts. In 1919 a former socialist, Benito Mussolini, joined them, became their leader, and organized them into a strong party. By 1922 he felt that they were strong enough to take control of the government. So he "marched" on Rome. His bold stroke won. Mussolini became the head of the government, and all other political parties were abolished. The Fascists were in complete control. Defenders of democracy were imprisoned, among them educated writers, lawyers, and independent-minded thinkers. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of trial by jury, — indeed, all the rights of civil liberty, — were stamped upon. Those who opposed were killed, imprisoned, or exiled. Such was the character of the Italian dictatorship.

These, then, are but three examples of the dictatorial governments which have recently been set up in Europe. In these introductory pages we cannot take space to tell of others. These must be sufficient to remind ourselves that in all the great continents of the world dictatorial government has reared its head, especially since the World War.

Do they not raise serious questions as to whether the world has really been made "safe for democracy"?

Storm Centers in a World of Unrest: the Fear of a Second World War

"Fight the war to end war!" That was the slogan that brought many democratic peoples of the world together during the World War. At its close the nations signed treaties of peace that reduced their armies and navies and limited all preparation for war. Today those treaties have been scrapped. The world is rearming at a faster pace than even before the World War.

TABLE I

Total Expenditures of the World for Armaments, 1913, 1930, 1935

1913	$2,500,000,000
1930	4,300,000,000
1935	9,300,000,000

The League of Nations has reported that in one year, 1935, more than $9,000,000,000 were spent in the race for armies, navies, battleships, air forces, and ammunition. This sum was twice as much as had been spent for such purposes in 1930. Millions of men are now armed, ready for war. Russia has a standing army of more than 1,300,000; France has one of more than 600,000; Italy, Great Britain, and Germany has each an army of more than 500,000. To these must be added trained reserve troops of several millions.

Scores of warships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines are being built by France, Italy, Germany, England, the United States, Japan, and other countries. Chemical works are being equipped so that they can be used to manufacture poison gas. Commercial airplanes are being constructed so that they can be swiftly changed into military planes carrying machine guns, bombs, and even small cannon.

All this, say careful observers of the international scene, can mean only one thing — preparation for *another* war. Month by month the fear increases that a spark may be ignited which will set off a big enough explosion to draw all the major governments into the Second World War.

In three tense storm centers, three danger spots, of the international scene, the explosion is especially feared.

The first danger spot: Germany and central Europe

Today, as in 1914, we find a dissatisfied Germany looking hungrily for a way to extend her borders. The Treaty of Versailles took away much of her land and forbade the building of a large army, navy, and air force. It placed the blame for the war on Germany and attempted to prevent her from again becoming a powerful military force.

Hitler, however, has held the German people together with the promise that the treaty shall be scrapped, and that Germany shall be a great world power again.

By clever managing, as well as bold violation of treaties, he is moving toward that end. He is rearming Germany. He demands colonies for her, as well as "the union of all Germany in a Greater Germany." By that he means the bringing into "Germany" of all Germans who live in Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other neighboring countries.

Thus, with or without the consent of Great Britain, France, and other governments, Nazi Germany is once more becoming powerful in central Europe. Seeking more land, more influence, and more control over the affairs of Europe, she turns toward the east for allies and conquest. For allies she turns to Austria, Lithuania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania. For conquest she turns to Russia. Hitler is aware of the vast Russian resources and Germany's need for raw materials. Hence he says, "If I had the Ural Mountains with their incalculable store of treasures in raw materials, Siberia with its vast forests, and the Ukraine with its tremendous wheat fields, Germany under National Socialist leadership would swim in plenty." Already Germany has been successful in increasing her influence to the east. Through trade agreements, propaganda, and political agreements, several of these countries have come to accept her leadership. In other countries groups of Nazis are attempting to get control of the government, creating alarm in the capitals of Europe.

One country in particular has cause to be alarmed — Russia. From the beginning Hitler and the Nazis have not tried to conceal their contempt for communist Russia. Openly they call it a "world pestilence." Will Germany attack Russia? Will Russia, with her great army, tolerate this open contempt and envy? Will war start in eastern Europe? These are questions which lead students of international affairs to fear another world war.

But this danger spot involves more than Germany and Russia. France, the traditional enemy of Germany on her western border, also fears the possible future activities of a strong, armed Nazi nation.

What will Italy, under another belligerent dictator, do in this war atmosphere? Mussolini also insists on playing an important part in the affairs of Europe. Sometimes he appears to be working hand in hand with Hitler; sometimes there seems to be friction between them.

Moreover, Great Britain, long the guardian and adviser of central Europe, has a great stake in these events. What will she do if Germany moves toward further conquest?

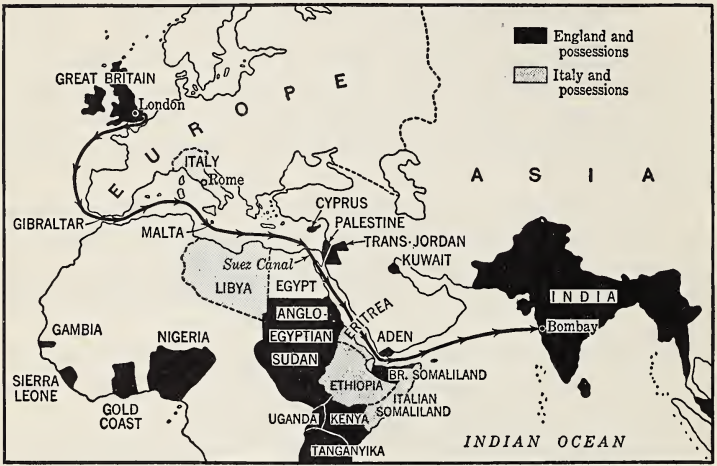
In this first danger spot of the tense international world today, foreign ministers dash feverishly from one capital to another, holding conferences — secret and open. Official statements — warnings, demands, threats, and proposals — fill the daily papers. Steadily the fear advances that war is again on the horizon.

The second danger spot: Italy and the Mediterranean

In the Mediterranean the leading contenders are Italy and Great Britain. The Fascist dictator Mussolini loudly shouts his demands and threats. He, like Hitler, is dissatisfied with what the World War peace treaty gave to his country. Backed by a large army, he too demands colonies, demands a larger part in the control of European affairs, and demands that Italy's position in the Mediterranean be strengthened and recognized by all.

In the main he works with Hitler, both openly and secretly and against Russia. He too demands that national boundaries in southeastern Europe be changed. Hungary, he says, must have more territory at the expense of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. He denounces the League of Nations and defies Great Britain and France.

Ethiopia has recently been the center of this danger spot. In 1935 and 1936 Mussolini, on pretexts which other governments easily saw through, sent an army of aggression into Ethiopia. The Italians bombed undefended towns and defeated unequipped armies of black-skinned natives. In the end Mussolini won Ethiopia and annexed it.


England and possessions
Italy and possessions
GREAT BRITAIN
London
EUROPE
ITALY
Rome
ASIA
GIBRALTAR
MALTA
CYPRUS
PALESTINE
TRANS-JORDAN
KUWAIT
Suez Canal
LIBYA
EGYPT
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
ADEN
INDIA
Bombay
GAMBIA
NIGERIA
SIERRA LEONE
GOLD COAST
ETHIOPIA
BR. SOMALILAND
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
UGANDA
KENYA
TANGANYIKA
INDIAN OCEAN

After map in *New York Times*

FIG. 4. Great Britain's life line of trade and defense, showing the importance of the Mediterranean-Suez-Red-Sea route to India and the East

This aggression aroused intense fear and anger in Great Britain because Italy was threatening her empire's main line of trade and defense. That is the Mediterranean-Suez-Red-Sea line, shown by the black line in figure 4. This line of trade connects Britain's ports with several of her other possessions — Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, Haifa, and the oil fields of Iraq. It extends through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and on to India, the Far

East, and Australia. Back and forth over this main artery of trade beats the blood of the British Empire. Great Britain dare not let any enemy threaten that life line! But that was just what Mussolini was doing in invading Ethiopia!

But the Italian dictator was also threatening Great Britain's African possessions. The Blue Nile, upon which the cotton-producers of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan depend for water, rises out of Lake Tana in Ethiopia. The British realized that if Italy should conquer Ethiopia she could control the irrigation of land in British possessions.

Hence under British leadership the League of Nations declared that Italy was an "aggressor nation" and thus had violated the Covenant of the League. Most of the nations of the world lined up with Great Britain against Italy. Great Britain moved a huge fleet of battleships into the Mediterranean. But in spite of Great Britain's objections and threats and in spite of the action of the League of Nations, Italy marched on! She defeated the almost defenseless colored people and annexed Ethiopia. She defied Great Britain. She flouted the League.

Where will Mussolini move next? Will he continue his advance in Africa and the Near East? There is evidence that he is stirring up trouble by trespassing upon British control in Palestine. He is demanding more naval bases in the Mediterranean and increased naval control over that region. Will the British meet his demands by new treaties? Or will war between Italy and Great Britain result? Today no one knows the answers to these questions, but there is a general agreement that Italy is creating a second danger spot in the Mediterranean region.

The third danger spot: Japan and eastern Asia

In eastern Asia the Japanese war party, as the rising dictator of the Far East, is matching Mussolini and Hitler. For the past four decades the Japanese have steadily invaded the lands and rights of the peoples on the east coast of that great continent. In 1895 they defeated China and took the island of Formosa, off its eastern coast, and several small islands near by. Ten years later Japan defeated Russia in a war and took Korea (Chosen) and a small peninsula off the coast of southern Manchuria. In 1931 Japanese armies invaded Manchuria, easily overcame Chinese resistance, and took charge of that vast land. Both China and Japan were members of the League of Nations, and China appealed to the League, asking for an investigation and arbitration of the dispute. Several other nations urged the League to take steps to prevent further conflict and Japanese conquest. Under the leadership of Great Britain an investigation was made, and the resulting reports suggested that China should retain control over Manchuria, but with protection for Japanese rights. The League's recommendation, however, was ignored by the ambitious Japanese when, in 1932, they seized Manchuria and created a new "state" called Manchukuo.

But they did not stop there. In 1935 and 1936 the armed invasion of China continued. By intrigue, threats, propaganda, as well as force, the Japanese military representatives are exerting more and more control over the Chinese government.

But there is real danger in the Far East because of the interests of other nations. For one, Russia has much at stake. Her borders stretch along Mongolia and Manchukuo. Experts agree that she cannot permit Japan to advance into Mongolia. If Japan takes Outer Mongolia, war will surely come. If war starts in the East, will Germany, the avowed enemy of Russia, attack her on the west?

Great Britain, France, and the United States also have large investments in China, and France and Great Britain have possessions near by. Will they again tolerate Japanese aggression, as they did in 1931 and 1932, or will they strike back?

This, then, is the third danger spot which may start the Second World War at any moment.

Thus we see that the march of the world toward democracy is producing difficult conflicts

Is there, indeed, any country on earth which is not in upheaval? Are there any places where government is secure and where life goes along peacefully and contentedly? We shall see as we continue our studies.

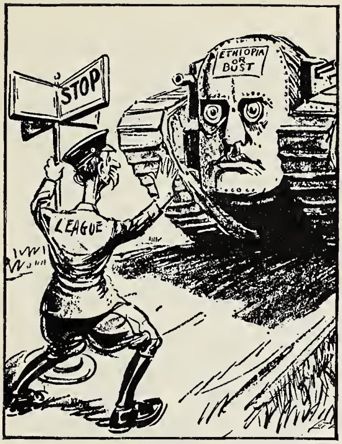

STOP
ETHIOPIA OR BUST
LEAGUE

FIG. 5, *a.* What is the cartoonist trying to show concerning the power of the Italian dictator, Mussolini, and of the League of Nations? (Pease in the *Newark Evening News*)

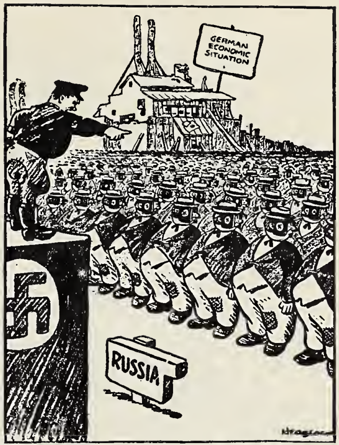

GERMAN ECONOMIC SITUATION
RUSSIA

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FIG. 5, *b.* Who is the dictator in the picture? What is he proposing to do? Note the factory in the background. What is the significance of its broken-down condition?

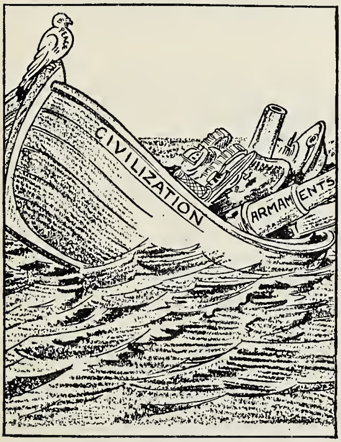

CIVILIZATION
ARMAMENTS

FIG. 5, *c.* Civilization adrift and dangerously weighted down. What meaning has the dove in the cartoon? (Macauley in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*)

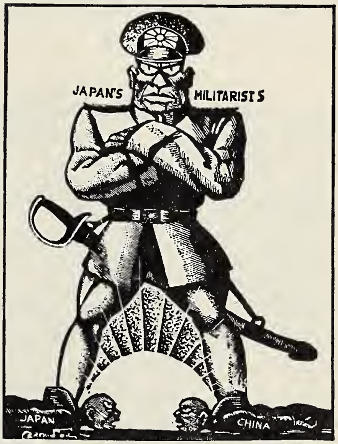

JAPAN'S
MILITARISTS
JAPAN
CHINA

FIG. 5, *d.* What problem do you think the cartoonist is trying to present to us in this drawing? (Page in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*)

These Events are the Result of the Startling Economic Changes in Western Europe

And as we continue our studies we shall learn that it was economic changes which brought about these stirring movements in government. England changed from a tiny country of self-sufficient manors to the modern industrial Great Britain, the center of world trade and of world empire. France, still a country of thrifty shopkeepers and farmers, also built a great industrial system and the second largest empire of the world. Hundreds of quarreling German states slowly unified. They built a powerful manufacturing country with colonies in Africa and Asia and a remarkable scheme of world trade. Russia, under the autocratic rule of the Czars, conquered all the land between Germany in Europe and the Pacific Ocean, but remained a poverty-stricken country of crude farming villages until after the World War.

These countries and others rapidly built up manufacturing and raced with one another for trade, land, and the markets of Asia, Africa, and America. They conquered and exploited less industrialized peoples. Finally the World War came and dragged them all into armed conflict.

These dramatic events are simply outstanding examples of deeper movements which the world's march toward democracy has developed

We shall now try to understand the Leading National Cultures of the World

In this book we shall frequently gather together the chief ideas brought out in the earlier volumes. However, our work will be concentrated primarily upon the governments and the changing customs and interests of various peoples of the earth. We shall attempt to bring together in closer relationships the threads of historical development, so that we can see as a whole the economic, the political, the social, and the recreational life of different peoples.

As in the preceding volumes of this series, we shall use the single word *culture* to sum up all these ways of living. Because of

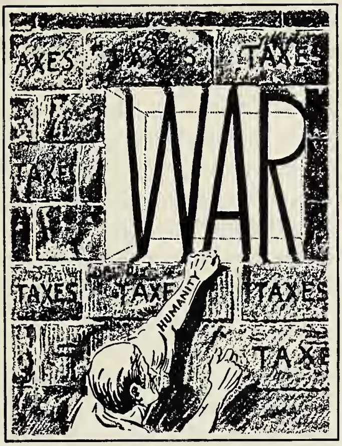
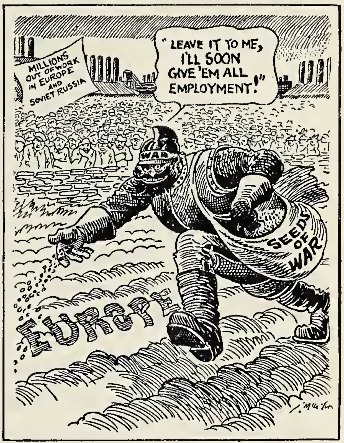

TAXES
TAXES
TAXES
TAXES
TAXES
TAXES
TAXES
TAXES
WAR
HUMANITY

FIG. 6, *a*. Humanity locked in a debtor's prison of taxes. Humanity looks for a means of escape and finds that it is war which holds him in. (Harding in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*)


MILLIONS OUT OF WORK IN EUROPE AND SOVIET RUSSIA
"LEAVE IT TO ME, I'LL SOON GIVE 'EM ALL EMPLOYMENT!"
WAR
SEEDS OF WAR
EUROPE

© *Chicago Tribune*

FIG. 6, *b*. Here the cartoonist has attempted to show us one of the dangers when millions of people are unemployed. What does the cartoon tell you? (By McCutcheon)

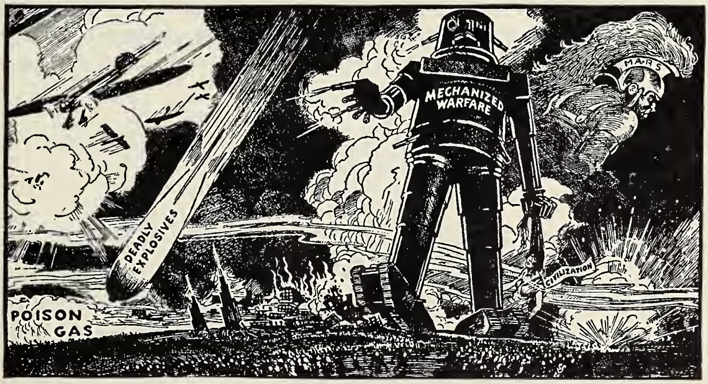

DEADLY EXPLOSIVES
MECHANIZED WARFARE
MARS
CIVILIZATION
POISON GAS

FIG. 6, *c*. Will it be *this* kind of war? (Packer in the New York *Sunday Mirror*) our frequent use of the term we hope that it does not seem strange and meaningless to you now. Continue to acquire the habit of using it. Remember that *the culture of a people simply means the ways in which that people lives, thinks, and feels.* Therefore the culture of the British, French, Italian, Russian, Chinese, — of any people, — is merely what they do and what they are. It is their work life, their play life, and their social life. It is what they think and talk about most, what they enjoy and what they fear, what they appreciate. It is what they dislike, what they approve, and what they disapprove. Hence our discussions of the culture of each people will bring together all the aspects of group and individual living.

To understand government and culture in various countries, we must see these countries growing and changing as their civilizations change. Only by seeing how they change as the years go on can we form wise conclusions about the advance and decline of democracy round the world. Only thus can we see the important problems of today. Hence our study of each country will be historical.

But we shall study history chiefly to understand the problems of today. It is only by understanding the deep trends and underlying movements of society that we can recognize contemporary needs and plan wisely for tomorrow. So in studying each period of the changing government of each country, let us ask ourselves one important question:

What lesson does this teach us that will help solve the world's problems of today?

IMPORTANT TOPICS AND QUESTIONS WHICH WILL GUIDE OUR STUDY

The following topics and questions will guide us as we study the most important governments and cultures in the world today and how these cultures came into being:

1. *The constant struggle of the mass of the people for a larger share in the government.* We shall ask: How democratic was the government? Who could vote and hold office? Who were ex-

cluded? Why? Thus the world's march toward democracy will be viewed, as was that of America in preceding volumes, as the struggle to bring "government of the people, by the people, for the people" to the earth.

2. *The continual conflict between groups of people desiring to control the government.* In studying each stage of history we shall be guided constantly by the questions What class or group of people is in control of the government? What classes or groups are opposing it? Why do some groups succeed and others fail?

3. *Changing culture and changing government.* One central theme has appeared in all our studies, — namely, that most of the peoples of the earth live in rapidly changing civilizations. Hence we shall now ask: Did the government of each people change to keep pace with the changing needs of the people? Have all classes and groups of citizens worked together, or have some urged and others opposed changes in government?

4. *The spread of universal education and the world's march toward democracy.* We shall also inquire: To what extent were the masses of the people educated in each period of their history? Was the spread of the right to vote as rapid as the onward march of the people toward universal education?

5. *The rise of nationalism as a stage of the world's march toward democracy.* Why and when did this particular people become a nation? By what means was it brought about?

6. *The rôle of dictatorships in the world's march toward democracy.* We shall see many examples of dictatorships. To understand each one we shall ask such questions as To what extent does the lack of education of the people make this possible? How could a dictatorship be guarded against in this stage of this country's development?

7. *The relation between education and international coöperation.* Do the people of one nation really understand other nations? Are they well informed concerning them? Are they educated sufficiently to discuss how to coöperate well and peacefully with them? Can they become educated enough to do that? What is the next step?

8. *The industrializing of agricultural countries and crises of overproduction in the older industrial countries.* Do the leaders plan

the production of food, goods, and other things in terms of the needs of their own people and of exporting to other people? What is the next step to bring about such plans in the countries of the world?

9. *The movement toward international control and allotment of the world's basic natural resources.* Should the coal and oil, iron and other metals, be controlled and developed by a central world organization? How could the people of each country be brought into such coöperation?

10. *Increasing interdependence and the trends of world organization.* Are the countries of all the world becoming more or less dependent upon one another? Can they be persuaded to coöperate more effectively?

11. *Cultural changes brought about in agricultural countries with the increasing adoption of industrial methods and ways of living.* How is the new industrialism changing the real culture of the people? Are they beginning to feel and think like the people of industrial countries? Or are they keeping their former ways of living, even though they adopt the machines, engines, telegraphs, and trains of the Western nations?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed at the end of Chapters XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.

CHAPTER II

EUROPE — THE CENTER OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

The New Industrial and Democratic Culture of the World originated in Western Europe

To understand the world's march toward democracy, we must first recall how Europe devised a totally new kind of civilization after 1500 A.D.[1] This, the industrial civilization of power-driven machinery, spread rapidly throughout North America, South America, and parts of Asia, Africa, and Australia. With this new way of producing and exchanging goods, new experiments in government were also tried. Slowly but surely, governments more representative of the people grew up.

But the Industrial Revolution also brought about other changes — changes in the fine arts, changes in ways of thinking and feeling. Indeed, it is not too much to say that a *cultural revolution* was begun that is rapidly transforming the cultures of the entire earth. The result was the development of new *national* languages, new kinds of architecture, new national literatures, original music, painting, and sculpture, and modern forms of the dance and the drama. Thus we see that the Industrial Revolution brought in its train wholly new national cultures.

Now, western Europe was the center in which this cultural revolution started. The time was the later Middle Ages. It was from western Europe that the new ways of producing things, the new ways of thinking, the new ways of governing people, and the new fine arts spread to North America and produced the United States. It was from western Europe that the beginnings of the new culture moved outward to Central and South America, changing the Spanish-Indian autocratic states into Latin-

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[1] Recall that Europe and Asia, conventionally called by school geographies separate continents, really form one continuous body of land. The single name given to it is "Eurasia." Europe, the western part, totals approximately 3,872,000 square miles; Asia totals approximately 17,206,000 square miles. Thus the land area of Europe is less than one fourth that of Asia.

American republics. It was the descendants of western Europeans who developed Anglo-Saxon democracies in far-off Australia, New Zealand, and southern Africa. And it is from western Europe that the scientific, industrial, and intellectual revolutions are now spreading to Russia, to the Near East, and to centers in India, China, Japan, and the Malay States, where other unique cultures had been established. Thus from western Europe the new industrial and democratic culture spread around the world. This fact is summed up graphically in the map of figure 7.

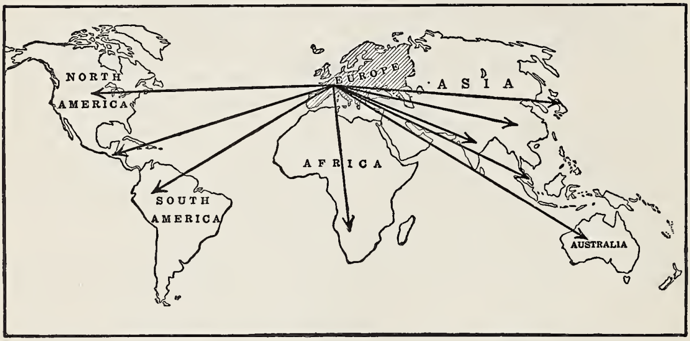

FIG. 7. After the 1500's a new kind of civilization began to develop in western Europe and to spread to every continent of the earth

In emphasizing the fact that the new ways of living spread from Europe, we shall not forget the important part played by earlier civilizations in Asia. Even several thousands of years ago China had developed a remarkable civilization. Europeans learned many ideas and ways of living from the Chinese, as well as from the old civilizations of India and the Near East. We shall discover how these helped to build the modern culture of today.

To understand how Europe became the center of the New World culture we must review the factors which made it possible

How did it happen that Europeans invented such scientific ways of doing things and spread their ideas around the entire earth? Many factors made this possible; some were geographic, others were historical, and still others were psychological. From your earlier studies you may already know much about them. In beginning our study of the rise of democracy in Europe we must first sum up these factors briefly.

1. *The geographic factors which made Europe the greatest industrial and commercial region of the world*

Two geographic factors were of supreme importance in making Europe the economic center of the new culture. These were location in a stimulating and productive climate and vast resources and natural advantages.

As you may recall, there are many favorable conditions in the geographic location of Europe. First: there is an adequate and well-distributed annual rainfall. Second: westerly winds play across the continent. Furthermore, although Europe is located rather far north in the Northern Hemisphere, the Gulf Stream, running across the Atlantic and coursing along the northwestern coast, warms these westerly winds. The northern part of Europe has no high mountains. These winds therefore carry warm moisture across the broad European plain. Third: the seasons are clearly marked out, though the temperature changes frequently. Under such conditions people can work vigorously and crops grow plentifully.

The second geographic factor which helps to make Europe the manufacturing and trading center of the world is her large store of natural resources. Europe is the only continent of the earth which has no deserts and no jungles, and even its mountains occupy only a small proportion of its land area. For contrast examine any map of world vegetation. Note the huge deserts in Africa, Asia Minor, Asia, and Australia. Note the vast tropical jungles of Central Africa, northern South America, and Central America. Even in North America there is a vast desert area. But Europe has neither deserts nor jungles. A large proportion of the continent is a fairly level plain of fertile soil. This plain is approximately 2,660,000 square miles in area — the greatest single food-raising plain in the world. Here more than 200,000,000 farmers produce more than a third of the world's wheat and oats, three fifths of the world's potatoes, nearly nine tenths of the beet sugar, and nine tenths of the rye. They also raise nearly a third of the swine and more than a third of the sheep.

Furthermore, the land of Europe is rich in coal and iron. Enormous resources of coal were discovered and mined in England and in the Ruhr Valley and other parts of Germany. Similarly, great deposits of iron lay on the boundaries between France and Germany, in Spain, in Sweden, and in other parts of Europe. Without them Europe could not have become the world's greatest manufacturer.

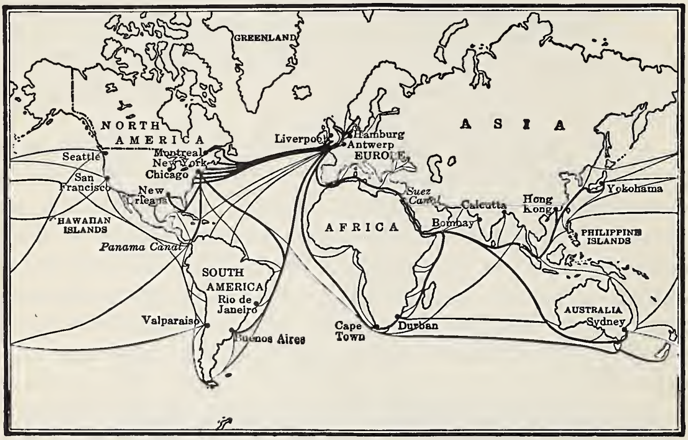
GREENLAND
NORTH AMERICA
Seattle
San Francisco
Montreal
New York
Chicago
New Orleans
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
Panama Canal
SOUTH AMERICA
Rio de Janeiro
Valparaiso
Buenos Aires
Liverpool
Hamburg
Antwerp
EUROPE
ASIA
Suez Canal
Calcutta
Hong Kong
Bombay
Yokohama
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AFRICA
Cape Town
Durban
AUSTRALIA
Sydney

Fig. 8. The lines indicate the world's most important sea paths of trade. Note that they center in Europe

The very shape of the continent and coast line of Europe was favorable to the development of industrial civilization. The coast line is long and the continent is narrow, and no place in it is far from the sea (see figure 8). A city like Budapest, which is far inland, relatively speaking, is less than 600 miles from a sea. What a favorable condition this is for the development of trade!

Moreover, the coast line is highly indented, the coastal plains being so low that many harbors, bays, and seas have been worn into it by the ocean. Although Europe is less than one fourth as large as Asia, it has approximately half again as many miles of coast line. As a result of these natural advantages, Europe has been a center of sea trade for hundreds of years. Today 12 of the 24 most important ports of the world are on the coasts of Europe.

Thus these basic geographic factors — location in a stimulating and productive climate, the possession of vast natural resources, and a long and highly indented coast line — helped to make Europe the center of a new world civilization.

2. *The psychological factors which help to account for the development of European culture*

But the possession of these favorable geographic conditions alone does not explain the remarkable development and the spread of European culture. Such conditions had existed there for thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of years without developing industrial civilizations and democratic governments. Somewhat similar conditions have existed in other parts of the earth, also (for example, in central and northern China), without producing the scientific, industrial, and artistic revolution which came from Europe after 1500. So *it was not geography alone which brought about our modern world.*

It was, rather, the combination of these geographic factors with an unusual set of historical and human factors that produced the new culture. This combination of factors we shall consider throughout this book. At this point we can merely outline them briefly.

One was the human factor. In Europe through hundreds of years millions of human beings have been taught the habit of hard work in this northern climate. Even women and children there cultivate the farms, harvest the crops, and work in the factories. The geography of the region is partly responsible for this industriousness. Food must be raised in the warm growing seasons to provide people with their means of sustenance in the cold, unproductive winters, and substantial houses and warm clothing must be provided to protect them against the weather.

Thus these millions of Europeans were driven onward to conquer nature by important human desires and fears. There was the ever-present fear of starvation, the fear of ill health, and the desire for a better and more secure living. These fears and desires urged men to till the fields, cut down the forests, build better houses, and weave better cloth — in short, to build a better civilization.

But of course the Chinese, the East Indians, the Indians of America, and other peoples were also hard workers. They were driven by the same fears and desires. Many of them lived in a fairly severe seasonal climate, which compelled them to work hard. Did they not discover some of the same ways of living which later made the Europeans forge ahead?

FIG. 9. A whole European family in the fields during harvesting time. Geographical and psychological factors account for the hard work these people are willing to do

Yes, some of them did. In fact, hundreds of years ago some of them taught Europeans many things. But, curiously, they did not invent power-driven machines, and thus they did not produce the industrial way of living. But how did the Europeans happen to learn from them? This question leads us to a third important factor, — namely, the contacts which Europeans had with other peoples.

3. *Europeans traveled the earth and learned new ways of living from other peoples*

Thousands of years ago the Chinese knew how to print and to weave cloth. They knew how to use stone, wood, and other materials to make strong houses, tools, implements, and vehicles. They had a written language and a literature of their own. They had instruments with which to measure. They or their later conquerors, the Mongols, had invented explosives such as gunpowder. In their civilization a calendar of the year, the seasons, the months, and the days was in use.

Similarly, the early peoples of Central and South America — the Mayas and the Incas — knew many of these arts. Besides building huge structures and roads out of stone, the Mayas knew how to read the stars too; they had a well-developed calendar, a written language, and finely developed arts and handicrafts. Other civilized peoples of long ago who lived in the great fertile river valleys of India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt also developed the arts to which we are referring.

Many of the basic ideas, then, from which the modern Europeans developed their civilization were known to earlier peoples. *But the Europeans differed in one respect from other peoples*, as the preceding sentence suggests: *traveling great distances over the earth, they learned many things from the peoples of other lands.* They were great borrowers, and copied other customs and ways of living. More than that, they carried most of these ideas much further than had the originators of them.

Thus, these rich contacts of Europeans with other civilized peoples is an important historical factor. We shall study it carefully in this book. As our studies continue we shall see how knowledge acquired by ancient civilizations was preserved throughout centuries and was carried into medieval Europe principally by European travelers.

4. *The rôle of leaders in the development of European civilization*

We must study carefully one other factor as we learn about the rise of the leading governments and cultures of the world, — namely, the part played by leaders. Even in China, India, and other earlier civilizations it was the leaders who directed the development of culture. In Europe, from the time of the Middle Ages, outstanding leaders appeared — leaders in economic invention, in government, in warfare, in thought, in religion, and in the arts.

The mass of the people merely followed these leaders. From generation to generation they farmed, worked, worshiped, and accepted leadership as their parents had done before them. It was only when unusual men with inventive minds appeared that new ideas were given to civilization. Then new ways of farming and manufacturing came into use, new methods of transportation and communication were introduced, new kinds of government and religion were developed, and new recreations and fine arts were created.

Because of the very great importance of leaders, therefore, we must study carefully their rôle in the development of European culture. We must also find out in what they were most interested. Was it in business, in trade, and in getting money? Was it in inventing machines, in raising the physical standard of living? Was it in science and experiments? Was it in handicrafts? Was it in government? Was it in religion? Or was it in creative writing, in literature, in the theater, in music, in the dance, in painting, sculpture, and architecture?

These are important questions, for the interests of the people of each epoch in a country's history are largely determined by the interests and activities of the talented leaders.

Thus we see in review that *no one factor* caused the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the more democratic ways of living introduced by it. *The new culture of the world was brought about by a favorable combination of several factors working at the same time:* the climate, the soil, and other natural resources, the shape and location of the continent, the need for a more secure living, the contact with other civilized peoples, and the appearance of talented and inventive leaders.

The Europeans introduced their New Civilizations all over the World

Aided by these favorable factors, Europeans produced the new industrial civilization and spread it all over the world. Unlike the other civilized peoples of Asia and America, they sailed ships on all the seas. They built up trade in Asia and Africa, in North and South America, in Australia, and in the larger islands of the world. They emigrated by the millions, establishing European communities on all of these continents. Thus Canada and the United States came into being; thus the combination of Spanish, Portuguese, and Indian civilizations known as Latin-American arose. These and many other facts you already know.

The new European civilization spread, and ways of living changed, even in the ancient, isolated agricultural civilizations of Asia, Africa, and the Americas. When people once learned about mechanical power and how to run machines with it, methods of producing food and of making houses, clothing, and other things were revolutionized. Even perishable food was carried from one continent to another. Finally, the peoples of the entire earth were bound tightly together by means of rapid transportation and communication.

Before all these things happened new kinds of government appeared in Europe, and the fine arts were highly developed. Customs changed as education spread even to the common people. The common man became more important and demanded a greater share in government. The whole outlook upon life changed.

In short, as the industry, agriculture, government, and fine arts of the European peoples gradually changed, the cultures of other parts of the world changed also. This, then, is the background of our study of changing governments and changing cultures. In summary outline we have seen the factors that produced the new culture which is now spreading around the world. To see clearly the great changes that are taking place, however, we must know how they developed.

Next, therefore, we shall go back to the very beginning of the modern world's march toward democracy.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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UNIT II

THE BACKGROUND OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT IN THE "DARK AGES" OF UNDEMOCRATIC EUROPE

Europe's march toward democracy can be better understood if we see its origins in earlier times

We must turn back the hands of the history clock and recall conditions of life in western Europe in earlier times. We must go back to, let us say, 1100 A.D., to a time of *undemocratic* government. This brief backward glance is necessary if we are to understand why democratic government has appeared in many parts of the world so recently as the past two centuries.[1]

To comprehend fully why government in 1100 was undemocratic, recall the chief ways of living which we have already studied. Remember that in all the world there were no factories, no manufacturing cities, no railroads. There were no macadamized roads, no automobiles, no telegraphs, no newspapers. Ways of living were simple; in fact, they were almost primitive.

Most people lived in small communities called manors, although here and there traders and craftsmen were already settling towns. These manors, of which there were thousands throughout western Europe, were the clusters of thatched peasant cottages, the fields, woodlands, and commons that surrounded the manor house or the castle of the landlord. Each was a complete community which itself produced nearly all the necessities of life. Craftsmen in iron, wood, and leather made the simpler articles needed. At the lord's mill the peasants ground the community grain; at his smithy they made the cruder tools. Sheep were raised, and wool yarn was spun, woven, and made into clothing.

To see clearly the lack of democracy — the lack of recognition of the common man — call to mind a picture of the crude ways of living.

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[1] At this point it will be well to read Chapter II of *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World,* "The Narrow World of the Europeans before the Industrial Revolution."

1. *The inadequate physical standard of living.* Throughout these books we have commented frequently on the comparatively comfortable way of life which has been produced in industrial countries in the past century. Today we take for granted such things as easy ways of producing food in large quantities, many changes of clothing, swift and comfortable means of transportation, ease of communication, and a considerable degree of security.

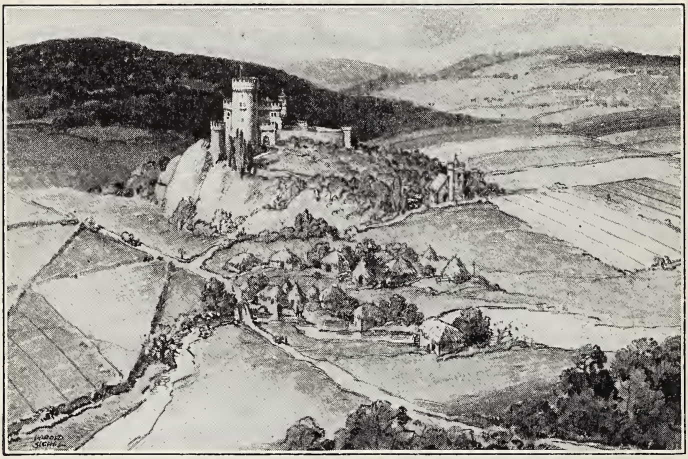

Fig. 10. A typical manor of about 1100. Close to the well-fortified castle are clustered the peasants' cottages

What a sharp contrast there is between our own high standard of living and the poverty-stricken condition of the common man of 1100! Recall the lack of physical comforts — indeed, of necessities — in the hand-to-mouth existence of the peasants on the manors and the artisans in the towns. Their habitations were crude huts of mud or wood thatched with straw, almost unheated and unlighted even in the cold and cheerless winters. Household utensils and furniture were primitive, table knives and forks unknown. Bedsteads and mattresses, as we know them, were undreamed of. Piles of straw sufficed for beds. Food likewise was simple, the typical peasant's meal consisting of boiled cabbage and salt pork with bread, and occasionally of fish and vegetables other than cabbage.

Even the living conditions of the nobles were not comfortable when compared with modern standards. Their furniture was hard and severe. For lights they depended upon candles; for transportation, upon horses or their own legs. They lacked too our variety of food and our modern systems of heating. Like the peasants, they were also shut in from the outside world. There was no regular postal system; there were no telegraphs, no telephones, no newspapers or magazines.

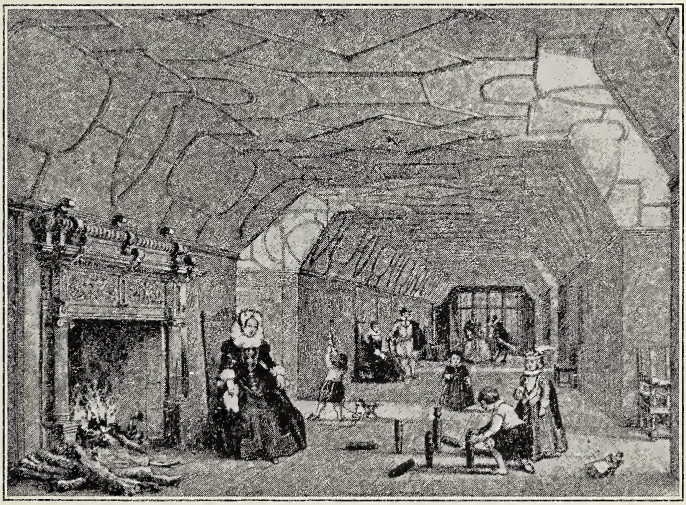

FIG. 11. If the homes of the wealthy, even long after 1100, were as bare and comfortless as this, one can scarcely imagine in our day what the homes of the peasants could have been. (From Nash, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*)

2. *The lack of knowledge and the narrowness of the world of 1100.* The average European knew little of life outside his own manor, the countryside surrounding it, and perhaps the near-by village or town. His "world" was indeed small. From passing peddlers and entertainers or from strangers at the annual fair he may have heard fantastic tales of Eastern countries — of Cathay (China) and Japan, the Indies (India), or Muscovy (Russia). But even European scholars of that time knew no more of the earth and its inhabitants than is shown in figure 12.

There was an almost complete absence of "book knowledge" and of education as we know it. Schools were only for the well-to-do, and the school subjects as you now know them — reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, science, and the like — were not included in the course of study of 1100. Indeed, there were no books as you know them, for the Europeans did not know how to print. Perhaps this will astonish you, for you know that the Chinese had learned how to print from wooden blocks more than 700 years before that time. However, such books as were available in Europe were written laboriously by hand, mostly by monks in monasteries.

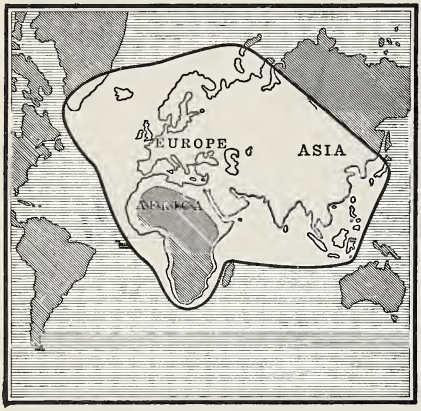

Fig. 12. The line which incloses Europe and parts of Asia and Africa indicates the lands which were known as the "world" in the later Middle Ages. The darkened area within the line had not yet been explored

Even the *spoken* languages were inadequate, compared with our highly expressive languages of today. Thus the very means that people had of communicating with one another were limited. Learning was indeed at a low ebb.

3. *The unprogressive attitude of people generally.* As a result of such conditions the minds of people were slow to change. The world they lived in differed very little from one generation to another. Ways of farming, of weaving, of cooking, and of handicrafts were passed on from fathers to sons, from mothers to daughters. So hundreds of years passed with little change.

As a result people's minds were set, and they were skeptical of new things and new ideas. They were what we call conservative, — even unprogressive.

4. *People accepted everything on faith instead of thinking things out for themselves.* Another result of the low level of civilization and culture in the Middle Ages was the total absence of a scien-

tific attitude. People blindly accepted on the authority of others their beliefs and their rules of conduct.

In religion, for example, they followed the teachings of the Bible as explained to them by priests and bishops. Rarely did anyone question the accuracy of these interpretations, and few men were bold enough even to try to think things out for themselves. The Catholic Church — the one great religious organization of western Europe — had been in existence since shortly after the time of Christ. Most Christians worshiped at its altars and yielded religious obedience to the bishop of Rome, who was called the Pope, and to the hierarchy — that is to say, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priests of the Church.

This attitude of living by faith was evident in all worldly ways of living as well as in religious beliefs. There was, for example, little understanding of scientific cultivation of the soil. Physical happenings were often traced directly to the anger or good will of a Divine Being. Thus the idea of one event as the cause of another, which we learn today in scientific studies in our schools, was unknown. The entire European world was unscientific and unexperimental. Life was regulated, as we have said, by general acceptance of authority, not by thinking things out for oneself.

How, then, were Europeans Governed?

In this backward way of living were there republics and presidents? Was there a president of France, or of Germany, or of Spain as there is today? Was there a dictator and a king in Italy? Were there parliaments, representatives, governors, mayors, and judges?

No; government was a very different thing from government as we know it today. To understand the difference we must remember that there were no national states, or nations, as there are now. There was no England, no France, no Italy, no Germany, no Russia, no Spain. Countries as we know them in the twentieth century did not exist in Europe in 1100.

To make this idea clear let us note what is meant by "nation," or "national state."

What is a national state?

Let us take the United States as an example of a modern national state, and note three of its characteristics.

First, wherever one goes in the United States, north, east, south, or west, the people speak the same language — English. (That is, with the exception of a small proportion of the population who are foreign-born and are still unable to speak our language.)

Second, the people of our country are controlled by one central government under a *national* Constitution. Laws are passed by a *national* Congress. They are executed by a central *national* administration — the president, secretaries of departments, etc. They are interpreted by *national* courts and are enforced by a *national* department of justice. This, then, is a second characteristic of a nation — namely, that all the people are controlled by the same government.

Third, wherever one goes in the United States — in Florida, in Maine, in Georgia, or in Oregon — the people regard themselves as Americans. This is a third characteristic of a national state — namely, that the people consider themselves as of the same nationality, and are loyal to that idea.

These, then, are three tests by which we can judge whether or not a people are a nation: First, do they speak a common language? Second, are they ruled by a single government? Third, do they regard themselves as of the same nationality?

If we apply these three tests, France, for example, is today a nation. Throughout most of the territory of France a single language, French, is spoken, the people are governed by a single central government, and, with very few exceptions, they regard themselves as Frenchmen.

Similarly, Germany is now a nation. Most of the people speak a common language, German, they are governed by a central government, and most of them are proud to be called Germans. So it is, also, in England, Spain, Italy, and in some other countries. There are many nations, or national states, on the earth today, as defined by our three tests.

In 1100 there were no national states in Europe

With this definition of "national state" we can now understand the condition of government in Europe in the later Middle Ages. There was not a single national state as we understand it today.

1. *The lack of national languages.* On the first test the people of each of the regions that are now England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy did not speak the same language as they do today. In each of these regions many differing dialects, or local languages, were spoken, and no single common language was used. Some of these dialects resembled one another and were the beginnings of uniform languages, but there was no such thing as the English, French, German, Spanish, or Italian language of today. Thus, on the first test the areas which we now know as England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy were not nations because they did not have national languages.

2. *Single central governments were lacking.* On the second test also there were no national states. There were no presidents, no parliaments, no cabinets. There was no House of Commons in England, no Chamber of Deputies in France, no Reichstag in Germany, no Soviets or Central Committees in Russia. Central national governors, legislatures, courts, and departments of justice or police were lacking. Throughout each great section of the continent, as we shall discover later, were many local groups. One could travel over the regions that are countries now and find not a single central government such as there is today in England, in France, in Germany, in Spain, or in Italy.

3. *People did not recognize their "nationality."* Similarly, there were no loyalties to one's country; there could not be, since, as has been said, there were no countries in the modern sense. People did not recognize themselves as Englishmen, as Frenchmen, as Germans, as Italians, or as Russians.

Thus the three requirements of a nation were lacking: there were no national languages, there were no central national governments, and people did not recognize their nationality. As we can see, there were no national states in Europe.

The Insecurity of Life in Europe in 1100

The disorder of life shows that there was a great need of government to protect people and property. In all Europe hardly a community was safe from attack. Indeed, during the period we are discussing, life for a great proportion of the nobles consisted in making war upon their enemies or in defending themselves from attack.

1. *Constant danger from outside invasions.* In the Middle Ages Europeans who were trying to develop settled communities were attacked from every side by warlike peoples bent upon military conquest and destruction. Sometimes these were marauding bands of barbarians; frequently they were neighbor knights. In the eighth century armies of Mohammedans had pushed through northern Africa, overrun all Spain, and advanced as far as central France, where they were defeated and permanently driven back. In the ninth century they had crossed the Mediterranean from the northern coast of Africa and had invaded Sicily, Italy, and southern France. On the east also, barbarian peoples constantly pressed in upon the communities of what are now Germany, Austria, and France. Among these, for example, were the Hungarians, — bands of savage Asiatics, — who conquered Germany and northern Italy long before the period that we are discussing. But finally they were defeated, and were gradually pushed back toward eastern Europe, where they settled in the country we now know as Hungary.

On the north, during the 800's and 900's, there were constant raids from the Northmen, or Norsemen. These highwaymen of the sea sailed down from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and made one attack after another upon the British Isles and the west coast of Europe. Some of these Northmen — later called Normans — settled the region called Normandy, on the northwestern coast of France. Other tribes, called Danes, conquered the natives of northern England and eventually became an important element in the British nation. Hardly a section of the region now covered by Holland, Belgium, France, and the British Isles escaped the plundering attacks of these semi-wild pirates.

2. *Europeans also lived in a state of constant neighborhood warfare.* As has been frequently said, "war was the law of the land" in the later Middle Ages. There were no strong central parliaments or national rulers supported by powerful armies to keep order.

For hundreds of years the manors and towns of Europe were in a state of constant bloody fighting. The highways between towns and villages were dangerous because of bandits and "robber knights" who made their living by robbing travelers. Each noble was a law unto himself and tried to get more land and power by conquering his neighbors. Indeed, there was little else for the nobility to do. Their serfs cultivated their fields and provided them with the necessities of life, and there were few intellectual pursuits to engage their minds. Hence their chief interest was in fighting, and fight they did — most of the time. They fought their neighbors on the slightest pretext. They fought the more powerful lords, the bishops of the Church, and the heads of near-by monasteries. Sometimes, even, father fought against son,

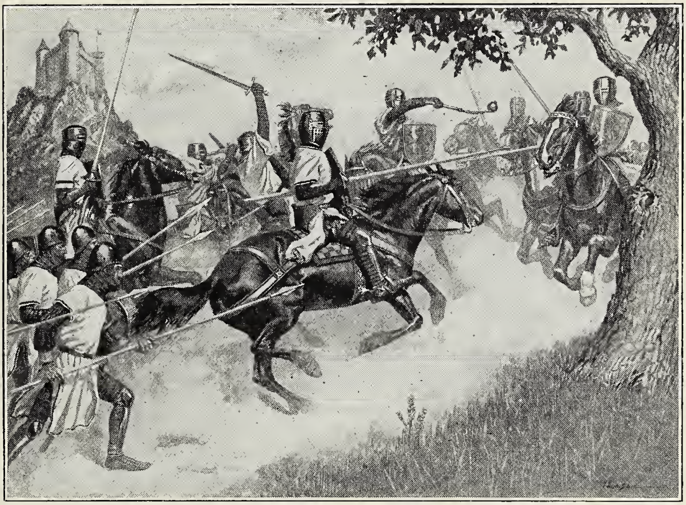

FIG. 13. When rival nobles attacked the manor, the serfs rushed within the castle for protection. Can you imagine them anxiously watching the outcome of the battle?

brother against brother. When there was a lull in this warfare, bloody knightly tournaments of daring skill and physical endurance were held. Human life had little value indeed during the Middle Ages.

How sharply contrasted is the comparative security of life in Western nations today! Now one can walk or ride through England, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Belgium, — in fact, through almost any European country,— with little danger from robbers, murderers, or other public enemies. There is comparative physical security throughout the continent. (As you have learned, there are vastly fewer murders in European countries today than in our own country.) But life and property were not secure even in the later Middle Ages because of the lack of strong national governments providing for order within the country and organized defense against attacks from without.

Roads, such as they were, were maintained only by the people in the local community. Each family or group of families provided its own water supply through a well or a spring, and the common man had to be his own practical physician. As for protection against neighbors and outside enemies, except for such help as a man could expect from his lord, everyone had to look out for himself.

The Feudal System of Government of Lords and Vassals

By 1100, therefore, there had grown up a plan of government known as the feudal system. In 870 there were several so-called kingdoms in Europe. There were three large ones: (1) the West Frankish Kingdom, corresponding roughly to the France of today; (2) the Kingdom of Italy; and (3) the East Frankish Kingdom, corresponding to what is today the western part of Germany, and Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Holland.

But the kings over these regions were little more than kings in name only. Most of them were not strong leaders. They lacked money, and armies with which to enforce their rule. So the kings of Europe lost their power rapidly until at last they had little more influence than had many of the dukes, bishops, and other landed lords of Europe.

There being no strong central government in any of these regions, a so-called feudal system of lords and vassals had grown up. The kings, unable to give money to the margraves (military commanders), counts, and other nobles in their courts in return for their services, had often granted them large amounts of land. As a result many nobles possessed large estates, some of which included hundreds of manors. Over these estates the nobles ruled.

The larger landowners, unable to keep in close touch with the various districts of their great estates, and also unable to pay money to the vassals under them for their services, in turn granted their vassals smaller tracts of land. These smaller landlords also tended to rule the smaller districts; within each one the landlord made the government.

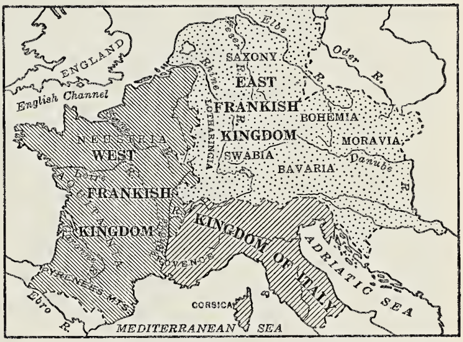
ENGLAND
English Channel
NEUSTRIA
WEST
FRANKISH
KINGDOM
AQUITANIA
Loire
Seine
R.
Garonne
R.
PYRENEES MTS.
Ebro
R.
Rhone
R.
PROVENCE
LOTHARINGIA
Rhine
R.
Weser
Elbe
R.
SAXONY
EAST
FRANKISH
KINGDOM
SWABIA
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Oder
R.
Danube
R.
KINGDOM OF ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
CORSICA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

FIG. 14. After much quarreling, Charlemagne's empire was divided in 870 into these three kingdoms

The very basis of the feudal system was the protection given by the lord and the service given by the vassal. At a formal ceremony of homage (see figure 15), the vassal knelt before his lord, placed his hands between those of the lord, and declared himself to be the lord's man in return for his fief (land). He agreed to be loyal to the lord, to fight in his army, and to do him other services. Thus the vassal swore loyalty to the lord and the lord promised to protect the vassal.

We see, therefore, that a graded system of small and large landlords had grown up during the several hundred years following the decline of Charlemagne's empire. It was, indeed, a kind of pyramid of lords and vassals, at the base of which were many small knights, barons, and abbots governing their little districts. Above them, but less numerous, were wealthier and more powerful counts and bishops ruling over larger districts, and above them, in turn, were still more powerful dukes, earls, margraves, and archbishops ruling still larger regions.

In France, by 1100, some of the most powerful counts and dukes were so strong that they defeated others in open battle and proclaimed themselves rulers of large territories. Among these were the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, and the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse, who were virtually kings in their own lands. Conspicuous among them was one of whom we shall hear later, William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, who in 1066 became king of England. In Chapter IV we shall see how, as strong nobles rose to power, kingdoms and national states developed.

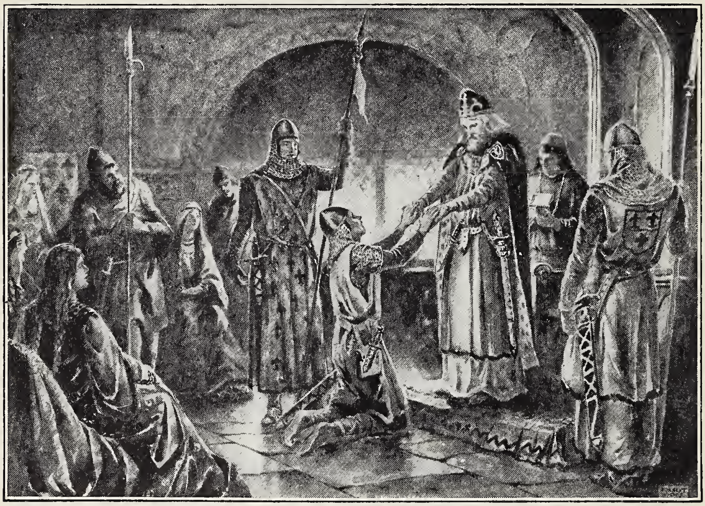

FIG. 15. "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will hold faith to you for the lands I claim to hold of you"

In 1100, then, government, like community life, was local and self-sufficient. In place of four powerful national states, as in western Europe today, there were hundreds, even thousands, of small local governments. By 1100 this feudal system was recognized as the established form of government. It was, as one historian has described it, "confusion roughly organized."

Important changes came in European civilization between 1100 and 1500

Recall next from your earlier studies how the isolated manor life of the Middle Ages gradually disappeared after 1100. As workmen learned skill in spinning and weaving, in implement-making, and in the making of tools and weapons, handicrafts developed and labor became more highly specialized. Towns and cities grew. In the city of Florence, for example, craftsmen became renowned for their fine bronzes, glassware, laces, ornamented leather, velvets, satins, and cloths of gold and of silver.

Trade increased, and merchants traveled from one part of Europe to another buying and selling at the fairs which had become well-established institutions. Some of these fairs, such as those at Winchester, London, and Paris, were real international centers of trade. Thus the world of Europeans gradually became larger and larger.

THE INFLUENCE OF ASIA UPON EUROPEAN CULTURE

An important factor in these changes, as we know, was the new contact which Europeans were making with the cultured life of the Far East, especially that of China. At the very time when the peoples of western Europe were living in a state of confusion and neighborhood warfare, the people of China had produced an advanced culture. Indeed, for at least 2000 years before that time a well-developed civilization had existed in various sections of Asia. Many of the fine arts were known. Large, prosperous, and orderly cities had grown up, and systematic government was carried on over great areas. The whole order of life contrasted with the confusion, the uncleanliness, and the backwardness of Europe.

Three epoch-making series of events

Shortly after 1100 leading Europeans slowly became aware of this fine Asiatic culture. Knowledge of it helped to rouse them out of the primitive conditions in which they were living and start them on the road toward modern European civilization and culture.

Three series of events helped to bring about the new contacts between western Europe and the Far East.

1. The seven Crusades which Christian Europeans carried on between western Europe and the Holy Land, 1096–1291.
2. The establishment of the vast Mongol Empire by Genghis Khan and his successors, about 1200.
3. The increasing travel of European monks and traders in Asia.

These three movements you have probably already studied.[1] You remember how these seven armed pilgrimages were made by Christian knights, peasants, women, and children to recapture the Holy Land (Palestine) from the Asiatic Turks who had recently taken it. Time after time the region changed hands. It was held first by the Mohammedan Turks; the Christians captured it only to lose it again and again to the Turks.

These famous Crusades are recalled merely to remind us that they helped establish connections between Europeans and Asiatics. Palestine was located in Asia Minor, the region stretching northwest from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. For hundreds of years this region had been the trading crossroads of the world, and it was directly on the famous trade routes which developed between Europe and Asia. (See map, figure 17.)

A Great Mongol Empire stretched across Asia and Eastern Europe in the 1200's

But by far the most important contact between the civilizations of the Far East and of Europe was brought about by the Asiatic empire of Genghis Khan in the early 1200's. Genghis Khan was a powerful warrior who became the leader of one of the Mongol tribes. The Mongols were nomadic tribes of hunting and pastoral peoples who lived in the region south of Lake Baikal and westward to Lake Balkash in northeastern Asia (see figure 16). They were horsemen with no settled abode, who moved their cattle and meager belongings from north to south with the changing seasons. Like most nomadic peoples, they had a great contempt for those who lived in towns and cities. Frequently, when conquering such townspeople, they massacred all of them and destroyed the habitations, irrigation systems, and all other signs of civilization.

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[1] You can review them in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, pp. 39–44 and 431–432.

During the later 1100's these Mongol tribes had frequent wars with the highly civilized Chinese who lived between them and the Pacific Ocean. It is believed that they learned many things from the Chinese, including the use of gunpowder and other military arts. By 1200 they were well prepared for a conquest of Asia. All that was needed was a strong, aggressive leader.

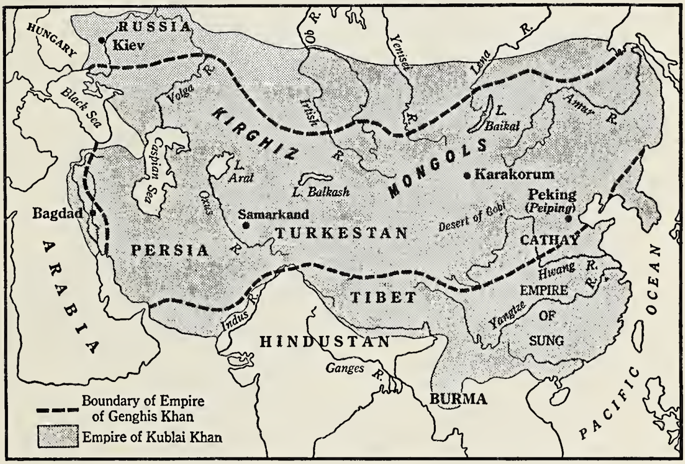
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
Kiev
Black Sea
Volga R.
KIRGHIZ
Ob R.
Irtish R.
Yenisei R.
Lena R.
L. Baikal
Amur R.
MONGOLS
Karakorum
Caspian Sea
L. Aral
L. Balkash
R.
Oxus R.
Samarkand
TURKESTAN
Bagdad
ARABIA
PERSIA
Desert of Gobi
Peking (Peiping)
CATHAY
Hwang R.
EMPIRE OF SUNG
Yangtze R.
TIBET
Indus R.
HINDUSTAN
Ganges R.
BURMA
PACIFIC OCEAN
▬ ▬ ▬ Boundary of Empire of Genghis Khan
▨ Empire of Kublai Khan

FIG. 16. The empire of the Mongols in the 1200's. Note the boundaries of the empire of Genghis Khan and then how the empire grew during the reign of Kublai Khan

This need was filled by Genghis Khan. Within a short time he organized the Mongols into a great army of well-disciplined horsemen warriors. Only thirteen years — 1214 to 1227 — were required for him and his Mongol riders to subdue the settled peoples of most of Asia. Thus he brought together the inhabitants of nearly a whole continent within one great empire. This empire, even larger than that of Alexander the Great or that of Rome at its height, extended from Peking (now called Peiping), China, on the east, to Russia and the Black Sea on the west (see figure 16). It was not, of course, a national state. There was no single national language, and the peoples within the boundaries of the empire did not claim loyalty to one nationality. Hundreds of different languages were spoken. Indeed, the empire was merely a group of tribes and clans, each of which paid tribute to the central Mongol group under Genghis Khan.

A thrilling tale could be told of the military achievements of this Mongol army of cavalrymen. For some years after the death of Genghis Khan in 1227, they swept westward into eastern Europe. Across Russia they fought their way and in 1240, under the leadership of Ogdai Khan, the son of Genghis, captured and destroyed Kiev. The next year they moved across Hungary, Lower Silesia, and Poland. Then in 1241 came the great stand of the Poles at the battle of Liegnitz, where the Mongols won the long and bloody encounter.

Within the year Ogdai Khan was dead and the princes and leaders returned to the East. The western drive of the Mongols was at an end. From Europe the Mongol chieftains shifted their attention to eastern Asia, especially China. The nomad tribes settled down and adopted the civilized ways of the Chinese. More and more Mongol leaders were appointed as governors over Chinese provinces. One Mongol advance led to another, and in 1260 Kublai became Khan. Nearly twenty years later the southern Sung Empire of the Chinese — a district which had remained independent — surrendered to Kublai's Mongol army. Thus one monarch came to rule over all China and all Mongol territories. The Mongol capital had been moved from Karakorum, south of Lake Baikal, to the Chinese city of Peking. Steadily the wandering Mongols adopted the culture of the Chinese, but they were never thoroughly assimilated by them; and a century later the Mongol element was almost completely expelled from China proper.

Thus for 34 years (1260–1294) Kublai Khan ruled the largest empire in all history, ranging from the Pacific on the east to Hungary on the west, and including Burma and Tibet on the south.

It was the Mongol conquests that kept the trade routes open between Europe and the Far East

This astonishing empire of Asiatic nomadic tribesmen had far-reaching influences upon the changing culture of Europe. Its most important service was to provide a kind of crude government over the entire stretch of 6000 miles from eastern Europe to China. As a result trade routes were kept open and travel was made fairly safe throughout the empire of the Mongol Khans.

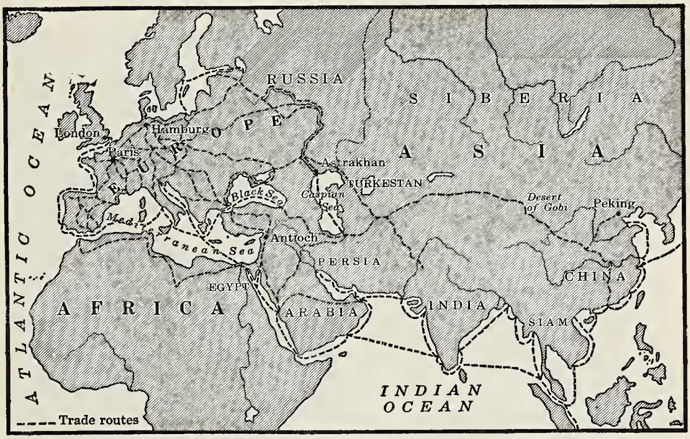
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
ASIA
EUROPE
London
Hamburg
Paris
Astrakhan
TURKESTAN
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Antioch
PERSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
INDIA
Desert of Gobi
Peking
CHINA
SIAM
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
AFRICA
---- Trade routes

FIG. 17. The principal trade routes of the medieval world

It was the Far East to which the eyes of the European business men were turned in the 1200's. (How well named the Far East was from the standpoint of the Europeans!) Now with fairly orderly government established, the trade routes made travel to the East easier. Recall the accounts which you have doubtless already read of the increasing travel of monks and traders between the two regions.[1] It was at this time that Marco Polo and his father and uncle made their astonishing voyage to China, and it was the empire of this very same Kublai Khan that is described in the *Travels of Marco Polo.* Although undoubtedly Polo exaggerated, nevertheless the life in China was in the main truthfully described.

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[1] Among these was the Jewish rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, who traveled in Asia from 1160 to 1173. A second was Friar John of Pian del Carpini (1245–1247). A third was Friar William of Rubruck (1253–1255). A fourth was Marco Polo (1271–1295). A fifth was Friar Odoric (1318–1330).

The writings of Polo and of other travelers of the 1200's showed Europeans that the Chinese had developed a remarkably fine civilization. Marco describes, for example, the "fine vineyards, fields, and gardens," and "the noble and magnificent city of Kin-Sai, . . . an hundred miles in circuit." He refers to its streets and canals, its squares, and its spacious market places. He writes of houses and mansions of great size, of excellent hostelries for travelers, of the elaborate system of exchange of goods, and of the manufacture of "cloth of silk and gold and many fine taffetas." He gives an account also of the remarkable development of India, Burma, and Japan.

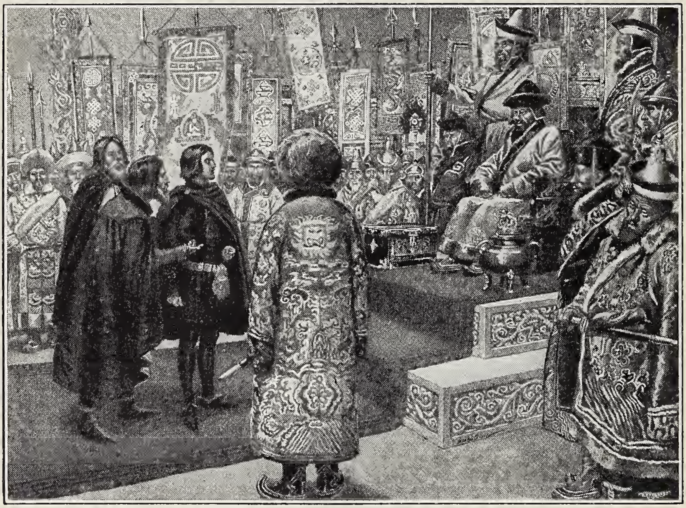

FIG. 18. The three Polos at the court of Kublai Khan. Marco's father is presenting him to the Khan, saying, "This is your servant, and my son"

Thus in the 1200's and thereafter new ideas and new things were brought into Europe from the East. New foods, such as spices and tea, and fine products were imported. The well-to-do of Europe thrilled over the laces, embroideries, elaborately painted articles made of silk, carved and decorated furniture, rugs, and rich hangings which the returning caravans of trade brought to them.

New ideas and new ways of doing things were also brought into Europe. Among these, for example, was paper-making by improved methods and the art of printing from blocks. These had a tremendous effect upon the minds of inventive persons in Europe, and led somewhat later to the development of printing from movable type and the rapid production of books.

And we must not overlook the destructive invention — gunpowder — which the Mongols and the Chinese had brought to the awakening Europeans.

These, then, were the chief conditions and factors which began to change ways of thinking and living in Europe.

Although Europe was awakening, Democracy was not Possible

In the 1100's there was no sign of the astonishing march toward democracy that was to take place later. There was no such thing as voting. Offices were obtained by inheritance or by the conquest of the weak by the strong.

Education, such as it was, was provided only for the few well-to-do, although in the monasteries even poor boys were taught. There were few books and few scholars. There were no national languages and hardly even the beginnings of written literatures.

There was no independence of thought; life was lived by faith alone. There was little intelligent understanding of the physical world. There was a total absence of the scientific way of thinking.

The classes of society were very different from those we know in democratic countries — only the nobles, the clergy, and the common people. There was no middle class of wealthy merchants and bankers. There was little money and no standardized means of exchange of goods among the various regions of Europe.

The common man had no civil and political rights such as he has today in Western countries. Persons were sometimes imprisoned or tortured or executed without respect to law. Indeed, there was no written law as we understand it today. There was, indeed, not a single national state in all Europe.

Thus all the conditions were lacking which are necessary for democratic government to develop. Several hundred years more were to pass before the conditions would be right for the "democratic revolution" to begin.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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Stein, Evaleen. Troubadour Tales. L. C. Page & Company, Boston. Short stories of social life in the Middle Ages.

Tappan, Eva March. When Knights were Bold. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Excellent study of life in western Europe from the eighth to the fifteenth century.

Terry, Arthur Guy (Editor). History Stories of Other Lands. Row, Peterson & Company, Chicago. Book IV, "Lord and Vassal, 1066–1485."

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CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST NATIONAL STATES AND ABSOLUTE MONARCHS

What a contrast is shown by the maps of Europe in 1100 and today! In 1100 there was not a single national state in Europe; today there are nearly 30! (See figure 19 and colored map following page 56.) In 1100 thousands of fighting landlords quarreled and conspired for power. Today more than a score of national governments keep order in Europe.

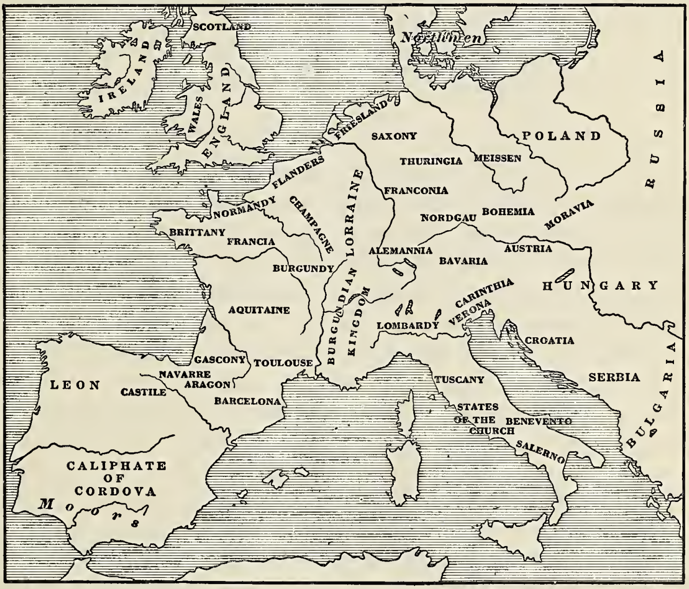

SCOTLAND
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
Northmen
FRIESLAND
SAXONY
POLAND
RUSSIA
THURINGIA
MEISSEN
FLANDERS
FRANCONIA
NORMANDY
CHAMPAGNE
LORRAINE
NORDGAU
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
BRITTANY
FRANCIA
ALEMANNIA
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
BURGUNDY
HUNGARY
CARINTHIA
VERONA
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDIAN KINGDOM
LOMBARDY
CROATIA
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
LEON
CASTILE
BARCELONA
TUSCANY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
STATES OF THE CHURCH
BENEVENTO
SALERNO
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
Moors

FIG. 19. The principal kingdoms, duchies, and counties of Europe in 1100. Had the less important ones of that time also been shown, the map would have been so crowded as to be unreadable

In 1100 there were no *national* languages, and there was little written literature. Today the English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian languages — to name a few — represent an astonishing expansion and improvement in means of communication. With a knowledge of three of these languages one can travel almost anywhere in the Western world.

In 1100 no people recognized themselves as belonging to a definite nationality. There were no patriotic Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, Italians, or Russians. Today in more than a score of nations people are proud to be called of British, Danish, German, Russian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Rumanian, or of some other nationality.

Thus today many national states in Europe fulfill the three tests we have set for them.

When did this formation of strong national states begin?

In the 800 years, therefore, between the 1100's and the 1900's the confused disorder of feudal government gave way to the orderliness and security of national government. Slowly it began in the 1100's and 1200's. Steadily in the 1300's and 1400's it went on. By 1500 the basis had been established; that is, the four westernmost countries of Europe — France, England, Spain, and Portugal — had become strong national states.

To understand fully the growth of national states, we should really study the story of the chief movements and events in Europe after the decline of the Roman Empire. It is impossible, however, to take the space to tell the history of the thousand years — from about 500 to 1500 A.D. — during which the European states of today were forming. We can merely remember that in the 500 years from say 300 to 800 A.D. tribes of barbaric Northern and Germanic peoples invaded the empire and settled at various places, from the British Isles to Italy and the "Germanies." The principal ones and their general locations are shown on the map of figure 20. There were the Britons, Angles, Saxons, Picts, and Scots in the British Isles; the Franks in the general region now covered by France; the Northmen — Vikings — in Scandinavia; and the "Germans" in the general region bounded by Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Austria today.

By about 800 a strong Frankish chieftain named Karl (or

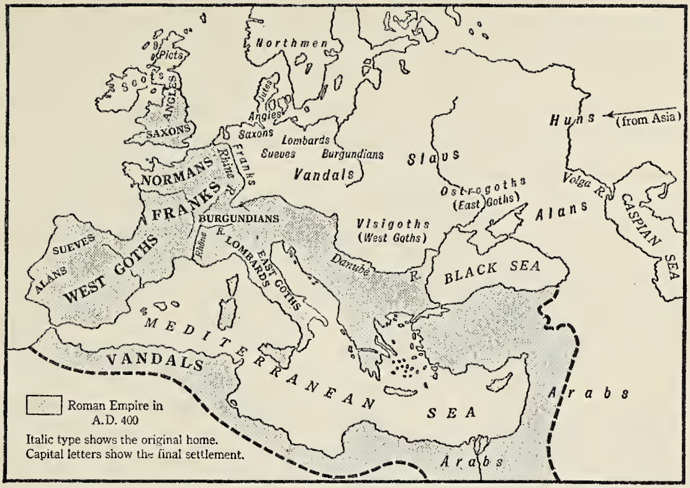

Picts
Scots
ANGLES
SAXONS
Northmen
Jutes
Angles
Saxons
Lombards
Sueves
Burgundians
Vandals
Franks
Rhine R.
NORMANS
FRANKS
BURGUNDIANS
Rhône R.
LOMBARDS
EAST GOTHS
SUEVES
ALANS
WEST GOTHS
Slavs
Ostrogoths (East Goths)
Visigoths (West Goths)
Danube R.
Huns
(from Asia)
Volga R.
Alans
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
VANDALS
Arabs
Arabs
Roman Empire in A.D. 400
Italic type shows the original home.
Capital letters show the final settlement.

FIG. 20. This map shows where the most important barbarian tribes lived before they invaded western Europe and where they finally settled

Charles) had succeeded in conquering the vast territory shown in figure 14, and had been crowned in Rome as Karl the Great, or Charlemagne, emperor of the Roman Empire.

I. THE RISE OF FRANCE AS A STRONG NATIONAL STATE

The growth of a central government

After the death of Charlemagne in 814 his great empire broke up. By 870, after much quarreling, the empire was divided into the West Frankish Kingdom, the East Frankish Kingdom, and the Kingdom of Italy (see figure 14). After hundreds of years the *West Frankish Kingdom became the national state of France, with boundaries approximately the same as those of France today.* In very brief outline the story is as follows.

For several centuries after Charlemagne the people of this West Frankish Kingdom were governed by scores of little lords, all of whom were themselves the vassals of more powerful dukes ruling large duchies. Each large division was really a small independent state with its own laws, its own ways of collecting revenue, and its own unique customs.

By the 1000's these larger districts had fairly well-marked-out boundaries (see figure 21). Among them were Normandy, Brittany, and the county of Flanders on the west; the county of Champagne and the duchy of Burgundy on the east; the duchies of Aquitaine (later called Guienne) and Gascony, and the county of Toulouse on the south.

In the north-central region was a little county that was destined to become famous in world history. This was Francia, the capital of which was Paris. The ruler of this territory was first called the count of Paris, and later the duke of Francia. From the latter title came eventually the name of the great modern nation—France. Paris gradually became a great trading center, not only of the French provinces but also of all western Europe, and by the late 1300's numbered 300,000 inhabitants.

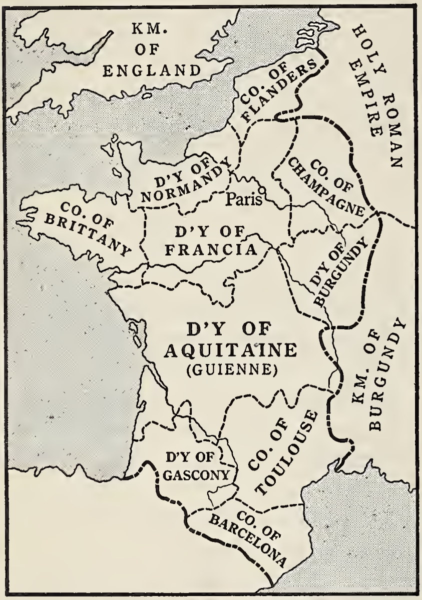

KM. OF ENGLAND
CO. OF FLANDERS
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
CO. OF CHAMPAGNE
D'Y OF NORMANDY
Paris
CO. OF BRITTANY
D'Y OF FRANCIA
D'Y OF BURGUNDY
D'Y OF AQUITAINE (GUIENNE)
KM. OF BURGUNDY
CO. OF TOULOUSE
D'Y OF GASCONY
CO. OF BARCELONA

FIG. 21. The kingdom of the West Franks about 1000. Note the duchy of Francia and its chief city, Paris

In 987 a strong count of Paris, Hugh Capet, was chosen king of the West Franks. He was a real leader and succeeded in adding to his territory and passing on the throne of his little kingdom to his son. Thus was established the first line of French rulers, the *Capetians* (see Table II). At first the territory *actually ruled over* by these kings was small—little more, in fact, than the immediate neighborhood of Paris. As the centuries passed, however, they slowly achieved more and more power.

Many difficulties had to be overcome by these Capetian kings before they could become really powerful and before France could become a strong nation. In some ways their fairly central position in the kingdom was an advantage; for example, armies could march quickly to other territories. But there were disadvantages too; the duchy of Francia was surrounded on all sides by large counties and duchies ruled by strong lords who owed allegiance to the king but who were unwilling to give it. These lords had to be subdued before safety and power would come to Francia. For that matter, these first Capetian kings did not have very firm control over the smaller lords even on their own estates and manors. Thus their first task was to demand loyalty of their own strongholds — Paris and Orleans. Once that was secured other territories could be conquered and brought under their direct rule.

TABLE II

French Kings from Hugh Capet to Charles VIII (987–1498)
CAPETIAN LINE (987–1328)
Hugh Capet (987–996)
Robert I (996–1031)
Henry I (1031–1060)
Philip I (1060–1108)
Louis VI (1108–1137)
Louis VII (1137–1180)
Philip II (Augustus) (1180–1223)
Louis VIII (1223–1226)
Louis IX (1226–1270)
Philip III (1270–1285)
Philip IV (1285–1314)
Louis X (1314–1316)
Philip V (1316–1322)
Charles IV (1322–1328)
VALOIS LINE (1328–1498)
Philip VI (1328–1350)
John II (1350–1364)
Charles V (1364–1380)
Charles VI (1380–1422)
Charles VII (1422–1461)
Louis XI (1461–1483)
Charles VIII (1483–1498)

So in various ways the kings of France, as they came to be called, added new territories to their realm. Some they conquered from the neighboring lords. Others they acquired by marrying their sons to the daughters of powerful counts, thus bringing more territory into the family. Still other lands they simply took for their own. When certain nobles died without children to inherit their possessions, the kings claimed them for their own. And others they seized by conspiracy.

By such means the Capetian kings gradually gained control over the lands of various feudal lords of France. By the end of the reign of Louis the Fat (1108–1137) they had made good their claims to the lands of the duchy of Francia itself. Then, by force as well as diplomacy, Philip Augustus (1180–1223), Louis's famous grandson, carried on the work. He drove the English kings, who had inherited a great deal of territory in France, out of the valley of the Loire, out of Normandy, and out of Maine and Anjou. He also developed new ways of governing. He established a treasury and a permanent army; he placed *baillis* (bailiffs) in his domains to look out for the king's interests and collect the revenue. He created a council of loyal leaders to help him decide questions of government. Thus Philip did much to make France a real nation and himself the real government.

But the work of another Capetian ruler, Louis IX (1226–1270), or Saint Louis, was also important. Under him government in the modern sense of the word was first established. He extended the institution of the *baillis*, thus keeping his domains closely under control. He divided the council in Paris, which had been established by Philip Augustus, into several bodies. One, the king's council, aided him in the general affairs of the kingdom; the second was the chamber of accounts, attending to matters of revenue; the third was the *parlement*, a court to attend to matters of law. Of the parlement we shall hear much in the later history of France.

Louis IX was recognized throughout all Europe as a wise and just king. One English writer calls him "the king of all earthly kings on account of his [holiness] as also on account of his power and his eminence in chivalry." Thus, under such rulers as Philip and Saint Louis, the kingdom of France steadily expanded and government became more centralized. As this happened the power of the feudal lords decreased.

For 350 years one Capetian son after another inherited the throne of France. Then, in 1328, came a time when there was no son to go on with the work. The throne passed to a cousin, who established the Valois line. By this time a real national state had begun to emerge. In size it had grown from the tiny country of Hugh Capet to a territory two thirds as large as the France of the present day. Only four isolated "fiefs" remained outside the king's control — Flanders, Brittany, Burgundy, and Guienne.

From 1328 to 1498 seven kings of the Valois line ruled France. During this time the unification of the French nation was hindered by "international" conflicts as well as by local warfare.

Between 1337 and 1453 the kings of France were almost constantly at war with their rivals across the English Channel, the kings of England. Suffice it to say here that because of the conquest of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror, duke of the French province of Normandy, there ensued in later centuries a prolonged struggle among rival claimants to the thrones of England and of France. These wars of the 1300's and the 1400's were known as the Hundred Years' War. We need not recount here the details of this constant fighting between nobles while the peasants and artisans, mostly ignorant and uninterested, plodded on their ways. It is enough to say that the struggle ended in 1453 with the elimination of the English claimants to the French throne. Calais was the only French territory still occupied by the English at that time.

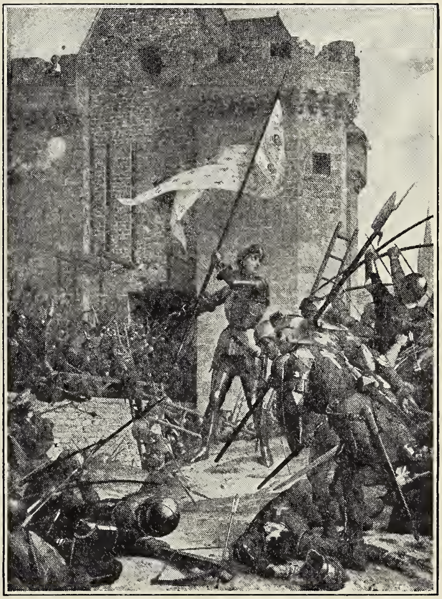


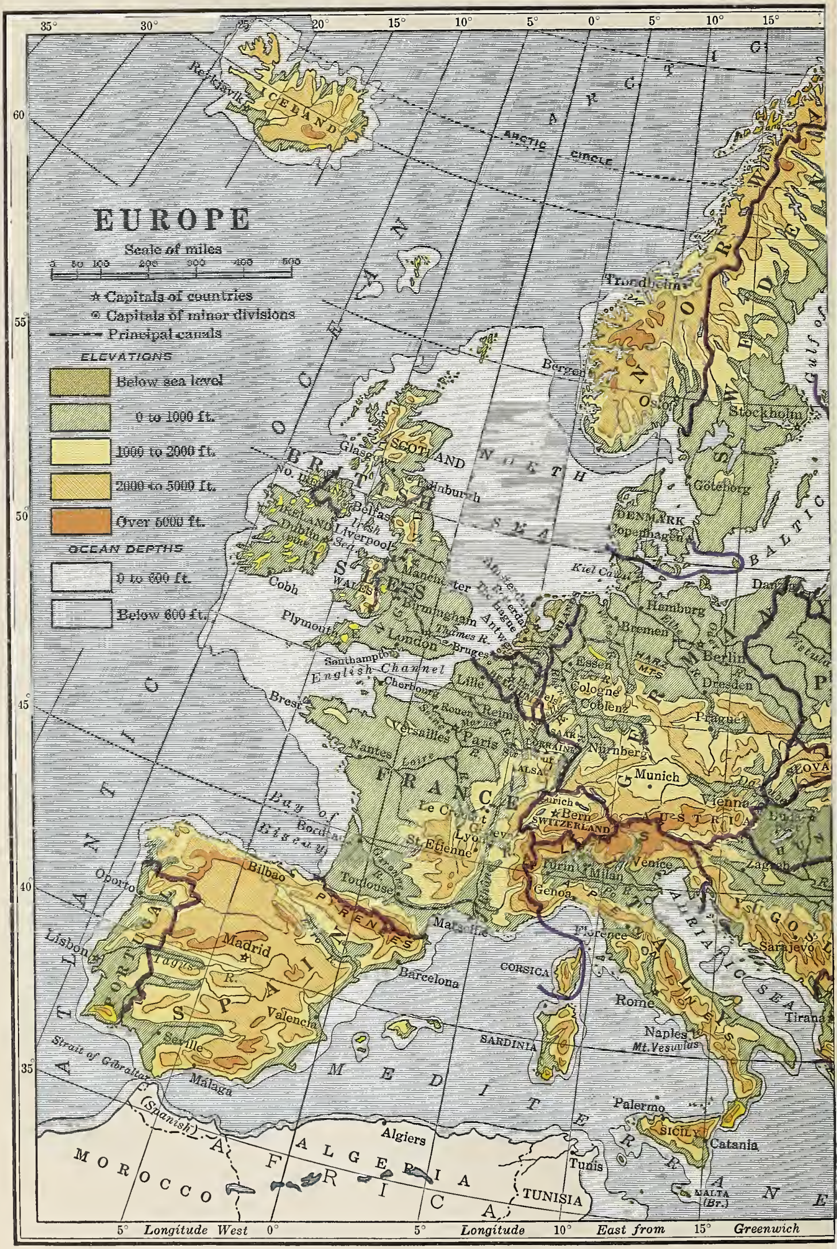
Fig. 22. In 1428 the English laid siege to Orleans. The following year Joan of Arc, then only seventeen years old, at the head of a small French army, raised the siege and rescued the city. (From a painting by Lenepveu)

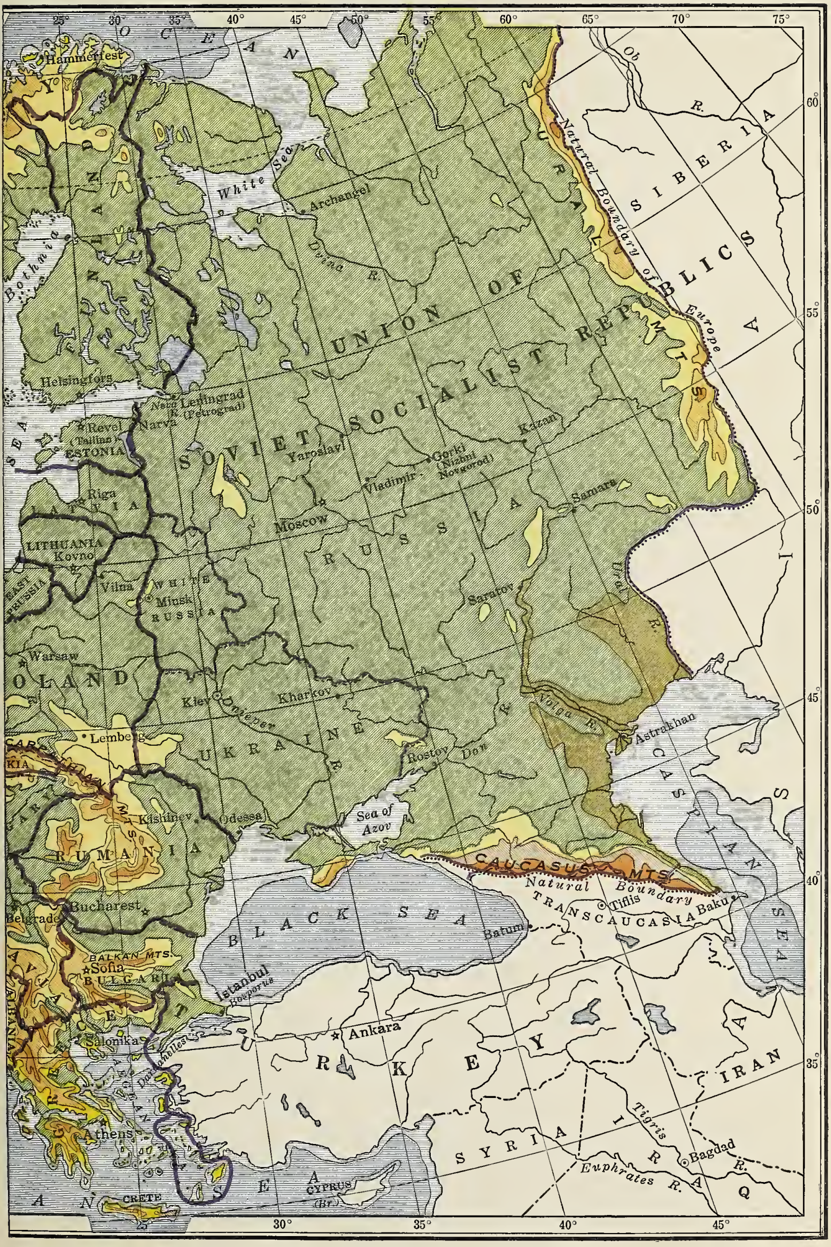
The names of two kings near the end of the period are worth remembering, because they, more than any of the others, subdued fighting nobles and more firmly established the power of the royal house. The first was Louis XI (1461–1483), a clever diplomat and strong leader, who succeeded in bringing most of the provinces of France under his control. The Duke of Burgundy once called him "the universal spider." One of his outstanding achievements was the defeat of this duke, whose ambition had been to establish a new state between France and Germany. Louis checked the Duke and annexed a part of the Burgundian territory. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and other provinces were also brought under his immediate control. In fact, the only large independent fief remaining outside was Brittany.

Not for long, however, did Brittany remain independent, for Charles VIII (1483–1498), Louis's son, married Anne, the heiress of Brittany, and brought that duchy into the kingdom. Thus all the land between the "Germanies" on the east and the English Channel on the west were now united under one ruling house.

By 1500 "France," therefore, had become a large and fairly strong national state. One government controlled the territory extending from the county of Flanders on the north to the Spanish boundary in the Pyrenees Mountains on the south, from the Rhine on the east to the Atlantic on the west. Within this territory, which is approximately the same as that of France today, the ruling power of dukes and counts and other lords had been destroyed. The King of France was now supreme. There was a strong standing army loyal to the King and a system of government officials who kept order in the kingdom and compelled the common people to pay taxes. Roads had been improved, and officials and troops could travel more rapidly from one part of the realm to another. This enabled the King to put down insurrections and to communicate quickly with his subordinates, even those in distant provinces. Methods of trading and exchanging goods had also been improved, and a fairly uniform system of money under the King's control had been developed.

Accordingly, measured by the first test — a strong central government — France had become a national state.


EUROPE
Scale of miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
★ Capitals of countries
⊛ Capitals of minor divisions
Principal canals
ELEVATIONS
Below sea level
0 to 1000 ft.
1000 to 2000 ft.
2000 to 5000 ft.
Over 5000 ft.
OCEAN DEPTHS
0 to 600 ft.
Below 600 ft.
ARCTIC
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Reykjavik
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
No. Ireland
Belfast
IRELAND
Dublin
Irish Sea
Liverpool
Manchester
WALES
Birmingham
Cobh
Plymouth
London
Thames R.
Southampton
English Channel
NORWAY
Trondheim
Bergen
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Göteborg
Gulf of
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Kiel Canal
BALTIC
Danzig
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
The Hague
Antwerp
Bruges
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
Brussels
Lille
Cherbourg
Brest
Rouen
Seine R.
Reims
Versailles
Paris
Nantes
Loire R.
FRANCE
Le Creusot
Lyon
St. Etienne
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Marseille
LORRAINE
ALSACE
SAAR
GERMANY
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe R.
Berlin
Essen
Cologne
Coblenz
HARZ MTS.
Dresden
Prague
Nürnberg
Munich
Vienna
Zurich
Bern
SWITZERLAND
ALPS
AUSTRIA
SLOVAKIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Zagreb
YUGOSLAVIA
Sarajevo
Tirana
ITALY
Turin
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Po R.
Florence
Rome
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
APENNINES
ADRIATIC SEA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
Palermo
Catania
MALTA (Br.)
SPAIN
Bilbao
PYRENEES
Madrid
Tagus R.
Valencia
Barcelona
Seville
Málaga
Strait of Gibraltar
PORTUGAL
Oporto
Lisbon
MEDITERRANEAN
(Spanish)
MOROCCO
AFRICA
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
TUNISIA
35° 30° 25° 20° 15° 10° 5° 0° 5° 10° 15°
60 55 50 45 40 35
5° Longitude West 0° 5° Longitude 10° East from 15° Greenwich


25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°
55°
60°
65°
70°
75°
O C E A N
Hammerfest
Ob
R.
S I B E R I A
60°
White Sea
Archangel
Dvina R.
Bothnia
Helsingfors
U N I O N   O F
S O V I E T   S O C I A L I S T   R E P U B L I C S
U R A L   M T S.
Natural Boundary of Europe
55°
Neva R.
Leningrad (Petrograd)
Narva
Revel (Tallinn)
ESTONIA
SEA
Yaroslavl
Gorki (Nizhni Novgorod)
Kazan
Vladimir
Riga
LATVIA
Moscow
Samara
50°
R U S S I A
LITHUANIA
Kovno
EAST PRUSSIA
Vilna
Minsk
WHITE RUSSIA
Saratov
Ural R.
Warsaw
OLAND
Kiev
Dnieper
Kharkov
45°
Volga R.
Astrakhan
Lemberg
U K R A I N E
Rostov
Don R.
CASPIAN SEA
Kishinev
Odessa
Sea of Azov
RUMANIA
CAUCASUS MTS.
Natural Boundary
40°
Bucharest
Tiflis
TRANSCAUCASIA
Baku
Belgrade
BLACK SEA
Batum
BALKAN MTS.
Sofia
BULGARIA
Istanbul
Bosporus
ALBANIA
Ankara
Salonika
T U R K E Y
Dardanelles
IRAN
35°
Athens
Tigris
S Y R I A
I R A Q
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
CRETE
CYPRUS (Br.)
S E A
30°
35°
40°
45°

A national language — French — also developed

A second most important influence in the development of France as a nation was the emergence of a unified national language. To understand this, let us note briefly the rise of national languages in western Europe.

How modern languages developed in Europe

At the height of the Roman Empire, say during the first three centuries after Christ, Latin was widely used throughout western Europe. It was the language used by the Roman soldiers, by the merchants in the Roman garrison towns, and by the traders who traveled from province to province. All treaties, state papers, and other legal documents were drawn up in Latin. Latin was also the language of the Catholic Church,—of its councils as well as its ritual, — of the universities, and of such literature as was considered worth putting into written form. Even after the decline of the Empire, Latin continued to be used for centuries as the only means of written communication among the peoples of Europe.

After the invasions of the various German tribes in the 300's and 400's, however, the rôle of Latin as the spoken language of Europe gradually declined. For quite a while, of course, people in the lands once included in the Empire continued to speak a language which was still in large measure Latin. Then as the power of the German and Frankish chieftains grew, as trade and travel increased, and as a more national spirit developed in each region, new local languages appeared. These were mixtures of spoken Latin and the German dialects brought in by the invaders. As the generations and centuries passed, new and fairly distinctive languages developed in each of the chief national regions.

Although little is definitely known of the steps by which the modern languages of Europe developed, one conclusion is clear. Out of this complex mixing of tribes, races, and nationalities, and of points of view and ways of living, there developed two principal groups of language: (1) the Romance languages and (2) the Germanic languages. The Romance languages developed from the spoken Latin *within* the Roman Empire; the Germanic languages developed generally *outside* the boundaries of the Empire.

Naturally there are close resemblances between many words in each of the great branches of these languages — in the Romance languages, for example, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. They were all — even English and German — more or less influenced by the common basis, namely, spoken Latin. Consider the following example:

Our word *figure* is ultimately derived from the Latin *figura.* In Italian and Spanish it remained *figura.* In French it became *figure*; in German, *Figur.*

Other striking examples of similarities between the modern European languages and Latin are the following:

English	*German*	*French*	*Latin*
mother	*Mutter*	*mère*	*mater*
father	*Vater*	*père*	*pater*
brother	*Bruder*	*frère*	*frater*

The growing national French language helped to unify the national state

For centuries after the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, many curious mixtures of Latin dialect were spoken in the various parts of France. Gradually, however, these dialects became two fairly distinct languages, each based upon the spoken Latin of the earlier Roman Empire. The first was the language of the northern provinces, which, because of the importance of Paris and the French kings, came to be called French. The second was the language of the southern provinces, called Provençal. The people who lived in the central part of France naturally spoke a mixture of these two.

Then in the 1300's and 1400's, as the French kings extended their control over the entire region and as good roads made trade and communication between distant provinces easier, the language of the northern section became more common. In the border provinces of the south, however, Provençal still predominated as the spoken language, and the influence of the developing Spanish language was plain. On the east the Germanic influence was great. We can see, however, that another of the tests of a national state — that of a national language — was beginning to be met.

National literatures also slowly developed

In the same centuries during which national monarchies were forming, national literatures, made up of poems, songs, plays, and stories, also were slowly beginning to take shape. With education at a low ebb and with national states almost entirely unformed, it was not to be expected that people would write highly perfected literature of the types we know today. There were no great authors, poets, dramatists, or essayists of whom the people could be proud and through whose works national spirit could develop.

In the later Middle Ages — after about 1000 — there did begin to appear in many regions, however, a kind of unwritten literature which was passed on from one generation to another by word of mouth. Verses were recited and sung by poets who lived at the courts of kings and nobles, and by traveling bards and troubadours. Slowly an epic literature grew, which eventually played an important part in the building of national spirit among the various peoples of Europe.

Although many of these epics told of heroes of earlier times and of other lands, — of Troy, of Persia, and of Rome, — many of them were also national. For example, among the West Franks even in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. there were poets and troubadours who sang and recited long epic poems about the leaders who were considered national heroes. Among these were poems about King Clovis (Louis) and Charles "Martel" (the Hammer). Martel had, in 732, administered a crushing defeat to invading hordes of Moors who had advanced as far as Tours. After 800 Charlemagne and his generals appeared as the leading heroes of these epic poems. One of the best known of these is the *Chanson de Roland* ("Song of Roland"), which tells of the heroic deeds of an officer in one of Charlemagne's armies. This is supposed to have been first written down in the later 1000's — let us say, 200 years after Charlemagne's time.

In the southern French provinces the poetic songs were accounts of the life of knighthood and chivalry. Here lived many famous troubadours, who went from one court to another playing some instrument, usually the lute, and reciting their legendary pieces. They did much to make nobles and commoners enthusiastic over the heroic deeds of national leaders.

The epics were thrilling tales of adventure. As they were passed on from one generation to another, events in them were more and more exaggerated, until the kings and nobles of whom they told became merely legendary figures. Yet they served the important purpose of developing a national loyalty and of stirring a deep emotional spirit among the people.

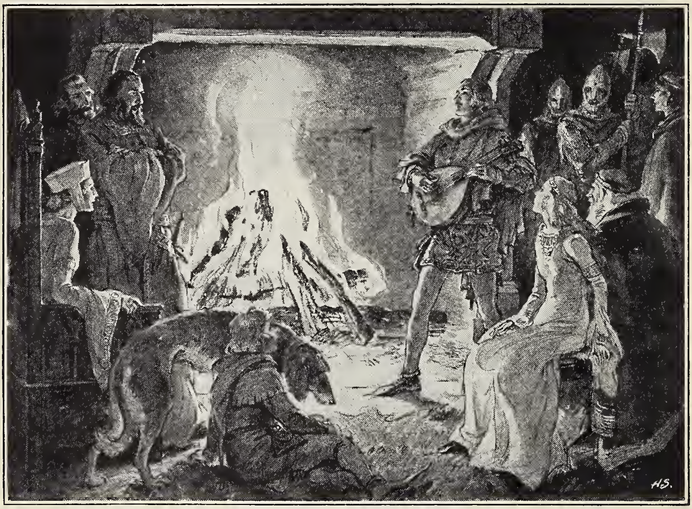


FIG. 23. Troubadours were welcome guests in the days when amusements were few. They brought news of distant places, and their songs were stirring and entertaining

Thus in France, in the period between 1100–1300, such songs, epic poems, stories, and prose romances gradually formed a written literature. In the 1200's French began to supplant Provençal as the literary language of France. This written language aided in establishing and spreading French as a national tongue. But it did much more than this. As the literature of their heroes developed, the people of France began to think of themselves somewhat less as members of a province or a duchy and more as members of a nation — as *Frenchmen.*

Indeed, by 1500, according to our three tests of a nation France had reached at least a crude national state: (1) a strong central government ruled the people; (2) a single language was fairly common in various districts; (3) the people had begun to think of themselves as Frenchmen. The whole conception of *democratic* government as we know it in the Western world today was lacking.

II. The Rise of England as a National State

What is known of the earliest history of the British Isles has been pieced together from the relics of the old Celtic and Briton civilizations which preceded the coming of the Angles, Saxons, Danes, and Norsemen.[1]

Our brief story begins with the England of the Anglo-Saxon kings in the period from about 700 to about 900 A.D. In these two centuries England consisted of several small "kingdoms." School histories of England today often refer to the "seven kingdoms" of England, and call them the Heptarchy. However, only three of these were important in the government that afterwards became England — the Kingdom of Northumbria (north of the Humber), called in the 600's the Pirate Kingdom; the Kingdom of Mercia (the region in the Midlands); and the southern Kingdom of Wessex, which later included London. The kings of Northumbria were supreme during the 600's, the kings of Mercia during the 700's, and the kings of Wessex (West Saxons) during the 800's and 900's. On the fringe of these little kingdoms were other peoples — the Welsh in Wales, the Picts in Scotland, and the mixture of Irish and Norsemen in Ireland.

From time to time in these centuries before 1000, certain kings were much more powerful than others. For example, King Offa of Mercia, who reigned from 757 to 796, was so powerful that he was recognized by the Pope as "King of all the English." The Emperor Charlemagne also recognized him, and even married one of his sons to one of King Offa's daughters.

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[1] For dramatic accounts of this history see such books as Henrietta E. Marshall's *An Island Story: A Child's History of England* (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York) and Eleanor Hull's *Northmen in Britain* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York).

Alfred the Great

But the greatest of all these early kings was the Wessex King Alfred (871–901). So strong was he that he was recognized as king by practically all the lords of England. It is said of this king that in the whole history of the world no monarch was ever more entitled to be called "the Great." He possessed a rare combination of military strength, true religious spirit, unusual scholarship, and fine administrative ability. Besides being the greatest soldier of his time and a hero because of his success in

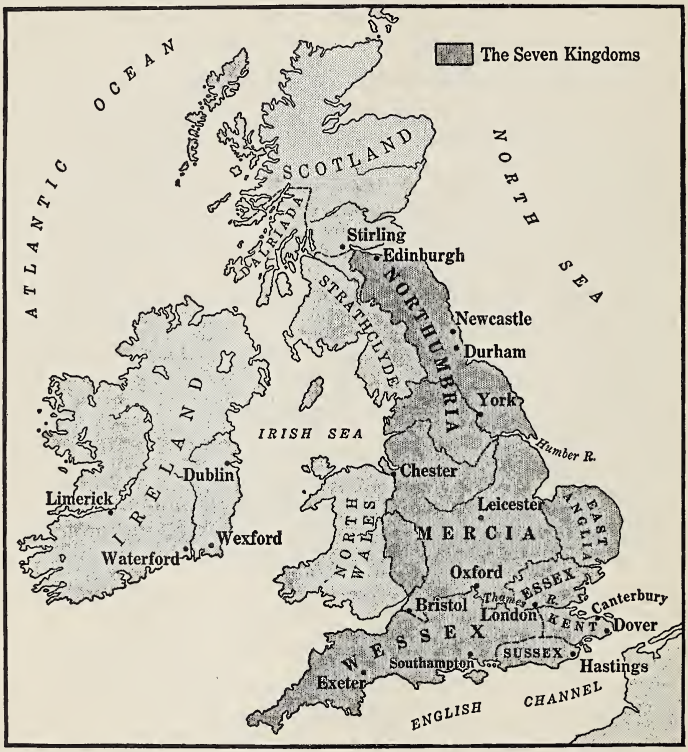
▨ The Seven Kingdoms
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
DALRIADA
Stirling
Edinburgh
STRATHCLYDE
NORTHUMBRIA
Newcastle
Durham
York
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
Humber R.
Chester
Dublin
Limerick
Leicester
EAST ANGLIA
NORTH WALES
MERCIA
Wexford
Waterford
Oxford
ESSEX
Thames R.
Canterbury
Bristol
London
KENT
Dover
WESSEX
SUSSEX
Southampton
Hastings
Exeter
ENGLISH CHANNEL

FIG. 24. The division of the British Isles about 800. Note, in particular, the seven kingdoms which later became a national state — England

repelling the invasions of the Danish Northmen, he was also a real intellectual leader. He himself translated many of the outstanding "classics" of his time into the vernacular of Anglo-Saxon England, and had a history of his country written. Furthermore, he demanded that the children of the nobles in his court be educated. We are told that at one time he exclaimed: "God Almighty be thanked that we now have a supply of teachers!"

Under Alfred, handicrafts, arts, and architecture flourished as they never had before in that country. Himself a skillful designer of articles in gold and silver, he set an example which attracted to his court clever craftsmen in metals, as well as designers of buildings and writers.

Furthermore, because of tremendous administrative ability, Alfred really *ruled* as well as *reigned*. He planned the expenditures of his government in accordance with a systematic "budget." He personally regulated the finances of the kingdom, *giving half of his revenue to religious and educational purposes*! (That no government does even today.) He codified the laws of the kingdom, making a system which one prominent historian declared was really *national*: "They were not only for his own Kingdom of Wessex, but for all Englishmen." He also reorganized the government of local communities as well as that of the central divisions of the kingdom. In Alfred, therefore, England had the first true English monarch, a ruler regarded by many students as superior to most of the conspicuous figures in world history.

FIG. 25. A statue of the great king, Alfred

For a hundred years after Alfred's time his successors, the kings of Wessex, ruled as kings of England. As the generations passed, the Saxons of the south slowly became unified with the

Angles of Mercia and Northumbria. Gradually they came to be known as English, rather than by their separate names. Even by the 1060's, however, little real national feeling had developed, and a national language and literature were still lacking. The four main dialects — Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish — were still spoken. Furthermore, the people showed little evidence that 800 years later they would become the greatest empire-building nation of the world. Generation after generation when they were not defending their country from invasion they continued to tend their flocks of sheep and to eke out a living on their small farms. Of trade with other countries there was little.

Then came the Norsemen, and British civilization was transformed

After 900 the civilization of the British Isles was greatly changed by the invasions and conquests of the Norsemen, called the Vikings. To understand the manner in which the Norsemen changed English life, let us note briefly their general characteristics and their widespread influence in many other parts of Europe.

THE TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE OF THE NORSEMEN ON THE CIVILIZATION OF ALL EUROPE

These Norsemen,— the Vikings,— after the decline of the Roman Empire, had brought new customs and new energy into the civilizations of central and western Europe. Southward from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark they had moved in great waves, settling the northwestern districts of Europe and the British Isles. It was they also who helped to found western "German" civilization. And it was they who provided much of the daring, initiative, and organizing ability that developed the Frankish kingdom.

These Vikings combined the traits needed for emigration and settlement, for trade, invention, and government. They were fighters of tremendous ability, as is shown by their repeated invasions of Europe. What vitality and energy they had, too!

What tremendous distances they traveled! They built up the thousand-mile water route from Scandinavia and the Baltic, up the rivers of northern Russia, down the rivers of southern Russia to the trading city of Kiev, and thence to the Black Sea and Constantinople. Far away in eastern Europe this great trading route was being built in the 800's while their brother Vikings on the west were moving southward on other long invading and settling expeditions. The scene of their western conquests ranged from the Norman settlements on the northern coast of France to the Danish settlements in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

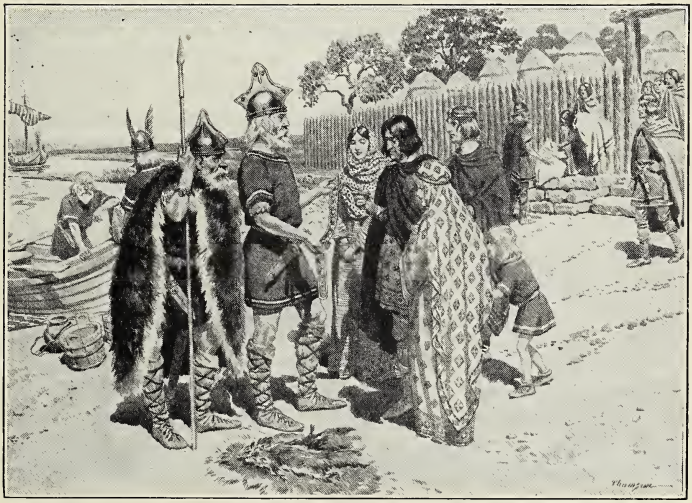

FIG. 26. The Norsemen displaying their wares to the Russians. What differences do you see between the cultures of the two peoples?

As you can see, these Norsemen were not merely marauding vandals like the Mongol tribes of central Asia. They were settlers and intelligent traders. The water route through Russia, for example, was essentially a *trading* route, inspired by the desire to buy and sell goods with the Eastern Roman Empire and the peoples who came to the trading crossroads of Asia Minor. Similarly, it was the desire for comfortable homes that led them to develop the rich duchy of Normandy on the northwest coast of France. Thus we find these Norsemen traveling and trading all over the known world — indeed, out on the frontiers of the unknown world. They explored Iceland and Greenland, as well as the coast of North America, long before Columbus and the Cabots. They bargained with Arab merchants on the eastern Mediterranean, and received hospitality from and gave armed help to more than one Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. Thus they influenced the entire continent.

It was new groups of these Norsemen who brought about the transformation of the quarreling kingdoms of the British Isles into the truly national state of *England*. England, in turn, became the nucleus of the *Great Britain* we know today. Let us note briefly, therefore, how this first transformation of peoples into the nation — England — took place under the leadership of the Norsemen.

After 900 A.D. waves of invading Norsemen settled in France and the British Isles

To understand what took place in the latter 1000's, we must bear in mind the quiet invasion of groups of Norsemen that had been going on for nearly 200 years. Throughout the 900's and 1000's, groups of Danes and other Norsemen, after raiding the northwest coast of France, had obtained land from the French leaders and, settling there, had developed their own civilization within it. Gradually they had come to be called Normans and, as you know, their land — Normandy — became one of the leading provinces of France. Their leaders, the dukes of Normandy, were among the most daring and powerful of French nobles.

During these same centuries, other groups of Danes swept in upon England, Wales, and Ireland in one invasion after another. After conquering different localities, they settled down in the midst of the Anglo-Saxons, the Welsh, and the Irish, and developed their own ways of living. So many of them came into England that one prominent historian speaks of London as "having become half barbarized at this time by the abundance of its Danish inhabitants." He names various streets in the growing city which were inhabited almost entirely by Norsemen.

These newcomers introduced new blood and a more alert and driving spirit into the civilization of the people. Whereas the English were inclined toward sheep-raising and agriculture, the business-minded Norsemen concentrated in towns and developed trade. Indeed, they were among the first city business men of the new European civilization. Ports were built upon the east coast of Ireland and at Bristol, Chester, and other towns in the west of England, some of which were to become centers of world trade. Under their influence a considerable trade grew up across the Irish Sea.

In the meantime London, York, and other leading cities also developed into important international centers. German merchants began to cross the North Sea to trade with these new Englishmen. A system of trade developed, even as early as 1000, which reached into Asia Minor. When compared with the variety of goods exchanged in our day the articles of trade were, of course, very limited. Raw wool, the hides of animals, and metals were the chief exports from England, and silks, wine, oil, jewels, and other treasures of the East were the principal imports. But, at least, trade did develop which was to help break down the warring spirit between the divisions of the island and create the beginnings of a national state.

We must know one other fact concerning the industry and trade of England before we can understand the important events which took place after 1065 — that is, the relation between England and the county of Flanders on the northern border of France. The Flemish people were of somewhat the same stock as the Anglo-Saxons, who were now becoming English. During these earlier Middle Ages a remarkable wool-weaving industry had developed among them. As the climate and other geographic features of Flanders were not well suited to raising sheep, the Flemings imported wool from England, where sheep-raising had long been an important industry. For many generations English leaders had tried to develop the weaving industry in their country, but they had failed. Even in the 1000's most of England's wool was made into cloth and garments by Flemish weavers.

The Norman Conquest and the New Norman-English Civilization

Then in 1066 an epoch-making event occurred — the overwhelming defeat of the English king, Harold, at the battle of Hastings and the complete conquest of England by a new group of Norsemen. This time, however, they were Normans from the French duchy of Normandy, under the leadership of Duke William, known as the Conqueror.

For many years William and his progressive Normans had eyed enviously the rich lands across the narrow English Channel.[1] But as long as England had as her close ally the Count of Flanders, — William's immediate neighbor and rival on the North, — he hesitated to attack. Finally, however, circumstances enabled him to take England's ally away from her: William married a daughter of the ruling house of Flanders. Now, William was ready for his great opportunity.

At a strategic moment in 1066 when the English king, Harold, was away from his southern lands repulsing an invasion of Norwegians on the northeast, William sailed across the Channel with a powerful Norman army. He skillfully avoided the English fleet and landed on the defenseless English coast. King Harold, with only a small army, and unaided by his allies from Northumbria and Mercia, rushed southward to battle the Normans at Hastings. His undisciplined troops were no match for the powerful Norman host, however, and in spite of the bravery of the English they were completely routed. One historian says of this battle:

> It is an astonishing fact that they repulsed two tremendous assaults; but they, or their leader, were incapable of an organized counter offensive. The territorial levies were even incapable of obeying orders; William was able to decoy them into a pursuit most probably by the old Danish trick of a feigned flight. They were ridden down in the open by cavalry, and the position once being pierced, the Norman archers were able to co-operate with the stormers by searching the rear ranks of the defending line with a shower of dropping arrows, to which the English could not reply. From noon to September twilight the hopeless

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[1] It is only twenty miles wide at its narrowest point — one of the roughest of the world's narrow ocean thoroughfares, however.

struggle was maintained, until the King and the flower of his army had fallen at their posts. Only under cover of darkness were the last survivors swallowed in the gloom of the great forest behind.[1]

So England was conquered by the Normans. But William desired to be more than "the Conqueror." He wanted to be truly the king of England, accepted by all English nobles. Within a short time he had secured the loyal approval of some of the leading lords, and on Christmas Day, 1066, was elected king of England and crowned in Westminster Abbey.

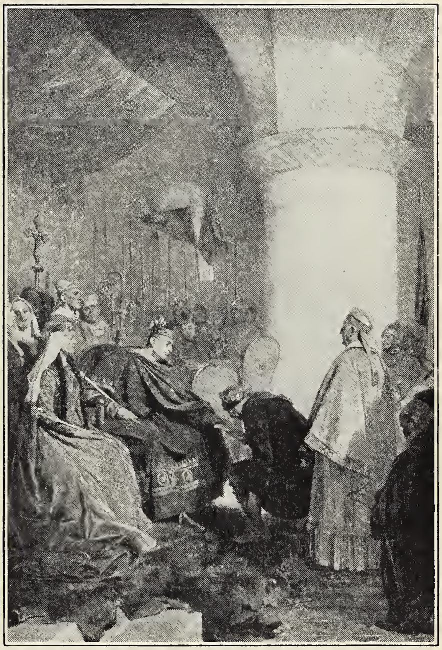

Fig. 27. William the Conqueror granting a charter to the citizens of London. (From a painting by Seymour Lucas)

In spite of frequent revolts, which he always put down successfully, William ruled England as king for 21 years (1066–1087). Gradually he brought all the nobles under his control. England was once again at peace. For 850 years his descendants have held the throne. Besides England, from time to time they governed much of France also. For example, Henry II (1154–1189), William's great-grandson, claimed and obtained loyalty from the nobles and the people of more of France than did the so-called king of France himself. He, like many other rulers during these centuries, accomplished this by inheritance from both sides of his family and by marriage, rather than by conquest.

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[1] Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, *The History of British Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 118. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1928.

As the great-grandson of William the Conqueror, he inherited the duchy of Normandy and control over Brittany, and by his marriage to Eleanor, heiress of the duchy of Aquitaine, he controlled that region also. Furthermore, from his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, he received the French provinces of Anjou and Maine. Thus, Henry II, the first Plantagenet king, ruled much of France and all of England for 35 years.

TABLE III

English Rulers from William the Conqueror to the Tudors (1066–1485)

NORMAN LINE (1066–1154)
William I (1066–1087)
William II (1087–1100)
Henry I (1100–1135)
Stephen (1135–1154)

ANGEVIN LINE (1154–1399)
Henry II (1154–1189)
Richard I (1189–1199)
John (1199–1216)
Henry III (1216–1272)
Edward I (1272–1307)
Edward II (1307–1327)
Edward III (1327–1377)
Richard II (1377–1399)

LANCASTRIAN LINE (1399–1461)
Henry IV (1399–1413)
Henry V (1413–1422)
Henry VI (1422–1461)

YORKIST LINE (1461–1485)
Edward IV (1461–1483)
Edward V (1483)
Richard III (1483–1485)

Henry improved the law courts of France and of England, developing local courts and arranging for judges to travel regular circuits. He inaugurated the plan followed today of having a grand jury assembled at regular intervals to hear accusations against lawbreakers. By 1300 it had become standard practice to leave decisions in legal cases to juries of twelve men.

We shall learn in a later chapter of the development of English government under the other ruling houses that followed the descendants of William the Conqueror. Now, however, our chief interest is in the development of England into a national state and in the spread of Norman culture.

Effects of the new Norman-English civilization

Under William the Conqueror and his successors Norman civilization spread rapidly through England. It is impossible to state definitely how many Normans emigrated to England at that time, but the number must have been large. At any rate, their ideas of well-organized law and government were introduced and were mixed with established English customs. It is not too much to say that the Norman Conquest brought system into English government. Norman officials were appointed to most of the government posts, both in the central government and in local communities, and a more orderly régime was thus developed.

There were other important results of the Norman Conquest. One was that after the battle of Hastings there were no more successful invasions. It is true that civil war went on for centuries, and that relatives and friends, fathers, sons, and brothers conspired against one another for the throne of England; but attack from outside invaders ceased.

National business life also developed in the next few centuries under Norman leadership. Merchants emigrated from Norman cities in France and built up thriving businesses in London, York, Bristol, and other cities, and Flemish weavers developed the woolen textile trade in various English towns.

Another important result was the adoption of a new style of architecture then being developed in France. Norman architects were brought over from Normandy; in a few decades stone buildings, castles, cathedrals, and monasteries dotted the landscape of England. One writer has said that these "castles and cathedrals are sagas in stone." Furthermore, as the first Norman rulers were European in interests and customs, they brought the French language to England, and new support for the religion of the Roman Catholic Church, which the rulers of the English kingdoms had embraced nearly 500 years earlier. Through them a new national spirit and a thoroughly Catholic religious atmosphere arose in England.

With the danger from outside interference subsiding and feudalism declining, one strong central government succeeded another. A more unified civilization steadily developed. Immediately after the Norman Conquest many a man was heard to say resentfully, "Do you take me for an Englishman?" But the distinctions between Normans and Englishmen gradually ceased to exist. The contempt which the ruling Normans at first had for the English gave way to pride in their own "English" nationality. By 1200 one announced with pride, "I am an Englishman!" Thus long before 1500 England had begun to resemble a national state.

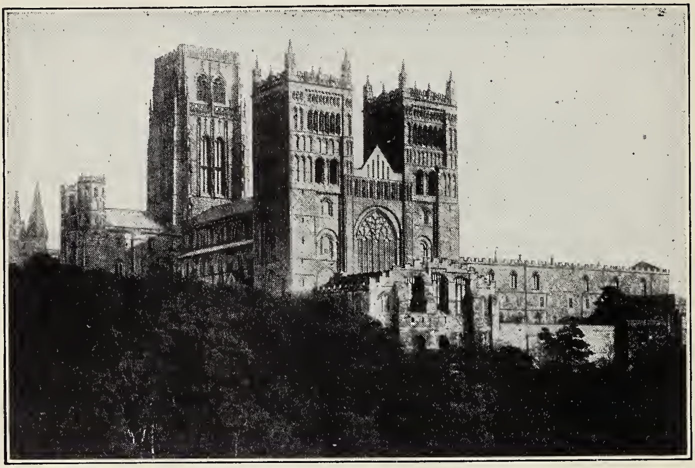

Fig. 28. Durham Cathedral in England is one of the early buildings designed there by Norman architects

The Unification of the English Language and Literature

As we have just said, when the Normans came to England they brought the Norman-French language with them, and it became the language of the court and of most of the government. As thousands of merchants, artisans, and officers of the Church continued to come into the country from Normandy, French became even more common. Thus a fifth language was added to the confusion of tongues already being spoken in England — the other four being the main dialects of Northumbria, of Mercia, of the West Saxons, and of Kent. These dialects, which had been introduced by the first Anglo-Saxon invaders, were somewhat like the other Germanic languages of northwestern Europe. Furthermore, the Danes who had arrived in the 900's and 1000's spoke still another. In spite of this, each new wave of immigration, although it added new words to the existing languages, was gradually absorbed by the majority of the inhabitants. Even by 1100, however, no common language had been developed.

In the meantime there had been little *written* literature, and hence there was little standardizing of the language. Under King Alfred the Great, however, the classics of that time and the history of England were written in the West Saxon dialect, which for a while became the standard literary language. An example of Anglo-Saxon, written about 1150, will show how unlike our present English it is.

AN EXAMPLE OF ANGLO-SAXON WRITING, ABOUT 1150[1]	TRANSLATION INTO PRESENT ENGLISH
Here on thissum geare Willelm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle thone eorldom on Northymbraland. Da komon tha landes menn togeanes him & hine ofslogen, & ix hund manna mid him.	In this year King William gave the Earl Robert the earldom of Northumberland. Then came the men of the country against him and slew him, and nine hundred men with him.

Later, as in other parts of Europe, traveling bards helped to develop an unwritten epic literature. No doubt they preserved the epic of *Beowulf*, which belongs to the 600's. Bards also sang of the deeds of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table,[2] the story of which you probably know.

In the 1100's the upper classes, generally, spoke French, and as one historian puts it "the grand old English of Alfred had now become the patois of boors."

But years passed; one generation succeeded another; the Normans became English; and a new language appeared as a result of the intermixture of peoples. London was becoming the literary and cultural center of England as well as the political and business center, and consequently the East Midland dialect developed most rapidly. But how changed this new language was! Many softer and more musical French words had been added to it. Perhaps you frequently hear the phrase "the King's English" used today to characterize the best English language possible. When you do, remember that English resulted after centuries from the intermixture of the dialects of the Anglo-Saxons, of the Danes, and of the Norman-French.

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[1] Adapted from James Harvey Robinson's *Ordeal of Civilization* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1926), p. 197.

[2] See the collection of them in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur.*

By 1400 a language had developed which was more like the language of a single nation than the dialects of earlier times had been. This is plain in the writing of England's first great national poet, Chaucer (about 1340–1400). Chaucer's great poetry was musical and beautiful. Read aloud the following selection from *The Canterbury Tales*, and see how closely it resembles the English of today.

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.

Chaucer's influence on the development of the national language was very great. His writing set a standard of excellent form, which was copied all over England. Thus it helped to unify and standardize the national language,—English,—as had King Alfred's fine old West Saxon 400 years earlier.

Another event which greatly aided the improvement and standardization of the English language was John Wycliffe's translation of the Bible into English. His work made it possible for the first time for the English people to read the Bible in their own tongue. We shall have occasion to hear of this great man Wycliffe in another chapter.

By 1400, therefore, the dialects of the various peoples of England had practically disappeared and a national language had developed. Of course, as we saw in the selection from Chaucer, the language still *looked* different from the language of today. There were many letters, including final *e's*, which have since been dropped; and there were other differences in spelling. As one historian described it, however, "It was a language of which any nation might be proud, simple and practical, as befitted the English character, and yet with unlimited possibilities of rich and poetic expression." Less than 200 years later William Shakespeare proved what possibilities for great literature this language had.

England, then, had been transformed from the confusion of Britons, Celts, Angles, Saxons, Danes, Normans, and other tribesmen into a fairly unified national state under a single monarch, with a single language and a growing national literature. It fulfilled in general the requirements of our test of a national state.

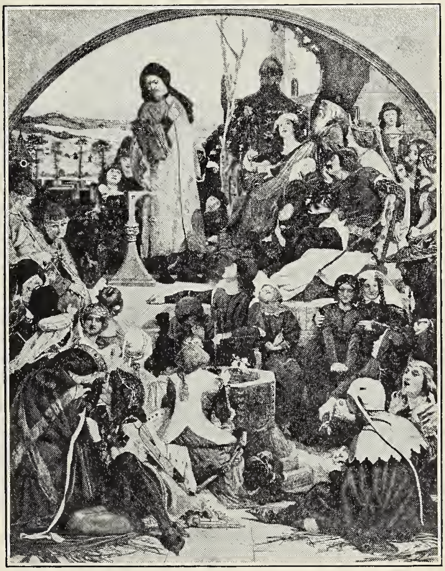


FIG. 29. Chaucer reading his tales to the court of Edward III. (From a painting by Ford Madox Brown)

III. SPAIN ALSO BECAME A NATIONAL STATE BEFORE 1500

In the meantime, on the Spanish peninsula two more national states had arisen — Spain and Portugal. Three hundred and fifty years before the Norman Conquest of England, warlike Moors had swept across northern Africa, crossed over to Europe, and overrun the region now covered by Spain and Portugal. For several hundred years after 700 they governed the peninsula and made most of its inhabitants conform to the Mohammedan religion. But the Mohammedan religion never reached farther north; all the rest of central and western Europe was Christian.

These Moors were a most enterprising and creative people. At the very time when other parts of Europe were in the Dark Ages of semicivilization, the Arab culture of Spain had advanced rapidly. The agriculture and industry of the peninsula had become most productive, and handicraft had reached a high point of excellence. Art and science were more highly developed there than anywhere else in Europe.

Large, beautifully proportioned palaces and other public buildings had been constructed by this gifted people. Note, for example, the magnificent royal palace — the Alhambra — which was built by the Moorish kings at Granada (see figure 30). This palace has been regarded as one of the great achievements of Arabic culture.

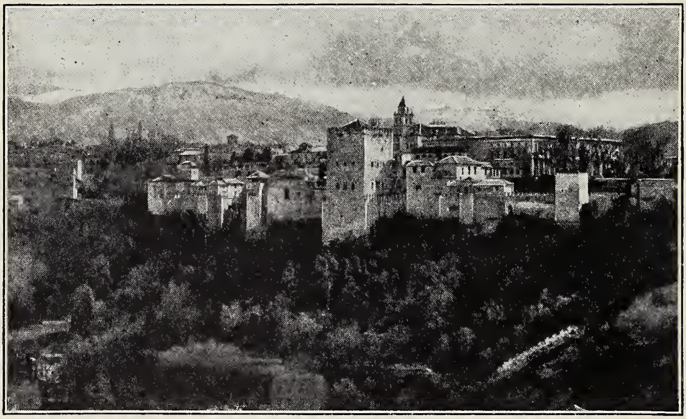


FIG. 30. Most of the Alhambra was built between 1248 and 1354. It covers 35 acres and is inclosed by a wall

The cities of Spain had grown into large metropolises. Even before 1000 Cordova, for example, numbered 500,000 people and had become a great trading and educational center. It had hundreds of mosques (Mohammedan churches), more than 300 public baths, and a university with several thousand students.

All this the Moors had achieved while the rest of Europe was almost totally illiterate and art, science, and literature, as well as handicrafts and trade, were at a low stage of development. Unfortunately, the wonderful civilization of the Moors declined after the eleventh century. The constant warfare into which they were plunged after that date made it impossible for them to maintain their position in the peninsula.

During the 800's and 900's Christian nobles had established themselves in small provinces in the northern section in Spain and south of the Pyrenees Mountains. The outstanding leaders among them were the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Aragon, and the king of Navarre. As years passed, the story of the rise of kingdoms in France and England was repeated in the Spanish peninsula. Spanish kings gradually asserted their control over larger and larger areas. The armies of Castile, for example, steadily drove the Mohammedans southward, and as early as 1085 captured Toledo and made it once more a Christian city. In the meantime the kings of Aragon had extended their territories to the south and east.

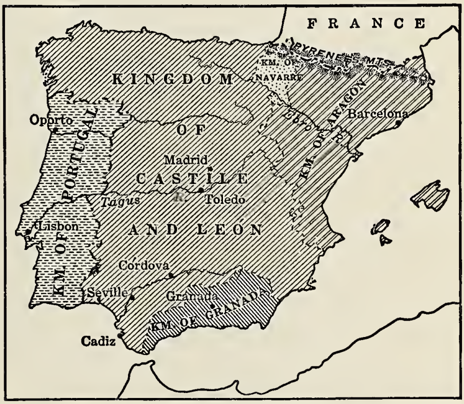


Fig. 31. By 1500 Spain controlled all the land on the peninsula except Portugal

Throughout the next century and a half the Christians steadily drove the Moors toward Africa. By 1250 Castile included all the territory west of Navarre and east of Portugal, except the small mountainous kingdom of Granada, on the Mediterranean. In this southern extension the Castilians had also taken the great port of Cadiz, the prosperous city of Seville, and the university city of Cordova. But for 200 years more the Moors continued to hold the little kingdom of Granada.

So by the late 1400's the peninsula consisted of the large kingdom of Castile and Leon, which occupied about two thirds of all the territory; the smaller kingdom of Aragon; the tiny kingdom of Navarre, which reached across the Pyrenees into France; and the mountain territory of Moorish Granada. On the west coast of the peninsula the small independent kingdom of Portugal had developed. This much had been accomplished by the several hundred years of Christian reconquest.

Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand join Castile and Aragon in 1469

The first important rulers in all these hundreds of years whom we need to remember are Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon. Through the marriage of these two in 1469 all of Spain was brought together except for the little kingdoms of Navarre and Granada. Two other important events occurred during their reign. The first was the conquest of the city and kingdom of Granada in 1492, which marked the end of Moorish power in western Europe and almost completed the unification of the Spanish kingdom. (In 1512 King Ferdinand of Aragon conquered the southern part of Navarre, rounding out the territory of Spain and leaving it about as we know it today.)

The second important event you already know from your studies of the history of the United States. That was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, whose voyage had been made possible by the financial help of Queen Isabella. As you have learned, this discovery brought great wealth to the rulers and the nobles of Spain, and made Spain one of the leading kingdoms of the world for 100 years more.

Before leaving this short sketch of the rise of Spain as a national state, we must note the part played by the religious zeal of the Spanish rulers in wiping out one kind of culture and in developing another. Although Christian kings now ruled the entire peninsula, hundreds of thousands of Moors still lived in the central and southern regions. Jews had settled in many of the cities of Europe and great numbers of them lived in Spain. One historian sums up the situation by saying that the Moors and the Jews "were the most industrious, skillful, and thrifty among the inhabitants in Spain," and that they "well-nigh supported the whole kingdom with the products of their toil." Indeed, the Moors and the Jews brought industry, trade, architecture, the arts, and sciences to a remarkably high state of development.

Nevertheless, the Christian Queen Isabella and her successors were so determined to rid themselves of their Moorish and Jewish subjects that for more than 100 years they persecuted them mercilessly. Religious courts, established by the state, arrested and convicted tens of thousands of persons who were suspected of heresy. No more horrible tale of torture and execution is recorded in the history of Europe than that which took place in Spain at this time. It did indeed achieve the aims of the Christian rulers: it drove the Moors and the Jews out of Spain. But it is the judgment of many historians that it also crippled Spain and was the fundamental cause of her later decline as a center of civilization and culture.

Although the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon had brought most of Spain under a single family, nevertheless Castile and Aragon continued to be practically independent countries. For example, each had a separate parliament called the Cortes; each had its own governing officials; each collected its own taxes; and each continued for hundreds of years to live according to its own customs. Each had its own language and, as in France and England, the people of the various sections of the country had developed fairly different customs and ways of living. Castilian — the language of Castile — was regarded as the finer language, however, and eventually became the Spanish of the written literature as well as that of the more educated and cultured people. The language of Aragon was called Catalan. As Castilian rose in importance, Catalan became more and more the inferior form of speech.

Spain, like France and England, was becoming a national state by 1500. Although they had separate parliaments and separate bodies of officials, the two parts of Spain were united under a single crown, they were gradually adopting a more unified language, and the people were coming to regard themselves as Spaniards.

IV. By 1500 Portugal also became a National State under a King

In the meantime the small kingdom of Portugal on the west coast of the peninsula had also become an independent Christian monarchy, with a continuous line of ruling kings who kept the entire territory under the control of a central government. Indeed, if only the test of government is applied Portugal was a national state even by the middle of the 1200's.

After that time, and especially in the 1400's and 1500's, Portugal became one of the leading sea powers of the European world. You know from your study of history of the remarkable series of discoveries in Africa and in the Far East and of the great world trade developed in the 1500's and 1600's under powerful Portuguese rulers interested in navigation. Prominent in this history is the name of Prince Henry the Navigator.

In Portugal as in England, France, and Spain national feeling and a national language steadily developed. Portuguese, like Spanish, French, and Italian, was one of the Romance languages. Like the others it developed slowly from the spoken Latin used by the inhabitants who resided in the region after the decline of the Roman Empire. By 1500 Portuguese had become a distinctive language. And, as in France and England, a written national literature gradually developed.

V. Other Political Divisions in Northern and Eastern Europe in 1500

These, then, were the four important national states of Europe — England, France, Spain, and Portugal. There were other small independent states in various parts of Europe. In the extreme north, for example, there were the kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, covering in general the same territories that they do today. From time to time these kingdoms had been joined together, but after the reign of Gustavus Vasa (1523–1560) Sweden became an independent kingdom. Norway and Denmark were ruled under Danish rulers as one kingdom until 1814.

There were also other political groups in eastern and northern Europe. The *Slavs*, for example, consisting of the Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian groups, were ruled in several divisions. The leading one was the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, of which Moscow was the capital. (See figure 32.) There were also the kingdom of Poland, the grand principality of Lithuania, and the kingdom of Hungary. Extending over many small states of the Balkans and along the southern coast of the Black Sea down into Asia Minor was the large empire of the Ottoman Turks. These were all scattered principalities, and for several hundred years none of them was destined to play an outstanding part in the development of the world's march toward democracy.

VI. The Holy Roman Empire: Hundreds of Small German States

While the four national monarchies of England, France, Spain, and Portugal were forming, what was happening to Germany? Had it also become a strong national state under a king?

No, Germany was still the "Germanies"— a hodgepodge of no less than 300 states — free cities, baronies, archduchies, margravates, duchies, counties, and other feudal estates, many of them covering a territory of only a few square miles. Almost every one of these divisions governed itself. You will understand conditions fairly accurately if you picture a thoroughly feudal condition existing throughout the "Germanies," even as late as 1500. The larger territories, such as the archduchy of Austria, were ruled by powerful dukes; the smaller ones by bishops, counts, barons, or lesser nobles.

This whole region, called the Holy Roman Empire and shown within the heavy boundary on the map of figure 32, was held together, however, in a kind of loose confederation. It was not an empire in the real sense of the word; that is, it was not a state made up of peoples of various languages and races, paying allegiance to a single ruler. Neither was it Roman, for in 1500 it extended southward only as far as the northern boundary of the Swiss Confederation and the northern Italian city states. A world-renowned French writer of the eighteenth century of whom you will learn later — Voltaire — once said that the Holy Roman Empire was not at all well named: it was not an empire, it had nothing to do with Rome, and it certainly wasn't holy.

There was, however, at least the form of an empire. An emperor was *elected* by seven of the chief rulers of the "Germanies." These "electors" were the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine. On the death of a ruling emperor these electors met and chose the next ruler from one of the German principalities. As a result of the nonhereditary nature of the imperial throne, the power of the smaller nobles continued to be very great. Frequently, for example, the electors agreed upon the emperor elect only after he in turn had promised to leave each of them independent to govern his own state as he wished. Thus, during the very period in which strong kings were unifying England, France, Spain, and Portugal, the "Germanies" continued to be a confused group of independent and quarreling principalities.

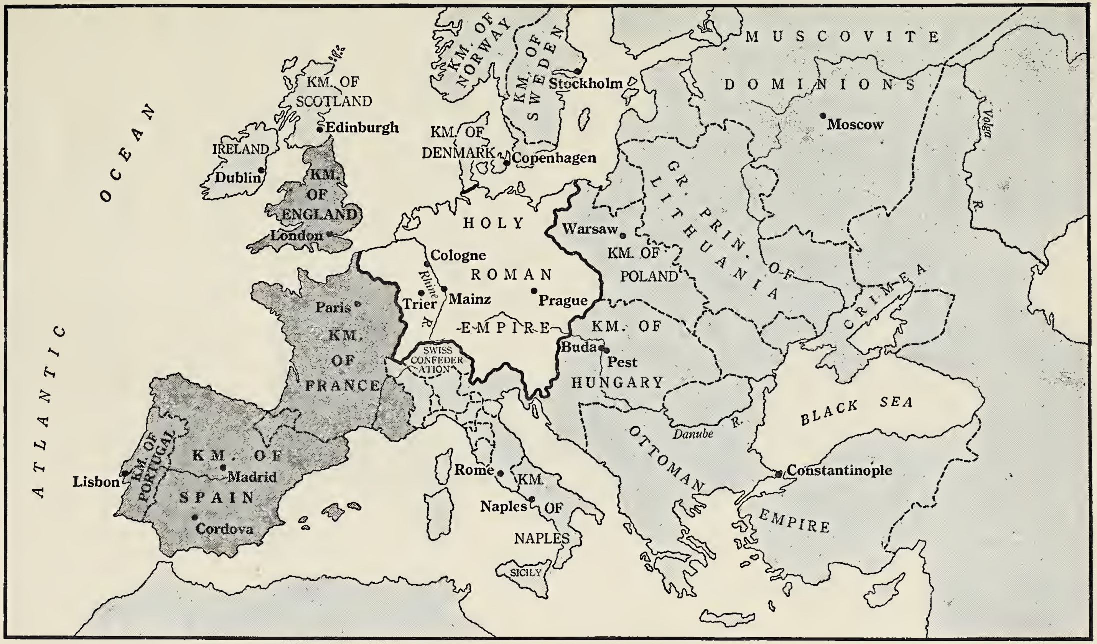
In 1273 Rudolph of Hapsburg — member of a family that had originally been located in a small section of Switzerland — was elected emperor of this so-called Holy Roman Empire. Rudolph was a strong leader and soon added the duchies of Austria and Styria to his own possessions. In the next 150 years his successors steadily conquered more land, and by the early 1400's the archduchy of Austria was one of the most powerful political states in central Europe. Hence the German electors tended, generation after generation, to choose the archduke of Austria as the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Consequently, the House of Hapsburg became the most important ruling family in central Europe and remained so for several hundred years. Indeed, the Hapsburgs continued in power in Austria until the close of the World War in 1918!

THUS ABSOLUTE MONARCHS RULED EUROPE

Our brief sketch of the rise of national states has made one fact clear: in 1500 the Europeans had hardly started on their march toward democracy. It is true that England had made a beginning, but on the continent government was autocratic. It was absolute.

Everywhere government was undemocratic according to modern ideas. The few ruled the masses. A tiny group of kings and nobles governed; the millions of common people supported them. A single person and his favorites decided everything. Even the intelligent scholars and business men were denied a share in government.

There was no voting by the people; there were no parlia-



KM. OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
KM. OF ENGLAND
London
OCEAN
ATLANTIC
KM. OF NORWAY
KM. OF SWEDEN
Stockholm
KM. OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
MUSCOVITE DOMINIONS
Moscow
Volga R.
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Cologne
Rhine R.
Mainz
Trier
Prague
Warsaw
KM. OF POLAND
GR. PRIN. OF LITHUANIA
CRIMEA
Paris
KM. OF FRANCE
SWISS CONFEDERATION
KM. OF HUNGARY
Buda
Pest
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
KM. OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
KM. OF SPAIN
Madrid
Cordova
Rome
KM. OF NAPLES
Naples
SICILY

Fig. 32. Europe in 1500. The darkened areas indicate the four nations which had grown up by this date

ments which really represented the people. There were no elected officials; all were appointed by the king. Government was absolute! This was the condition before Europeans started on their march toward democracy.

And then came epoch-making and world-changing episodes. Then came events of great significance in the development of freedom of thought and speech, of the civil and political rights of men, and of better ways of living. These events dealt with every aspect of civilization and culture: the creation of totally new methods of industry, agriculture, and business; the invention of new kinds of government; the exploration and settlement of strange and hitherto unknown continents; the devising of new and creative arts and new customs and standards of value.

The events themselves were not political; they had nothing to do immediately with government. They had to do with *new ways of thinking*! They ushered in the scientific revolution, the real basis of the march toward democracy.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Baldwin, James. The Story of Roland. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Bolton, Ivy May. The King's Minstrel. L. C. Page & Company, Boston. Social life in Norman England.

Cather, Katherine Dunlap. The Castle of the Hawk. The Century Co., New York. Rudolph of Hapsburg; the guilds.

Converse, Florence. Long Will. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Medieval England; Chaucer.

Goodenough, Lady. The Boy's Chronicle of Muntaner. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Struggle of the Christians and Moors in Spain and the consolidation of Castile and Aragon.

Hutchinson, Horace G. The Greatest Story in the World (Second Period). D. Appleton and Company, New York. From the dissolution of the Roman Empire through the Middle Ages.

Paine, Albert Bigelow. The Girl in White Armor. The Macmillan Company, New York. Excellent.

Scott, Sir Walter. Ivanhoe. Saxons and Normans in England.

Stein, Evaleen. Pepin. L. C. Page & Company, Boston. Social life in early France.

Tappan, Eva March. In the Days of Alfred the Great. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston.

Tappan, Eva March. In the Days of William the Conqueror. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston. The early life of the Conqueror and his conquest of England.

Wilson, Calvin Dill. The Story of the Cid. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston. Spain and the Moors.

CHAPTER V

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION: NEW WAYS OF THINKING

One day in 1590 a crowd of students and professors from the University of Pisa gathered around the base of the famous leaning tower. (See figure 33.) Eagerly they looked upward to the platform at the top, where several other people were leaning out, straining their eyes to watch the downward course of two balls of lead,— a large 100-pound ball and a little one-pound ball,—which had just been pushed out from the top.

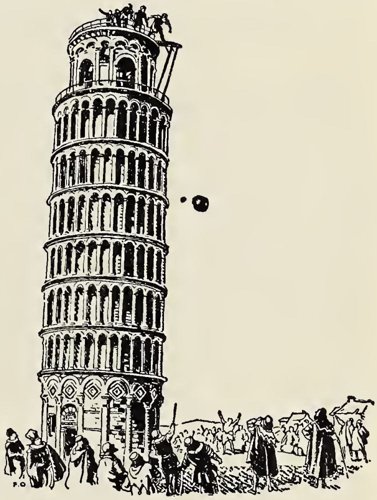


Fig. 33. Galileo's experiment

What was the excitement about? An experiment! One of the first scientific experiments in the modern world— a simple one, but a very important one! Galileo Galilei, professor of mathematics in the university, was testing a hypothesis concerning falling bodies originated by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), the Greek scientist and philosopher.

Up to this time people had believed Aristotle's hypothesis— namely, that the velocity of two falling bodies would be in proportion to their weights. In other words, they believed that a 100-pound weight dropped from a great height would strike the ground in one one-hundredth of the time that it would take a one-pound weight. Galileo had said that this hypothesis was ridiculous, and that two such bodies would strike the ground together. To test the truth of his *hypothesis* and disprove that of Aristotle he had planned the simple little experiment of dropping the two balls.

Imagine the suspense while everyone watched the descending balls that day! Down they came together, neither gaining on the other, and they struck the ground, as nearly as the critical eyes of doubters could measure, at the same time! Thus an old *hypothesis* which had been held for 1900 years was demolished. A new *hypothesis* (namely, that, allowing for the friction of air, all bodies fall from the same height in equal time) was confirmed.

Galileo's experiment illustrates the new ways of thinking that ushered in the scientific revolution

One central factor has produced the changing governments and changing cultures of modern times — NEW WAYS OF THINKING! After 1500, *men began to think differently.* They thought about making things in new ways; as a result they made power-driven machines. They thought about buying and selling things in new ways; as a result they accumulated vast amounts of capital through corporations. They thought about transporting things and communicating with one another in new ways; as a result they made better ships, trains, and telegraphs, and finally the radio to bind the distant continents of the world tightly together. We call all of these new ways of doing things the Industrial Revolution.

Men also thought about religion in new ways; and new churches and new points of view about worship resulted. They thought about civil and political rights in new ways; and new experiments in government resulted.

Thus the very basis of our changing civilization lies in new ways of thinking. After 1500, *men came to think things out for themselves instead of accepting everything on faith* as their ancestors had done. Instead of accepting the dictates of kings and lords, they began to think about governing themselves. Instead of worshiping as the officers of the established churches told them to do, they began to think out their religion for themselves. Instead of planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops as their forefathers had done for thousands of years, they began to think out new and better ways. Thus in every aspect of life new ways of thinking resulted in new ways of living.[1]

What is the scientific method of thinking?

The new ways of thinking differed in one important respect from those which had characterized men's thought for thousands of years — *they were more scientific.* About the 1500's educated leaders began to think in ways that we call today *scientific.* To appreciate the astonishing changes that came in Europe after 1500, therefore, we must understand clearly what is meant by "the scientific way of thinking," or more briefly expressed — the *scientific method.*

In these books we have referred frequently to the discovery of this scientific method of thinking. But thus far we have defined and discussed it only in a very general way. We have said, for example, that it was "thinking things out from facts," . . . "drawing conclusions from careful observations," etc. We have also said that one of the four fundamental factors that produced both American and European civilizations was the scientific way of doing things. Science led to the successful invention of engines, machines, railroads, telegraphs, airplanes, and radios, and also to the new experiments in government.

But to understand the development of science in the modern world, we must study carefully the steps involved in scientific thinking. Let us consider some practical examples; from them we can learn just what the scientific method is. First, note again Galileo's experiment. Besides being a good story, it illustrates admirably the essential steps in this method.

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[1] *An important caution.* In our studies we speak frequently of this new period in the culture of civilization as developing after 1500. This precise dating of the scientific and intellectual awakening of Europe is, of course, merely for convenience. No sudden revolutionary change in attitudes or ways of living occurred in the year 1500 or even in the generation or two immediately after. Some changes had been occurring for several centuries preceding 1500; others occurred soon after that time. For example, we have already learned of the awakening interest in trade in Europe after 1100 and the establishment of new contacts with Asia. Thus gradually during the three or more centuries preceding 1500 the basis had been laid for the more rapid development of new ways of living after that date. However, so many radically new ways of thinking and living actually came about in the 1500's and 1600's that for convenience we can date the scientific revolution and the beginning of the modern world with the year 1500.

First: Think out hypotheses. The first step is to think out a conclusion from all the available facts. Such a conclusion is called a hypothesis. It is not a mere guess; it does not depend on whim, for it is based on careful observations. Nevertheless it needs to be *tested* with further observations; so we call it a *hypothesis.*

Aristotle and Galileo both thought out hypotheses in the case of falling bodies. But the two men arrived at very different hypotheses. One (Galileo) said the velocities of bodies falling from the same height would be equal; the other (Aristotle) said the velocities would be proportional to their weights. Each man *reasoned* from his observations and stated his hypothesis.

FIG. 34. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.)

Second: Observe accurately. Hypotheses must be based upon careful *observations.* Both Aristotle and Galileo based their hypotheses upon observation of falling bodies. We know that Aristotle was one of the first scientists to practice the art of observing carefully the world about him and to urge others to do so. Galileo too was famous as an acute observer. Evidently Galileo's observations were more accurate than Aristotle's; for his hypothesis was proved to be correct, and Aristotle's wrong.

Third: Experiment to test the truth of the hypothesis. In the problem of falling bodies Aristotle ignored this step, as most earlier scientists did. But Galileo, having reasoned out a hypothesis by observing the speed at which bodies fell, prepared a careful *experiment* in which to *test* his hypothesis. He pushed two balls of very different weights from the top of the leaning tower of Pisa and observed very carefully the time which each required to fall to the base. Thus Galileo *experimented to test the truth of his hypothesis.* As we shall learn more fully later, the testing of hypotheses under practical conditions, observing as accurately as possible the happenings during the experiment, was an aspect of the scientific method which developed chiefly after 1500.

Fourth: Measure exactly. But to observe accurately the changes which occur during an experiment one must *measure* accurately. For example, Galileo needed apparatus (1) to be sure that the balls left their height at exactly the same moment; (2) to be sure that they struck the base at exactly the same moment; (3) to measure accurately the time of their fall. When he performed this experiment there were no mechanical or electrical timepieces or other kinds of exact measuring apparatus like those we have now. He was compelled to improvise a "water clock," which was, of course, exceedingly inaccurate. In another experiment Galileo needed to measure the time of each swing of a lamp swaying in a church tower. Having no accurate timepiece, he was compelled to count his pulse to determine the number of seconds required for each swing of the lamp. Not a very accurate way to measure, no doubt you are thinking. To arrive at a sound conclusion from an experiment, therefore, one must be able to *measure* with great exactness the facts observed.[1]

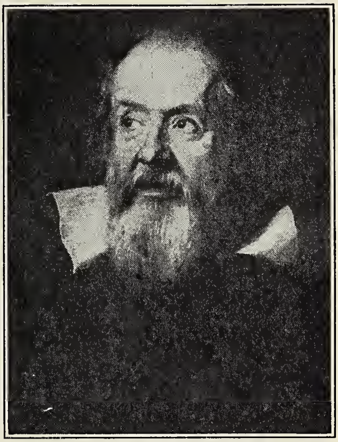

Fig. 35. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). (From a painting by Sustermans)

Fifth: Collect many measured facts. Modern scientists do not depend upon a *single* experiment for their conclusions. They must have many observations. For example, William Harvey, physician to both James I and Charles I of England, spent years in making painstaking experiments on the circulation of the blood. Like Galileo, he tested his hypotheses by many practical experiments and observations. To do this he dissected many animals

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[1] On this important point see Volume V, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, Chap. XVI, pp. 383–388, "Reasoned Conclusions versus Unreasoned Opinions."

— snakes, dogs, cats, — in all *87 different species*, before he was willing to publish his conclusion. After twelve years he gave his conclusion to the world (1628), having proved that, propelled by the beat of the heart, the blood circulates through the body continuously.

Sixth: Tabulate and classify the measured facts systematically. Another difference between modern science and earlier ways of thinking is that in a truly scientific experiment facts were carefully classified. For example, as just stated, Harvey made experiments and measured observations upon 87 different species of animals. To keep all these facts systematically in mind, he was compelled to tabulate and classify them in orderly arrangements.

Seventh: Drawing conclusions, finding scientific laws, and making predictions. Now we come to the last step of the scientific method — namely, drawing a conclusion from the facts which will confirm or refute the hypothesis made at the beginning of the experiment. In a general way this can be done as Galileo and his observers did it — *by observation.* But to do it accurately, the scientist makes elaborate algebraic and geometric calculations. He is not content to depend even upon systematically tabulated facts. He plots them in graphs, writes equations, and treats them in other mathematical ways. As a result he may succeed in finding such a general truth that it can be called a scientific law, from which predictions can be made of future happenings.

These, then, are the steps of the scientific method of thinking. These are the new ways of thinking that produced the Industrial Revolution with its power-driven machines. These are the ideas that gave the Western nations, especially America, the world's highest physical standard of living.

Modern Science was helped by Knowledge acquired in Earlier Civilizations

The practical knowledge of the ancient civilizations

Were all these ways of thinking invented after 1500? Some were, but not all. Indeed, some were the product of thousands of years of human study by the thinking men of many countries, for the scientific way of thinking is international and universal.

In every country and in every age of man's history upon earth some addition has been made to scientific knowledge.

Much of the practical knowledge upon which our modern civilization is based goes back to the people who lived in Asia and Africa 5000 and 6000 years ago. The recent excavations of archæologists and the translations of long-hidden mysteries in ancient books have proved that from 2000 to 4000 years before Christ highly developed civilizations existed in several fertile river valleys. Among them were the Babylonian civilization of the Euphrates River valley; the Egyptian, of the Nile valley; the Assyrian, of the valley of the Tigris River; the Chinese, of the Hwang and Yangtze rivers; and the civilizations along the valleys of the Indus and Ganges rivers in India.

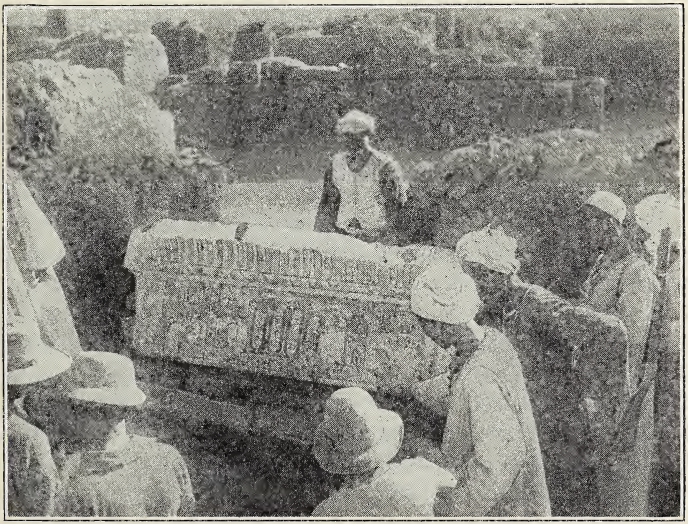

FIG. 36. The slab of painted stone shown in the picture is part of a building erected in Egypt more than 3000 years ago. It still bears the name of the overseer of public works

In each of these five river-valley civilizations a vast amount of practical knowledge was acquired. Much of it was passed on to other peoples living at that time; some of it was passed on to later civilizations. Some of it was lost. As we shall see, this civilization was on a higher level than the Europeans attained several thousand years later, in the Middle Ages.

The chief differences between ancient "science" and modern science

To perceive clearly the additions to the world's knowledge that have been made by modern science since 1500, let us note which of the elements of the scientific method and which sciences the ancients knew and utilized. We shall see that they utilized two of our elements of scientific thinking. That is, (1) they observed certain phenomena and drew hypotheses from them, and (2) they knew that hypotheses should not be based upon a single observation but upon many observations.

Most of the ancient peoples had a practical sort of astronomical knowledge. As early as 3800 B. C. Babylonian priests — and about the same time Egyptians also — had observed with considerable exactness the movement of the heavenly bodies. This knowledge was acquired to satisfy *a practical need* — namely, that of telling time. As a result of their observations of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets, they had a well-worked-out calendar. They also knew the four cardinal points of the compass — north, east, south, and west — and laid out their temples, palaces, and public buildings (and in Egypt their pyramids) with respect to them. Furthermore, they had well-developed star maps and had succeeded in constructing star clocks, somewhat like the sundials of later civilizations.

These ancient peoples had also accumulated many practical observations concerning animal and human life. Physical need had developed the practice of medicine and had begun the study of anatomy, physiology, botany, and chemistry. Records of physicians are found in Egypt as far back as 4500 B. C., and of surgical operations as early as 2500 B. C. In the time of King Hammurabi (about 2100 B. C.) Babylonian surgeons had such technical knowledge and such delicate instruments that they could remove cataracts from the eye.[1]

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[1] But the unscientific attitude of those who made the laws of the land was revealed in one which stipulated that if the patient lost his life or his sight the hands of the surgeon should be amputated!

Thus we see that these ancient peoples — the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chinese — made many observations and drew hypotheses from them. But did they go further? Did they experiment? measure accurately? tabulate? treat their observations mathematically? Did they know geometry, algebra, and what we call higher mathematics?

Yes — and no. They had a very elementary knowledge of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. As early as 2300 B.C. the Babylonians had developed multiplication tables from 1 to 1350, and tables of squares and cubes. They weighed, measured, and counted, but they did so with great inaccuracy in comparison to our modern standards. For example, among the ancient Chinese the unit of linear measurement was the grain of millet. Ten millets laid end to end made an "inch"; ten inches made a "foot." (Note that they used the decimal system.) Considering the variation in the length of seeds and other natural objects which were used in measuring, the inaccuracy of this method is plain.

However, there is little evidence of an interest in *abstract science*, and there were few general scientific laws or mathematical principles. The knowledge was *practical*, suited to the needs of getting a living in a moderately well-developed civilization.

Just what, then, was the state of science in those times?

First, the people accumulated many practical observations.

Second, the results of these observations were utilized in the development of agriculture, handicrafts, building construction, architecture, and medicine.

Third, this knowledge was mixed up with naïve superstitions.

Fourth, there were no *precise* methods of measuring. There were no *exact* scales, balances, transits and levels, sextants, telescopes, or microscopes, such as we have today.

Fifth, there was no knowledge of advanced mathematics of the abstract type; almost nothing was known of algebra and demonstrational geometry. Even the scholars of the times knew little trigonometry, and the analytical geometry, the calculus, and other forms of higher mathematics were quite undiscovered.

The beginnings of abstract science among the Greeks

It was the Greeks and their students — especially Thales (640–546 B.C.), Pythagoras (sixth century B.C.), Plato (about 427–347 B.C.), Euclid (about 300 B.C.), and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) — who first discovered the bases of *abstract* mathematics and science. Whereas the thinking men of the earlier civilizations were essentially practical-minded, primarily interested in riches and comfort, Greek scholars were interested in *abstract* ways of thinking.

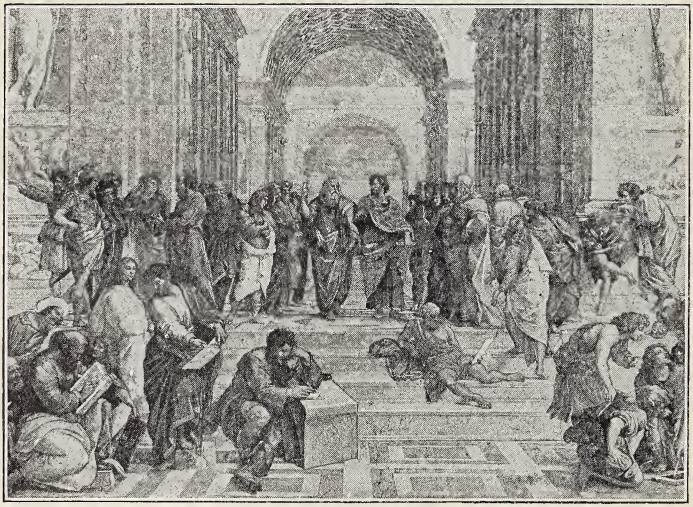

FIG. 37. The school of Athens. Beside the aged Plato stands Aristotle, who was his pupil for twenty years. (From a painting by Raphael, in the Vatican)

For example, the Egyptians studied geometry to determine how to build barns, stairways, roofs, and the like; but Thales, Pythagoras, Euclid, and Aristotle were interested in the *relations between lines, angles, and numbers* — in short, in scientific principles. Thales perceived that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal. Pythagoras and his followers discovered many of the propositions of geometry which now comprise the first, second, and fourth books of Euclid. These propositions are still taught in plane-geometry courses in high school.

The famous Greek geometrician Euclid taught mathematics in his native city, Alexandria, about 300 B.C. Influenced by Pythagoras and Plato, he developed the basis of demonstrational geometry as it was known throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, his work *Elements* is the basis of even modern textbooks on geometry. Euclid was not interested in the *practical* applications of science with which he was surrounded in Egypt, as the following anecdote shows. A practical-minded Egyptian student, rebelling against learning the abstract propositions of Euclid's *Elements*, asked, "What does one profit by learning these things?" Euclid called an assistant to him and said, "Give him money, since he studies for gain." We are also told that a famous saying originated in Euclid's reply to the King of Egypt, who had asked for an easier explanation of certain propositions of geometry. "*There is no royal road to geometry,*" he answered.

The beginnings of natural science among the Greeks are credited to Aristotle, who is frequently called *the first scientist.* Whereas Thales, Pythagoras, and Euclid were interested in abstract mathematics, Aristotle devoted himself to the development of natural science. He was the first great systematizer and classifier of human knowledge, and his influence was felt all over Europe, the Near East, and northern Africa for nearly 2000 years.

There was hardly a subject that was discussed in his day about which Aristotle did not write or study. For example, he wrote a practical book on mechanics, called *The Problems*, in which he explained the principles of the lever, the balance, the wheel and axle, and the rudder. He wrote a description of 500 forms of animals and plants, as a result of which he is sometimes called the first biologist. For this work, it is reported that he dissected animals of 50 species.

Lack of space prevents us from multiplying examples. Enough has been said, however, to show that the work of the Greeks and of their students who collected at the Egyptian city of Alexandria after 300 B.C. laid the foundation for the development of *abstract* mathematics and science.

There is, however, a sharp contrast between the Greek science of 2000 years ago and the modern science which developed after 1500. This is due partly to the fact that the Greek scientists lacked several necessary things, as did the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chinese. First, they lacked accurate measuring instruments. Second, their mathematical methods of treating facts were very limited. Third, they lacked the modern idea of *repeated* experimentation. These deficiencies alone were sufficient to account for their failure to develop natural and physical science more highly. Correspondingly these would account for their failure to produce industrial civilization.

Then came the centuries when science seemed lost

For nearly 1900 years, from Aristotle and Euclid (about 300 B.C.) to Galileo and his contemporaries (about 1600 A.D.), little that was new was added to the scientific knowledge of the world. The chief political movements of this long interval were (1) the decline of Greece, and its conquest by Rome in 146 B.C.; (2) the rise of Rome to a position of tremendous imperial power during the next 400 years; (3) the decline of the Roman Empire in the 300's and 400's A.D.; (4) the migrations of the Germanic tribes and the Northmen; and (5) the thousand years of the building of new national states in Europe. From the standpoint of science this great medieval period was almost barren.

During the rule of the practical-minded Romans abstract science was encouraged very little; it was even hindered. For instance, in the rule of Julius Cæsar the largest Alexandrian library was destroyed, and hundreds of thousands of precious rolls of manuscript were lost. Naturally, the barbarians of the North did not understand the value of scientific learning. Furthermore, the Christian Church, which rose to power after the 300's, had little interest in science. Most of the bishops believed that science was opposed to religion. Only a few scholarly monks were interested in the old manuscripts. Hence, in frequent raids upon centers of learning, libraries and important scientific records were destroyed.

Two influences, however, preserved much of the scientific knowledge

To go back for a moment in our story, we should remind ourselves that civilizations and cultures have always developed through contact between different peoples. Important examples of this are shown in the way in which the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Chinese, and Indians influenced one another. We know, for example, that Indian, Babylonian, and possibly Egyptian goods and ideas had found their way across Central Asia to China as early as 300 B.C., and that these contacts with the outside world led to important changes in Chinese scientific thought. About 130 B.C. the Chinese Empire began to extend its power westward into Turkestan, and this resulted in greatly increased intercourse with India and with the countries around the Mediterranean.

Even earlier the Babylonians and the Egyptians had also borrowed ideas of culture from each other. The Buddhist religion was introduced into China from India some time during the 100 years preceding the birth of Christ, and not long afterwards the Japanese began to borrow from the culture of the Chinese. These are merely a few examples of the fact that knowledge was passed on from generation to generation and from old declining civilizations to young rising ones.

Two important groups helped preserve the scientific knowledge of the ancients during the Dark Ages: (1) the Arabs, who rose to power in Western Asia in the 600's; (2) certain monks and scholars of the Catholic Church. Just a brief word concerning each.

1. *The important services of the Arabs.* In the centuries following Aristotle and the brilliant Alexandrian scholars, the new learning developed steadily throughout Western Asia. The knowledge of the Greeks had been brought into Syria, and Hindu arithmetic and astronomy had been brought in through Persia. Among the Mohammedans of Western Asia after 600, therefore, the Greek science found a rich soil for growth. By 800, in the time of Harun-al-Rashid, the Mohammedan capital of Bagdad was a brilliant center of scientific learning, especially of mathematics and astronomy. An astronomical observatory was built, and very accurate measuring instruments and scientific apparatus constructed. Sextants and quadrants, with which to measure the angular position of heavenly bodies, and surveying instruments were perfected. The Arabs had also constructed new mathematical and astronomical tables, some of which were indispensable to the later development of modern European science.

Furthermore, the works of Aristotle, Euclid, and other Mediterranean scientists had been translated into the Arabic language, and the system of so-called "Arabic" numerals which we, in common with all Western nations, use today was introduced from India and Persia. The records lead us to believe also that the first book called *Algebra* was produced by an Arab mathematician, as were the elements of trigonometry. All this was accomplished by Arab culture before 1300.

The name of one Arab scholar is worth remembering — that of a physician and philosopher, Averröes (1126–1198), who translated and commented on many of Aristotle's works. It was primarily through him that these scientific works of Aristotle became known to Europeans in the 1100's and 1200's.

We have no space here to tell how this knowledge of the Arabs was spread over Europe. Suffice it to repeat that during the more than 300 years when they held Spain and Portugal, such cities as Cordova, Granada, Toledo, Barcelona, and others became brilliant centers of a highly developed Moorish civilization.

Thus the science of the Greeks and the Alexandrians was preserved for the Europe of 2000 years later, and was also added to by talented Arabic mathematicians and scientists.

2. *Some scholars of the Catholic Church also devoted themselves to science.* In the meantime, in the isolated monasteries and towns of Italy, France, Spain, England, Ireland, and the "Germanies," scholarly monks of the Catholic Church devoted themselves to the preservation and development of scientific ideas. They laboriously copied manuscripts dealing with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and other studies, and translated Arabic scientific works into Latin, the only written language which was understood by all the scholars of Europe. They traveled about between the western monasteries of Ireland and the churches of the Eastern Roman Empire, slowly spreading scientific ideas over all Europe.

Roger Bacon: medieval devotee of the scientific method

One name that is of historic importance in this connection is that of Roger Bacon (1214–1294). Bacon was an English Franciscan monk, a highly educated and widely traveled Oxford

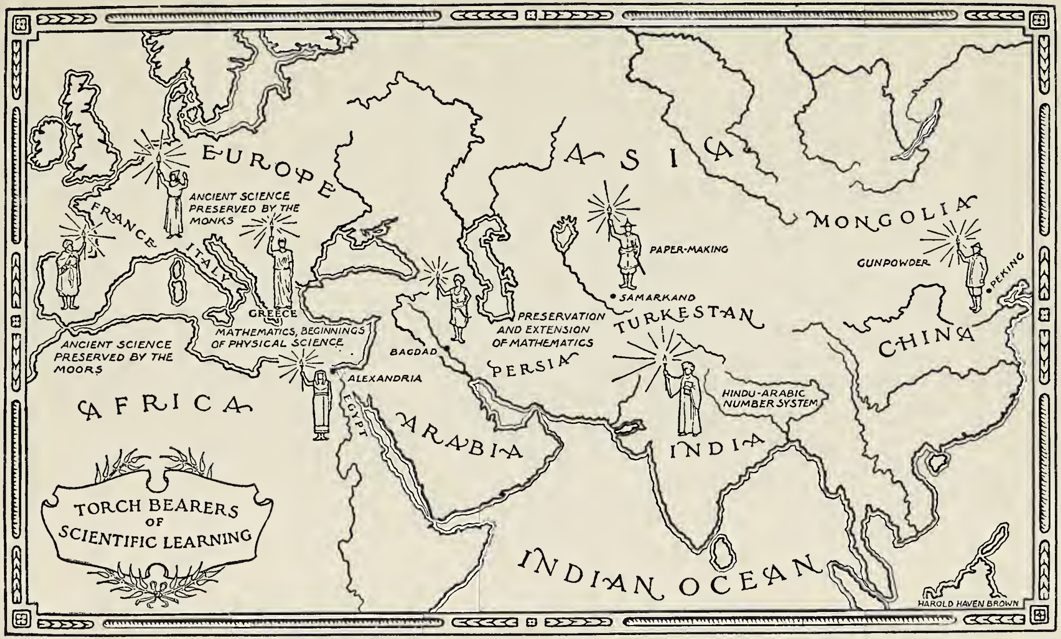
TORCH BEARERS OF SCIENTIFIC LEARNING
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
FRANCE
ITALY
GREECE
EGYPT
ARABIA
PERSIA
TURKESTAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
INDIA
INDIAN OCEAN
ANCIENT SCIENCE PRESERVED BY THE MONKS
ANCIENT SCIENCE PRESERVED BY THE MOORS
MATHEMATICS, BEGINNINGS OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE
ALEXANDRIA
BAGDAD
PRESERVATION AND EXTENSION OF MATHEMATICS
SAMARKAND
PAPER-MAKING
HINDU-ARABIC NUMBER SYSTEM
GUNPOWDER
PEKING
HAROLD HAVEN BROWN

FIG. 38. A picture map which illustrates where some of the ancient scientific knowledge began and where it was preserved

scholar. He stands out in the history of science not for his own scientific discoveries or mathematical knowledge, but because, almost alone among the educated men of his time, he preached independent thinking and direct observation of the world. Constantly he pleaded with men: "Experiment! Don't take your knowledge or your life on faith! Experiment!" In his many books he denounced the weakness of men for allowing themselves to be ruled blindly by custom. He ridiculed the tendency of men to base their religion on faith and to accept docilely the government of "accidentally born" kings. While he accepted the religious authority of the Church, he rebelled against dogma in business, in government,— indeed, in almost every aspect of life.

He himself translated and commented upon the works of Aristotle, making available to the navigators and explorers of later centuries Aristotle's idea of another continent close by in the Atlantic Ocean. (It is said that Christopher Columbus was influenced by this writing of Roger Bacon.) Nevertheless Bacon never ceased to denounce the unthinking acceptance of Aristotle and the inaccurate translations and interpretations of him.

That Bacon had vision of what might be accomplished by science is shown by the manner in which he predicted the invention of such things as telescopes, steamships, trains, and airplanes. Note, for example, an extract from one of his writings:

> Machines for navigating are possible without rowers, so that great ships suited to river or ocean, guided by one man, may be borne with greater speed than if they were full of men. Likewise cars may be made so that without a draught animal they may be moved *cum impetu inaestimabili* ["with undreamt-of speed"] as we deem the scythed chariots to have been from which antiquity fought. And flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird.

NEW INVENTIONS AND CONTACTS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD IN THE 1300'S AND 1400'S PREPARED THE WAY FOR NEW WAYS OF THINKING

Recall from our earlier studies how the world of the Europeans broadened after 1100. The Mongol empire of Genghis Khan and his successors kept open routes of travel between Europe and the

Far East, and Asia Minor became the real trading crossroads of the world. Italian commercial travelers, and monks bent upon converting the heathen, tramped the fatiguing highways to Cathay, and brought back many new ideas and ways of living.

1. The mariner's compass, more accurate geographical knowledge, and epoch-making explorations

It was in the 1300's and 1400's, for example, that men began to venture farther and farther upon the sea. Among several of the ancient peoples it had been observed that lodestone, or a piece of iron which had been touched by it, would point to the north. Rude compasses based on this knowledge had been constructed which made it possible to go farther from the sight of land. In the 1300's, using these devices, navigators from the Portuguese port of Lisbon dared the unknown Atlantic, and sailed westward and southward, exploring farther each year. By 1350 they had discovered the Canary Islands and Madeira; by 1431, the Azores Islands. The map of figure 39 gives us an idea of the courage and perhaps the desire for gain which were needed to take these bold navigators hundreds of miles from the European mainland.

Prince Henry of Portugal, known in history as the Navigator, until his death in 1460 fostered exploration to enrich his country and founded a school of navigation. Due to the interest which he aroused and the knowledge of navigation which was spread through his efforts, these later explorations were made possible.

By 1445 the Portuguese had ventured along the coast of Africa south of the Sahara region and had discovered the western cape which, because of the luxuriant greenness of its tropical vegetation, they named Cape Verde. As the years passed, other Portuguese ships sailed farther and farther south along the coast of Africa, and in 1488 Bartholomew Diaz wrote his name into history by rounding the southern tip at the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama sailed around this cape, crossed the Indian Ocean with the aid of Arab pilots, and in 1498 reached Calicut in Hindustan, or India as we call it today. Year after year Portuguese trade developed, extending to such a degree that it finally included the whole eastern coast of Asia. First (1509) Sumatra and the port of Malacca, at the northern extremity of the Malay

Peninsula, were reached; then the traders found their way (1512) to Java and the Moluccas; next the mainland, the region covered by the Malay States. Eventually Portuguese ships sailed into the long isolated Chinese and Japanese harbors. Thus at last direct ocean trade was established between western Europe and eastern Asia. Cathay and the famous Spice Islands were a part of the European world.

In the meantime mariners of other countries had been sailing the Atlantic, exploring the northern coasts and hunting for the Spice Islands, for Cathay, and for other rich lands of the Far East, which they guessed could be found by sailing westward. Long before this time they had become convinced that the earth was round and that *one could eventually find the east by sailing west.*

You know the story of the other epoch-making explorations and discoveries which extended the world of the European to include the entire earth: the four famous trips of Columbus, the circumnavigation of the world by Magellan, the discovery of the northern coast of North America by the Cabots, of the St. Lawrence region by the Frenchman, Cartier, and of the Hudson River and Manhattan Island by the Englishman, Henry Hudson, sailing under the flag of Holland.

These dramatic events in the world's history must be borne in mind to understand the startling advances which were being made in every field of human endeavor after 1500.

2. Independent thinking and discussion developed by the increased use of paper-making and printing

It was difficult for new ideas to spread through Europe before 1400. The chief reason was the lack of printed pamphlets and books. Even in the early 1400's the only books were *written* by hand on parchment or papyrus, as there were no printing presses and little paper, as we know it.

Throughout Egyptian, Greek, and Roman history manuscripts had always been written upon papyrus or parchment. Papyrus (from which we obtain our word *paper*) was a heavy material prepared from the fiber of a reed which grew abundantly in the Nile River valley, while parchment was the prepared skin of sheep or other animals. These two materials were both very

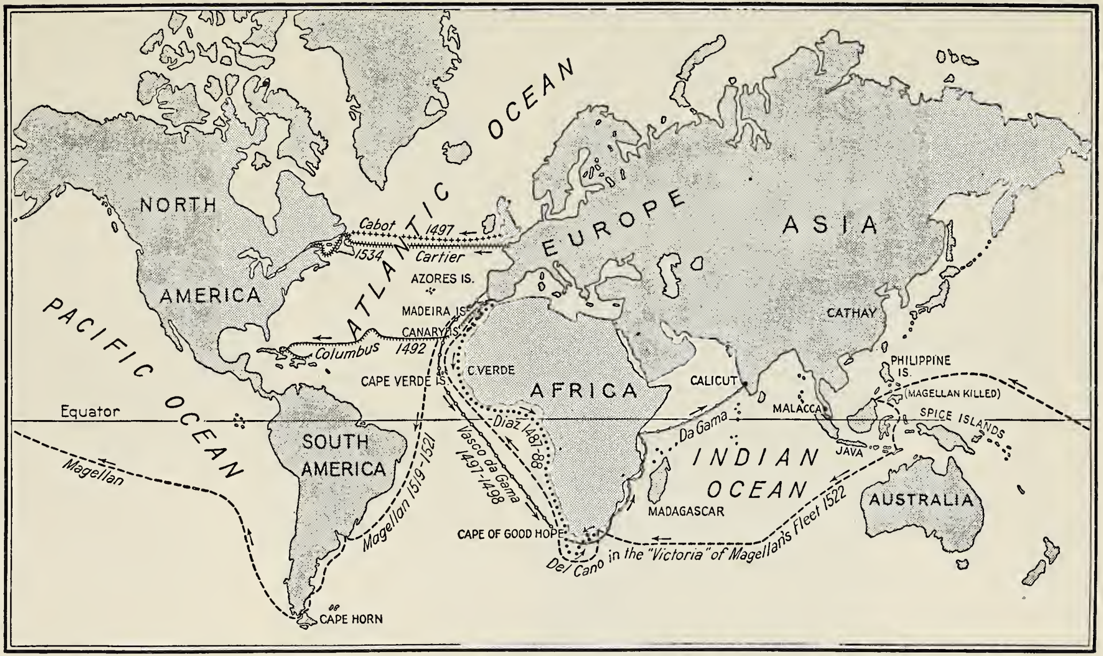
NORTH
AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cabot 1497
1534
Cartier
AZORES IS.
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
Columbus
1492
CAPE VERDE IS.
C. VERDE
Equator
SOUTH
AMERICA
Magellan
Magellan 1519-1521
CAPE HORN
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
Diaz 1487-88
Vasco da Gama
1497-1498
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Del Cano in the "Victoria" of Magellan's Fleet 1522
CALICUT
Da Gama
INDIAN
OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
CATHAY
MALACCA
PHILIPPINE
IS.
(MAGELLAN KILLED)
SPICE ISLANDS
JAVA
AUSTRALIA

Fig. 39. The scientific revolution made possible these long voyages of exploration between 1492 and 1522

expensive and unwieldy and were not at all well adapted to the printing of books.

Paper-making, however, had been known for nearly 2000 years. Records show that the Chinese made silk paper as early as the 100's B.C. Just when the Europeans learned the Chinese art of paper-making we are not sure. It is known, however, that about 750 A.D. some Chinese paper-makers were taken as prisoners in warfare near the Asiatic city of Samarkand. That their Arab captors may have learned the art of paper-making from them is shown by the existence today of Arabic manuscripts written on paper made in the 800's.

The Arabs, however, substituted cotton for silk and made, in Western Asia, what was called "Damascus" paper. The use of this Damascus paper was introduced into Europe through Greece and Italy and in a more roundabout way through the Moors of northern Africa and Spain. In each country, however, the people substituted the fibers which were native to their land for either silk or cotton. Thus in Spain the art of making fine paper from the hemp and flax which were grown in that region was developed by the Moors.

All of this took place before 1100. You will recall that after that time the Christian princes of Castile and Aragon conquered the Moors and drove them out of Spain. The Christians took over the Moorish paper mills and learned the art of making linen paper. It is said, however, that the paper made in the Christian mills was decidedly poorer in quality than that made formerly by the Moors of Spain and by the Arabs of Western Asia.

The first examples of European printing from movable type

Paper-making gradually spread into northern Europe — on the one hand from Italy and on the other hand from Spain — and was well known after 800. However, there was little demand for paper until men began to print from movable type. As long as books were made by laboriously copying manuscripts by hand, publication was limited and expensive and the demand for paper slight. As we have seen, for thousands of years all books had been made in that way, and copying manuscripts had become an important occupation. Great skill was developed, and many manuscripts more than 1000 years old today compare well in beauty with fine books printed much more recently.

Nevertheless the lack of mechanical printing made the cost of books so great that only the well-to-do could own them. For example, the library of one Italian ruler, consisting of 200 volumes, required 45 copyists working two years to complete it.

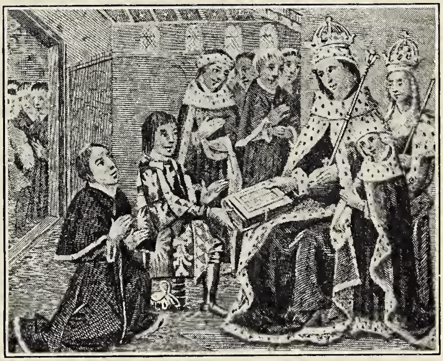

Fig. 40. The first printed book in England being presented to Edward IV by the author, Lord Rivers. Caxton, who printed it, kneels in the foreground. (From an old print)

In the 1400's, however, Europeans began to print with movable type. Exactly who should have the credit in Europe for the introduction of this method of printing is still a matter of some uncertainty; but various authorities assert that the credit should go to a Dutch printer named Laurens Coster, who died in 1440. We can be certain, however, that Johann (or John) Gutenberg printed from movable type in Mainz, Germany, in 1450. Once the first presses were made, they spread swiftly over Europe. In 1466, presses were in operation in Italy; in 1477, Caxton's press in Westminster, England, issued its first book; in the early 1500's, the Aldine Press of Venice had an international reputation. Styles of type, arrangement of page, and binding were vastly improved as time went on.

Almost overnight there was a tremendous increase in the volume of books in Europe; for instance, in one year in the early 1500's, 24,000 copies of one well-known classic were printed on these crude hand presses. When one remembers that hand power only was used and that every page had to be printed separately, the significance of this number becomes clear. You should remember, furthermore, that not until more than 300 years after that time was this hand method of printing improved upon! The first steam-driven rotary printing press in the United States was invented in 1845 by Richard Hoe.

Thus, even though books were still printed by hand, they had become more numerous by 1500. As their cost was small compared with that of hand-written manuscripts, the demand for books spread rapidly among the less well-to-do. At last the people of the middle economic classes, as well as kings, bankers, and bishops, could afford to own books.

Then, after 1500, came the Scientific Revolution

By 1500, therefore, conditions were favorable for the rapid spread of more exact scientific ways of thinking and working. Thus it came about that in 200 years — from about 1500 to about 1700 — a truly scientific "revolution" developed in various centers of Europe. As we have seen, the way had been well prepared for it. Within a short time the movement became international. Men of genius appeared in almost every country of western Europe, all contributing to the new science. New measuring instruments and new methods of thinking were applied to every aspect of life. Theories 2000 years old were discarded and were replaced by the new ones which were born in this fermenting age of genius. The old "sciences" were entirely remade.

There were so many important events in this new revolution in thinking that it is necessary to organize them systematically in order to understand them clearly. Let us note briefly five outstanding ways in which the scientific revolution developed: first, the invention of more exact measuring instruments; second, the development of higher mathematics — for example, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, analytic geometry, and the calculus; third, new scientific discoveries; fourth, the classification of the sciences and the development of the scientific method of thinking; and fifth, the increase in discussion among learned scholars of all nations.

1. The invention of more accurate measuring instruments

As we have seen, the ancients — the Greeks and the Arabs — lacked instruments with which to measure the events of the physical and natural world. They had no powerful lenses with which to see the distant stars or the tiny microörganisms; they lacked micrometers, barometers, thermometers, timepieces, what not. This lack alone helps to account for their limited scientific knowledge.

But this need for measuring instruments was satisfied in the astonishing inventive work of the 1500's and the 1600's. It was at this time, for example, that such instruments as the following were either invented or else markedly improved:

1. The thermometer.
2. The pendulum clock.
3. The telescope.
4. The micrometer.
5. The barometer.
6. The thermoscope.
7. The simple microscope.
8. The compound microscope.
9. The quadrant.
10. The sextant.
11. The astrolabe.

Note the wide range of activities opened up to investigators by these instruments. With the pendulum clock, time could be recorded with much precision in units of minutes and seconds. With the thermometer, heat could be measured in units of degrees, and with the barometer, elevation above sea level could be recorded in units of feet. With the quadrant and the sextant, the angular position of bodies in space could be measured in units of degrees, minutes, and seconds. Without such instruments, physical science could not be quantitatively stated. Thus the importance of the invention of exact measuring instruments in these remarkable centuries is clear. Let us note a few names of the men who gave these instruments to the world. As we do so, note also that men from almost every western European country contributed to the work.

1. *The quadrant and the sextant.* The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) greatly improved the quadrant and the sextant. Tycho, called "the Magnificent," partly because of his glowing appreciation of his own abilities, is renowned for his construction of large and accurate astronomical instruments at the

Observatory of Uraniborg. With these instruments he accumulated many hitherto unknown facts about the heavenly bodies and published new star tables.

2. *The telescope and Galileo.* These two, the instrument and the man, are associated in the history of astronomy. Indeed, the instrument was frequently referred to in the 1600's as the "Galilean telescope." The Italian professor had combined two lenses made by the Dutch spectacle-makers, Zacharias and Lippershey, to form a powerful telescope, with which he could see the spots on the sun, the rotating satellites of Jupiter, mountains on the moon, and other hitherto unseen details of the heavenly bodies. These discoveries gave the world definite knowledge about the movement of these bodies, and consequently a whole new theory of the universe was formulated.

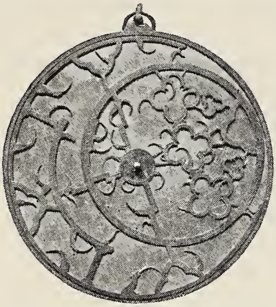

FIG. 41. The astrolabe, forerunner of the quadrant

3. *The microscope and discoveries of unknown forms of animal life.* The same Dutch spectacle-makers to whom we have referred also constructed powerful microscopes, using the principle of the convex lens, which had been known for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years. With a simple microscope, Leeuwenhoek discovered bacteria and also tiny animal organisms. Then, in 1661, with the compound microscope which magnified objects very much better, the Italian investigator Malpighi was able to observe the circulation of blood in arteries and veins, and thus confirmed Harvey's hypothesis made in earlier years from the dissection of animals.

4. *The pendulum clock.* In 1657 Christian Huygens (1629–1695), of Holland, succeeded in constructing a practicable pendulum clock. Clocks had been known in Europe in the 1200's — indeed, had been invented even earlier. But these first clocks were very inaccurate. Huygens, in his observations of the heavenly bodies, found that he needed a more exact means of measuring time. Therefore he set himself the task of making a correct timepiece, and consequently evolved the pendulum clock.

The most famous of the old clock-makers was Thomas Tompion, often called the father of English watchmaking. Many beautiful watches and clocks were made in his shop in the latter part of the 1600's.

5. *The thermometer.* A crude thermometer had been suggested by Galileo and was constructed in 1603. However, it was not until about 1641 that a reasonably accurate thermometer was constructed. Still another generation passed before a successful mercury thermometer was devised — the first appearing in 1670.

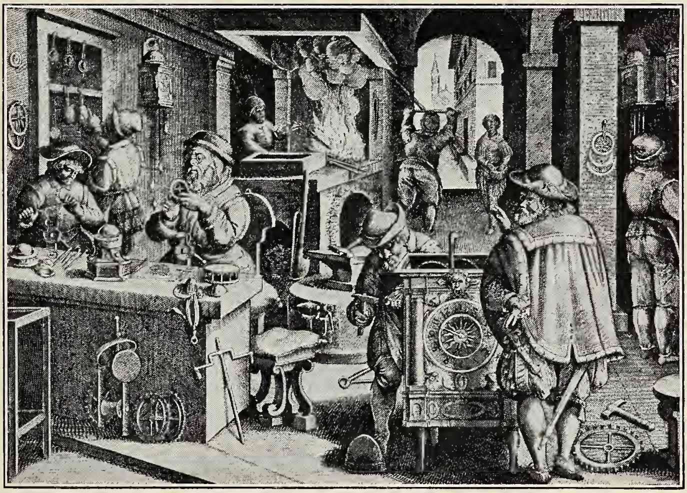

Fig. 42. An early clock-maker's shop, probably during the 1600's. Clocks were then made of iron, and the forge is shown in the background. (From an old print)

6. *The barometer.* About the same time, Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) and Torricelli (1608–1647) were independently striving to develop an instrument for the measurement of elevations by determining the weight or pressure of the atmosphere. The experiments of both were successful. The barometer was devised, and many old prejudices were broken down. Furthermore, in 1650 Otto von Guericke, a German (1602–1686), invented the air pump, which was improved later by Robert Hooke. Thus

the way was paved for Robert Boyle (1627–1691) to perform his epoch-making experiments on the pressures of gases.

These are a few examples of the additions to man's measuring instruments which were produced in this astonishing age of invention. More than any other one single factor, these instruments made possible the development of exact science. With them, distant heavenly bodies as well as minute animal organisms came within man's vision, and scientific observations could be made quantitatively. For the first time in history men now had instruments by which they could *observe and measure* the exact relation between the objects of their physical world. But they still lacked adequate means of *expressing* these relationships in an orderly manner.

2. The invention of the higher mathematics: ways of expressing relationship

We have seen that for thousands of years the scientific knowledge of the world had been hampered by the lack of mathematics. Even the Greeks (the Alexandrian as well as the ancient Greeks) and the Arabs had known only demonstrative geometry, the rudiments of algebra (simple equations), and the barest elements of trigonometry.

Why were higher mathematics necessary for the development of science? For the simple reason that some way was needed of arranging facts in an orderly manner so that the *relation* between them could be determined. Knowledge of the heavenly bodies, plant and animal life, the physical world, and the human world was increasing with great rapidity. But what was to be done with all this knowledge? How could it be arranged in orderly fashion so that *relationships* could be seen and conclusions drawn?

For example, Galileo noted, with his strong telescope, that a number of small bodies seemed to be moving *with* Jupiter. Now, was there a definite *relation* between the movement of these bodies and that of Jupiter? To discover this *relationship*, Galileo needed mathematical methods by which curves could be drawn of the paths of these bodies, and algebraic methods by which equations could be written describing them. But methods by which the relationships could be treated mathematically were not available until long after Galileo had died.

Examples of the *relationship* between facts surround us on every hand today. There is, for instance, a direct *relationship* between the cost of a railroad ticket and the number of miles traveled. A stated number of cents is added to the cost for each additional mile.

Similarly, automobile and airplane motors are made powerful enough to carry the loads which they are to pull. That is, in an airplane there is a *relation* between the power in the motor and the load which the plane is to carry. This is shown in the way transatlantic fliers carefully determine how much gasoline and how many passengers, added to the weight of the plane itself, the motor can lift and can propel through the air. Similarly, there is a definite *relation* between the motor and the number of miles traveled per gallon of gasoline. No doubt you have heard this relationship discussed when one make of car was being compared with another.

Furthermore, the physical world around us abounds in illustrations of *relationship.* Water is composed of certain elements — hydrogen and oxygen — combined in a definite *relationship.* Similarly, there are definite *relationships* between one's health and the kinds of food one eats. Furthermore, although not so much is known about social life, there are definite *relationships* which determine how well people get along together.

Thus we have seen that the physical world, the plant and animal world, and human societies exist and progress because the elements that compose them are arranged in orderly *relationships.* We need not multiply illustrations to see the tremendous importance of having exact ways of measuring these *relationships.*

Throughout ancient time and well into the Middle Ages only the simplest mathematical ways of expressing *relationships* were known. In Euclid's time algebraic equations in one unknown could be worked, and the relations between lines and angles were discovered and written down in geometry. But beyond this men could not go until the remarkable discoveries in mathematics in the 1600's.

By this time mathematicians and scientists, such as Galileo, Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz, had recognized the importance of ways of measuring and describing the *relationships* between things that change together. They devoted themselves to supplying this need, and, in a century marked by mathematical genius, invented analytic geometry and the calculus.

Descartes (1596–1650), in addition to being a distinguished philosopher, was the founder of analytic geometry — a brilliant application of algebra and geometry. For example, a circle or an ellipse is completely described by an equation such as you are familiar with.

After Descartes still more elaborate and remarkable mathematical methods were devised. Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), a prominent leader in scientific work in England, and Gottfried von Leibnitz (1646–1716), a German, developed another useful system of mathematics — the calculus — combining arithmetical, algebraic, and geometric ideas. There were other mathematicians who also contributed new ideas. Accordingly scientists working on many different kinds of problems had mathematical methods of arranging their facts and of detecting hitherto unknown *relations.*

Today even a high-school boy or girl has three ways of describing the *relation* between things that change together. There is (1) an arithmetical way, (2) an algebraic way, and (3) a geometric way.[1]

3. A few examples of the new scientific discoveries

With the new ways of thinking, the more exact measuring instruments, and the new mathematical methods, scientific knowledge about the physical and natural world increased rapidly. Whole volumes could be written about the dramatic discoveries of these astonishing years; we have space to note briefly only a few outstanding ones.

The Copernican theory of the universe confirmed by Galileo and Kepler. Perhaps the most revolutionary discovery was the law of heavenly bodies stated by the Polish astronomer and physician Koppernigk, known in history under the Latin form of his name, Copernicus (1473–1543). For more than 1400 years people had believed that the earth did not move, that it was the center of the universe, and that around it revolved the sun and stars, the moon and the planets. This view was called the Ptolemaic system, because the Alexandrian scholar Claudius Ptolemy had formulated it (about 140 A.D.).

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[1] For a simple illustration of these three ways of describing relationship, see Harold Rugg and John R. Clark's *Fundamentals of High School Mathematics* (World Book Company, Yonkers, New York), pp. 147–162.

In the year of his death, 1543, Copernicus, after more than 35 years of study, published a radically different theory. He said that the earth rotated once every day and that the earth, as well as all the other planets, revolved around the sun. This theory was of course opposed by the Church, which believed that its religious teachings depended upon the conception that the earth was the center of the universe.

An interesting illustration of intolerance is shown by the treatment of Galileo. After Copernicus died, Galileo and Kepler, a German astronomer, showed by means of improved telescopes that the sun did revolve on its own axis, and also that Jupiter was accompanied by "revolving moons." The officials of the Church, however, compelled Galileo to recant publicly his declaration that the earth revolves about the sun. When he arose from his knees, however, he is supposed to have muttered, "But it does just the same."

4. Francis Bacon and Descartes classified the sciences and developed the scientific method

In these exciting years men were not only inventing new instruments and new mathematical methods and piling up one discovery after another; they were also beginning to inquire into the scientific method of thinking. These new ways of thinking, about which we are talking in this chapter, needed to be clarified, described, and analyzed, and the increasing number of sciences needed to be classified.

This task was undertaken by Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), whose elaborate classification of learning was a kind of inventory of all human knowledge. He dealt with philosophy, including natural philosophy, and natural and civil history. Natural history, Bacon said, supplies the facts that we need in studying life, and is, indeed, a sort of scientific description of life. He included no less than 130 separate kinds of history dealing with such subjects as the heavenly bodies, hail and snow, the seasons, the earth and the sea, flame, air and water, metals, fossils, stones, plants, vegetables and fishes, the parts of the human body, the animal species, disease, what not.

Bacon himself was not a scientist in the strict sense of the word; he neither developed new mathematical methods, invented new measuring instruments, nor made original scientific discoveries. Instead, he was a government official, lord chancellor of England under James I, a philosopher, and a student of the scientific method of thinking. His ideas on the development of science he put into two famous books. In these, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *Novum Organum* (or *New Method*) (1620), he pointed out the shortcomings of the methods of scientific work among the ancients and formulated the modern scientific methods. Like his earlier namesake, Roger Bacon, he denounced the blind acceptance of authority. Like Roger he demanded that the world "Experiment!" "Collect facts under controlled conditions!" "Measure exactly!" "Draw conclusions from classifications of facts."

Fig. 43. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626)

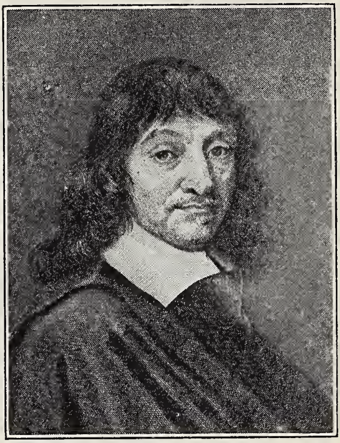

Fig. 44. René Descartes (1596–1650)

Descartes, whom we have already mentioned as the founder of analytical geometry, extended Bacon's analysis of the scientific method. He also denounced living by blind faith in authority alone. He wrote (in French) an important book called *Discourse on Method* (1637), intended for people not educated in the classics who were interested in a better understanding of the modern world. In this and in *The Principles of Philosophy* (1644) he discussed the steps necessary to clear thinking. He placed his trust only in known and recorded observations and hoped to show how the various worlds in which we live can be arranged in orderly fashion. Above all, he was a mathematician, using algebraic and geometric methods of explaining natural phenomena. Furthermore, he was the supreme student of the relationships which exist between phenomena. He says in one of his writings that the reasonings of the geometers led him to believe that "everything which might fall under the cognizance of the human mind might be *connected* together in the same manner." That is, that *relationships* exist in the world which the human mind, with sufficient care, can discover. Hence the importance of a clear method of thinking.

We need not take the space to amplify our discussion of the work of these great leaders. Enough has been said to show that through the work of Copernicus, Galileo, Francis Bacon, Descartes, Isaac Newton, Leibnitz, and others the scientific method of thinking as we know it today was established in the world. Is it any wonder that the seventeenth century is called the "century of genius"?

5. The Royal Society and other organizations of scientists spread the scientific movement

In one of Francis Bacon's books, *The New Atlantis*, published in 1627, a plan was devised for a College of Fellows. It was an imaginative utopia, in which the chief institution was a sort of "research institute" called the "House of Solomon." Bacon's book was read widely, and showed thinkers all over Europe the need for scientific societies through which discussion of scientific achievements, methods, and discoveries could go on. Such societies sprang up first in Italy, and later in England and France. The most prominent of them was the Royal Society, founded in

London in 1662, with the King of England, Charles II, as patron. Among its Fellows were some of the most important men in European history. To name only a few, there were Sir Isaac Newton, the discoverer of the principle of gravitation; Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke, physicists; Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of famous buildings; Abraham Cowley, the poet; and Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn, whose descriptions of life in their time have come down to us in their famous diaries — all of them interested in the new sciences. Many leading scientists of other countries were also Fellows of the Society in the first few years of its existence, among them Huygens of Holland, Leibnitz of Germany, and Malpighi of Italy.

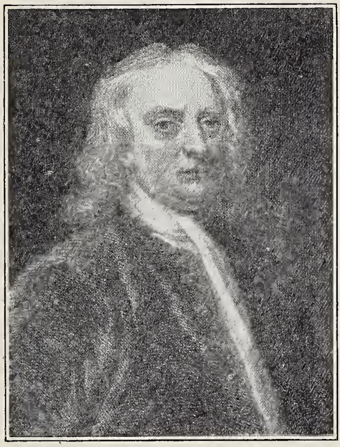
Fig. 45. Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727)

One of the most important contributions of the Society was its series of publications. Since 1664 it has printed the scientific and philosophical researches of its members. In these publications, therefore, some of the most famous scientific discoveries in all history have been reported. To consider a single one — Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, in which he set forth his great theory of gravitation, was published by the Society.

Newton, already mentioned as sharing with Leibnitz the honor of discovering the calculus, was born in a small English village in 1642. Even as a youth of fourteen he showed more interest in mathematics than in the farm work that he was supposed to do. At eighteen he was sent to Cambridge University, from which he was graduated. He eventually became the greatest scientist of his age — indeed, one of the greatest of any age. He died in 1727.

Newton's theory of gravitation was his greatest contribution to science. By his time it had been proved, as we have seen, that the earth is but one of many bodies revolving around the sun.

The sun itself is really only one of countless suns; other stars have satellite bodies moving around them. How all these stars and suns were kept in place was a baffling question. Newton studied this problem for a long, long time. One day, it is said, he observed an apple falling to the ground, and reasoned thus: Some force made that apple fall to the ground. The same force must control the moon, the sun, and the stars. Thus the earth is pulled toward the sun, but it is also pulled toward other stars; therefore, it does not fall to the sun or any other star but revolves around the sun. In other words, the same force which makes the apple fall toward the earth keeps the moon — indeed, all the bodies of the universe — in their orbits. Newton succeeded in stating the principle in a fairly simple, but definite, mathematical formula.

This illustrates the Scientific Revolution which brought Many Changes to the World after 1500

At last, then, after thousands of years, the new ways of thinking which we call scientific were discovered. The thinkers of many countries and many generations had contributed to their ultimate perfection. Facts and relationships had been uncovered by the invention of measuring instruments and by the tireless observation of nature, of the heavenly bodies, of the working of the human mind, and of human societies. New methods of mathematical arrangement put the countless facts together in clear order. At last men began to see relationships between various aspects of living. At last order began to replace chaos.

This orderly way of thinking and arranging facts, called the scientific method, eventually enabled James Watt and other inventors after him to make power-driven machines and to transmit power over long distances. It produced our industrial civilization. It developed new ways of transportation and communication, and of exchange of goods. It markedly raised the standard of living in the western world of Europe and America.

But for our purpose in this book, it is more important to see how these new ways of thinking led to new experiments in government and started the world upon its march toward democracy.

Furthermore, this critical, independent way of thinking made men question the authority of the Church and eventually led to radical changes in men's views about religion.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

BLUNT, ALFRED W. F. The Ancient World and its Legacy to Us. Oxford University Press, New York.

BRIDGES, T. C. The Young Folk's Book of Invention. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. Story of inventions from prehistoric to modern times.

COLLINS, A. FREDERICK. A Bird's-Eye View of Invention. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. The invention of units of measurement, printing-presses, etc.

DARROW, FLOYD L. Masters of Science and Invention. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

HOLLAND, RUPERT S. Historic Inventions. Macrae Smith Company, Philadelphia. Interesting and valuable.

LANSING, MARION FLORENCE. Great Moments in Science. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Man's victories in the field of science and invention.

LANSING, MARION FLORENCE. Magic Gold: a Story of the Time of Roger Bacon. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

NOYES, ALFRED. The Watchers of the Sky. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. A verse story of astronomers through the ages.

PROCTOR, MARY. The Young Folk's Book of the Heavens. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

SMITH, DAVID EUGENE. Number Stories of Long Ago. Ginn and Company, Boston. Arithmetic long ago.

VAN LOON, HENDRIK W. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York. See pages 402–432.

WELLS, MARGARET E. How the Present came from the Past, Vol. II. The Macmillan Company, New York. The contributions of the ancient world to us.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLUTION IN THE ARTS OF LIFE

Accepting things on authority versus thinking things out for yourself

One central theme was illustrated in the last chapter — new ways of thinking! New ways of thinking about the stars, about measuring, about the physical world. Scholars and scientists urged people to look at the world, observe carefully, experiment, think things out for themselves, and not to take ideas merely on authority from other people.

This command of the new scientists to "think things out for yourself" ran counter to every traditional way of life. Generation after generation people had followed their way of living as had been the custom of the people around them for generations. Most of them, in fact, never asked if a different method of life were possible. They lived in every way just as their ancestors had lived. There were no experiments! They farmed as their fathers had farmed. There were no experiments in farming! They accepted government as it was given to them. There were no experiments in government!

Superstition played an important part in every aspect of life. For example, if one's forefathers had planted crops "in the light of the moon," then one also planted in "the light of the moon." If one's elders taught that "needfire," or "wildfire," made by rubbing two pieces of wood together, would ward off disease from flocks and herds, one assiduously made "wildfire" instead of thinking and experimenting to find out what really *caused* the disease. One placed holly and evergreens in houses during the winter months as "a refuge for sylvan spirits from the inclemency of winter." Amulets were worn to ward off "spirits." Superstition rather than thinking controlled much of the conduct of the mass of the people.

Furthermore, government was accepted on the authority of others. Loyalty to the lord and master was the chief idea for thousands of years, and the common man never thought out ways of government which would give him a share in it. He paid taxes and rendered laborious service to his lord, even asking permission to regulate his personal life and that of his family. Thus there were no experiments in government that would include the common people. Loyalty and submission to authority were the supreme ideas. The vassal was submissive to his lord. Women were submissive to their husbands. Children were submissive to their elders and lived as their parents had lived. There was little or no thinking things out for oneself. There were no experiments.

There is, therefore, an important contrast between the new way in which scientific men thought and the old way in which the masses thought.

We must remember, indeed, that the scientific revolution of which we have just read touched only a minute fraction of the inhabitants of Europe. The Royal Society, for example, consisted of a few score of Fellows; its total membership did not make up a thousandth of 1 per cent of the population of Europe. Let us not forget, as we thrill over the dramatic episodes of these centuries of discovery, that two hundred years more were to pass before the rank and file of the people would reap the benefits of the new ideas. Two hundred years more were to pass before the common man himself would learn to read and acquire the knowledge of either the ancients or the moderns. Two hundred years were to pass before he would be able to "think things out for himself."

When the revolution in thinking began, however, it was not restricted to physical science and invention. It influenced every aspect of life — religion, art, family life, and government. Let us see now, therefore, how the independent ways of thinking developed in religion and in the arts. An understanding of these two will help our study of the world's march toward democracy in government.

The Organized Catholic Church

In western Europe in the year 1500 there was only one recognized religion, the Christian religion, and one organized State church, the Catholic Church. Almost everybody accepted that religion and was a member of that church. Every child on receiving baptism became a member of the Church, and later was taught its beliefs and its code of conduct. Practically everyone accepted its authority and gave a tithe (a tenth of his yearly income) for its support. As the Catholic Church was the official one in each country, the religious and ecclesiastical life of the continent was governed by one church and one doctrine.

In 1500, after more than a thousand years, the Church had become a continental organization of enormous wealth and political and spiritual power. It was a great religious organization with an elaborate system of officials. At the head was the Pope, the chief bishop of Rome, who ruled the entire Church. Under the Pope was a graded system of officials, or secular clergy.

First, all Western Christendom was divided into provinces, ruled by archbishops, the headquarters of each being in a large city, such as Canterbury and York in England; Cologne, in Germany; Seville, in Spain; Lisbon in Portugal; Upsala, in Sweden; and Lyon, in France.

Second, each province was divided into dioceses governed by bishops. These were the larger local divisions of the Church, consisting generally of a town or a city and the surrounding countryside.

Third, each diocese was divided into small local parishes, usually composed of a village or a part of a city. Each of these had a separate church building under the control of a priest and his assistant, the deacon.

In addition to the secular clergy there were the regular clergy — the monks and nuns who lived in monasteries and convents, the great missionaries of the Church. Many of the orders, as the various organizations of monks were called, were famous. Among them were the Order of Saint Benedict (the Benedictines), the Knights Templars, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans, the two latter being wandering, or preaching, friars. Thus, the Catholic

Church was indeed a vast organization, ranging from the Pope and the cardinals to the priests and the monks.

As we have said, this organization was very rich and powerful. During the 1000 years that had passed since the Church was organized, the Popes and their officials had drawn up rules of conduct to be followed by all its members. The Pope was the supreme maker of religious laws, and even the other chief officials of the Church could not veto his decrees. He had political and financial power over the Church, and even claimed that it was superior to that of kings and dukes. From time to time the Pope had insisted on the right of crowning the Holy Roman Emperor, and even of putting emperors and kings out of office. Finally, he levied certain dues on all members of the Church — practically all the people of Europe.

The Protestant Revolt against the Catholic Church

Against such conditions there came about an active and widespread revolt. Throughout the later Middle Ages many kings and nobles strove to reduce the political power of the Church and tried to take much of their wealth away from the Popes, archbishops, and bishops. The conflict with the Church grew more bitter during the 1300's and 1400's, and finally, in the 50 years between 1520 and 1570, there came open rebellion. During those years three outstanding religious leaders appeared, who *protested* publicly against the abuses of the Church. These *protestants* aroused kings and nobles on the one hand and the common people on the other into widespread revolt. In less than half a century every country in northern Europe was affected by the uprising. When the rebellion was over, Protestant churches had been set up in England, Scotland, Germany, Scandinavia, northern France, and Holland, and drastic reforms were coming about within the Church itself.

Three phases of this Protestant revolt are worth remembering: (1) that of religious reformers, such as Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Huldreich Zwingli; (2) that of the kings in national states and the nobles in feudal regions; and (3) that of the common people. Let us note briefly each of these three phases.

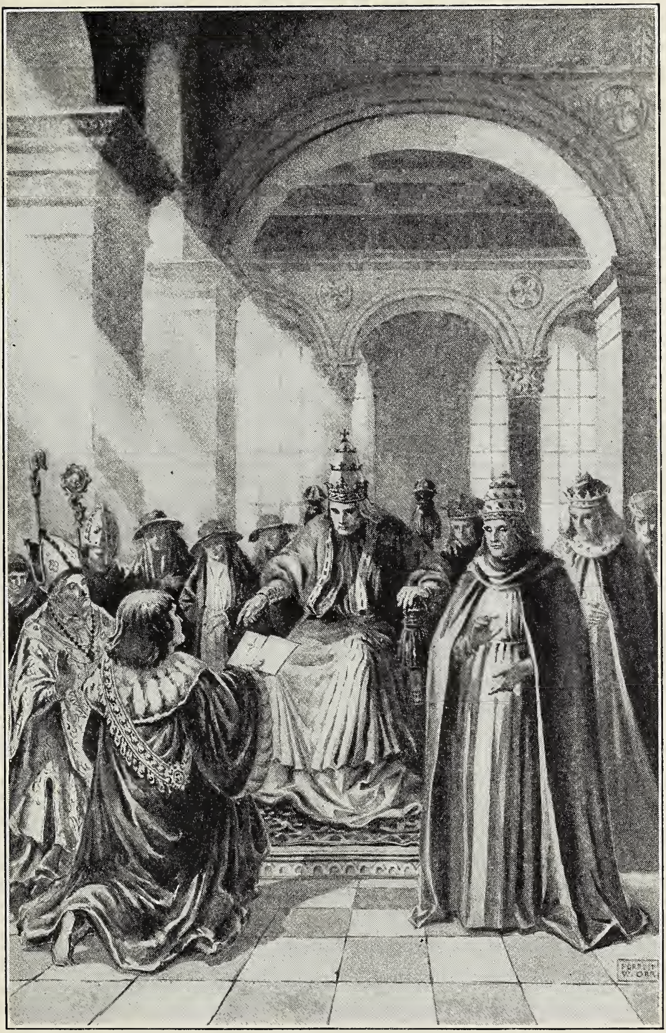

FIG. 46. The Pope receiving the ambassadors of the English king, Henry V. With the rise of the Catholic Church, kings sought its powerful support, especially when their own security was threatened

1. The revolt of protesting reformers

a. Early protests against the Catholic Church. Even as early as the 1300's leaders had appeared who protested against the abuses of the Church. One of these was John Wycliffe, regarded as the "Father of English Prose," who, as you already know, translated the Bible into English. He was not only a famous scholar; he was also one of the first independent thinkers to urge that each person should think out his religion for himself.

About 1370 the Pope and his council issued decrees against Wycliffe because of his criticisms of the organization and of the leaders of the Church. In making his criticisms, Wycliffe defended the right of the national government to take over the property of the Church whenever the latter abused its power. He denied that the Pope's power extended beyond the interpretation of the Gospels.

Another early reformer was John Huss, a rector in the Czech University of Prague, who had been influenced by the doctrines of Wycliffe. He too criticized the scandalous abuses of the Church, and as a result was excommunicated in 1412. When the officers of the Catholic Church met at the Council of Constance, Huss attended under a guarantee of safety given by the Emperor. Once in the power of the council, however, he was ordered to recant his heretical views. He refused and was burned alive in the city of Constance (1415). This act aroused the people, and four years later Huss's followers in Bohemia rose in armed insurrection. In the following year the Pope, Martin V, issued a proclamation calling for a crusade against Hussites, Wycliffites, and all other "heretics." One group after another of Catholic loyalists attacked Bohemia between 1420 and 1436, but the Czechs repulsed practically all of them.

b. Later protests — Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. In Germany the revolt was led by Martin Luther, who, although a son of peasants, had achieved a university education, had entered the Augustinian monastic order, and shortly after 1510 had become a professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg. Through his studies and through observations during a visit to Rome, Luther became convinced that a reform of the Church was necessary.

In 1517, aroused by the methods in the preaching of indulgences used by Tetzel, a prominent papal officer in Germany, he openly protested against the conditions in the Church in 95 theses (statements) which he nailed on the church door in Wittenberg. In 1520 he published pamphlets in which he defended such revolutionary ideas as the following: (1) that the Catholic clergy should be deprived of their special privileges; (2) that the political control of the Church should be abolished and that much of its wealth should be taken away; (3) that much of the formality and ritual of the sacramental system should be abolished; and (4) that man's conduct should depend upon his own religious faith and not upon the formal creed and system of an ecclesiastical organization.

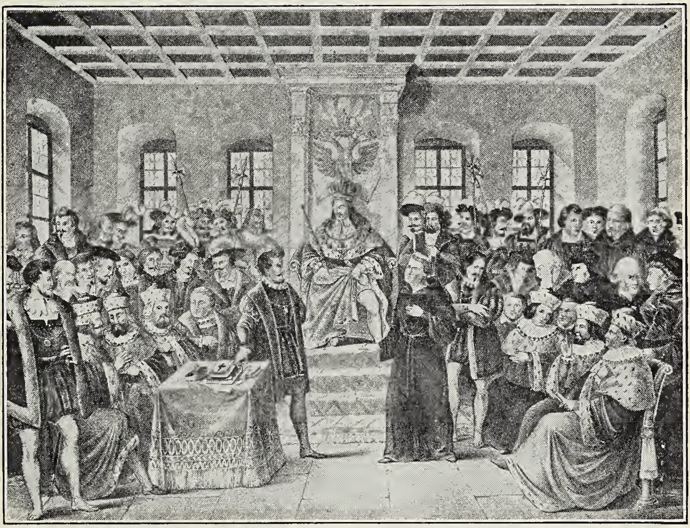

FIG. 47. Luther, the Augustinian monk, being examined regarding his doctrines before Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and his council. (From an old print)

Luther's protests amounted to an open declaration of war upon the Church. However, when told to recant his opinions, Luther answered that his conscience would not allow this.

The Pope banned Luther from the Church, and he was outlawed by the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. However, Lutheranism, as his ideas were called, caught the popular approval of both nobles and peasants and made steady progress throughout northern Europe. Furthermore, Luther's tremendous energy and tact bound the German princes and peasants together in a common cause.

In the meantime Huldreich Zwingli, a Catholic priest in Switzerland, also proclaimed that men must base their religious life upon the original Scriptures themselves and not on the creeds of the Church. He too attacked the Church for what he declared to be its mercenary politics, its abuses, its financial greed, and its hypocritical practices. As a result civil war broke out, which ended in the death of Zwingli and in the division of Switzerland — part of it remaining Catholic and part becoming Protestant.

While these events were taking place, John Calvin, a French law student, influenced by the Lutheran revolt and the growing criticism of the Church, also became a leading Protestant. Fleeing royal and papal disapproval in France, he went to Switzerland and published his religious views in a book called *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536).

In Geneva, Calvin became a political as well as religious leader, establishing rigid codes of life which were in direct opposition to the practice of many members of the Catholic Church. Consequently the city became a center for religious rebels from England, Scotland, Holland, France, and Germany. Later many of these people returned to their own countries and spread Calvin's ideas among their people. In France, Calvin's followers became known as Huguenots. In Scotland, John Knox (1505–1572), who had been associated with Calvin in Geneva, returned to his native country and established the Presbyterian Church. In England, Calvin's ideas were the basis for Puritanism, a movement which helped to bring about the establishment of the American colony at Massachusetts Bay in the 1630's.

Within 50 years (1520–1570), therefore, the work of these tireless reformers set up new church organizations in Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, France, Switzerland, England, and Scotland. Thus, in general, the northern half of Europe had become Protestant while the southern half remained Catholic.

The Protestant revolt showed that many leaders were breaking away from the idea of one church. To that extent they were thinking independently, and their revolt could hardly fail to encourage freedom of thought in a still wider sense. Yet it is a fact that most of the leaders of the new churches were themselves intolerant. They allowed their followers little personal independence.

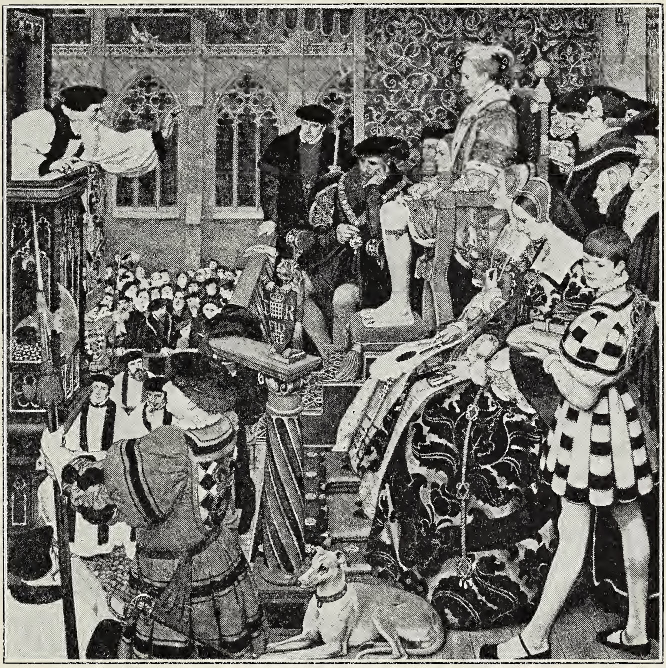

FIG. 48. Hugh Latimer, a leader of the Reformation in England, preaching before Edward VI. Latimer was burned at the stake in 1555. (From a painting by Ernest Beard, in the House of Lords. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Publishing Company, London)

2. In England the King and the national state seized control of the Church

In England the revolt was almost purely political. It affected the actual conduct of the people very little indeed. Henry VIII, king of England in 1509–1547, was determined to rule England as an absolute monarch. A few years after his accession to the throne, he determined to break with the Pope and to take control of the Church as well as of the government. We need not go into the details of the story except to say that the immediate cause of his action was a personal one. Henry wanted to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon, and marry Anne Boleyn, a maid of honor in his court. Up to this time (1531–1534) he had been a stanch supporter of the Pope, from whom he received the title of "Defender of the Faith." At last he asked for papal annulment of his marriage. There was prolonged delay, and Henry decided to take action himself.

In 1534 Parliament, entirely subservient to him, passed a number of laws separating the Church of England from the Catholic Church. One of them declared that the King of England was the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." Catholics who rebelled were tortured and beheaded by Henry's orders, and the property of Catholic monasteries was confiscated by the King.

Thus the whole revolt of the English branch of the Church was mainly a political and personal transaction of the King. Henry had no sincere religious reasons for it; he was swayed merely by his greed for wealth and political power, and his determination to handle his personal affairs as he saw fit. The form of worship was not changed by this so-called "English Reformation." Nothing was reformed. In fact, the new Church of England, or the Anglican Church, as it came to be called, retained much of the creed and many of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church.

We cannot tell here the bloody story of the religious and political intrigue in England during the next century and a half as Henry's successors upon the throne alternated between Catholicism and Anglicanism. But the new Anglican Church remained nearly as formal and ceremonial as the Catholic Church had been. An elaborate organization was built up, with an Archbishop of Canterbury at the head. All this was done by the government, by the King and his nobles. The Church in England had become a *state* church. But it is doubtful whether these *political* changes brought the English Church in any way closer to the idea of the brotherhood of men that Christ had proclaimed centuries before.

As the Church of England itself remained unchanged, free-thinking, "dissenting" groups arose, — for example, the Independents, the Puritans, the Quakers, and the Separatists, — some of which are already well known to us. As you know, some of these free-thinking people, because of persecutions, left England in the early 1600's and eventually settled in Massachusetts — at Plymouth under William Bradford and others, and at Massachusetts Bay under Winthrop. Somewhat later, Quakers under William Penn settled the prosperous colony that grew into the state of Pennsylvania.

3. The revolt of the common people

A third phase of the Protestant revolt was the armed insurrection of the miserable peasants. In Germany, Martin Luther had advised the nobles to seize the lands of the Catholic Church and to put out all immoral and grasping officials. But once the movement of revolt was started by the leaders, the masses of the poor people carried it much further than Luther had intended. Long oppressed and discontented, they were easily persuaded by fanatical leaders to take up arms not only against the Church officials but against the nobles as well. The revolt soon became a general economic rebellion. The peasant leaders demanded that serfdom be abolished, that the people be paid wages for their labor, and that they be given the civil rights which were due to every human being in the world.

By 1524 the revolt had spread over central and southern Germany and had become a general political insurrection. Frightened at the result of his own deeds, Luther himself forsook the people and took sides with the nobles. He encouraged the latter to put down the revolt, saying, "Whoever can, should smite, strangle, or stab, secretly or publicly." Acting upon his advice, the lords ruthlessly exterminated the peasants. The latter were untrained in the arts of war. They were badly equipped for fighting. They lacked skilled military leaders and were unorganized.

As a result the revolt was easily crushed. But how murderously! It is estimated that probably 50,000 were killed. Thus the whole revolt, instead of bettering the condition of the masses of European people, had made it much worse. Indeed, records lead us to believe that the living conditions of the common people of Germany during the 1500's and 1600's were worse than those of the people of any other country of Europe.

Some Catholic Leaders also brought about Reforms within the Church

The Protestant revolt succeeded in arousing sincere Catholics to reform the Church itself. We must not forget that there were many honest churchmen, especially in southern Europe, — Italy, Austria, France, and Spain, — who agreed with the criticisms of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, and their associates. In these countries a *steady reformation within the Church itself* went on.

For example, under Paul III (1534–1549) and other Popes of the next century really honest and superior officials were placed in high positions in the Church. Successive councils of Church officers attempted to smooth out the differences between the factions within the Church. They also did away with the worst abuses; for example, the selling of offices and filling them with relatives and friends of officials.

One of the most important factors in the reform within the Church was the work done by the Society of Jesus, an order established in 1534 by Ignatius Loyola. This order of priests developed into a powerful world-wide missionary organization of the Catholic Church. It was devoted to the preservation of the power of the Pope and to the systematic extension of the Catholic religion throughout the world. In the next 200 years Jesuit priests established missions in every continent. Some of these leaders you have already heard about in American history. Father Marquette was famous as one of those who explored the unknown continent of North America. Jesuit priests established outposts of the Church in Canada, throughout the Mississippi Valley, and even in the northwestern part of what is now the United States. Others penetrated to the jungles of Brazil and to the inner districts of Paraguay in South America, while still others went to India, China, and other parts of the Far East.

Summing up the Religious Revolt

These, then, were the chief events of that epoch-making movement, the great religious revolt that swept all civilized Europe after 1500. It showed very clearly that educated men were beginning to think things out for themselves. They were not merely taking their religion on the authority of others.

What changes came about in Europe? Did the revolt advance Europe's march toward democracy? Did it improve the living and spiritual conditions of the people? Did it bring the Church closer to the spiritual brotherhood which Christ had advocated?

Summed up briefly these are the chief outcomes.

1. New church organizations came into existence. In place of one church there were now several. In northern Europe, from northern Germany and Scandinavia to England and Scotland, there were Lutherans, Puritans, Independents, Huguenots, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and other sects. In most of southern Europe, however, — in Italy, Austria, southern Germany, France, and Spain,— the Roman Catholic Church still held the allegiance of the people. But the religious conditions, as well as the inefficient organization of churches, had been much improved.

2. The national states and the political rulers had gained in power at the expense of the Pope and his officials. In England complete separation had come, and the State controlled the Church. Throughout most of northern Europe also religion was coming under the control of the State.

3. Many kings and nobles had increased their wealth at the expense of the Church leaders. Great Church estates had been confiscated, and the rising middle class of business men in the towns had profited greatly, as we shall see later.

4. A régime of rigid morality had been instituted in many parts of Europe. In England this was the beginning of the later Puritan régime which influenced the general outlook upon life in the United States until almost our own time.

5. But perhaps the most important result, although it was not immediately felt, was the spread of freedom of thought concerning religion and the rise of dissenting groups in England,

Holland, and other parts of Europe. The example of Wycliffe and Huss had borne its fruit. So also had the independence of Calvin, Knox, and other leaders. It is true that these men were intolerant of opinions which differed from their own. But the fact that they set up new systems, combined with the amazing development in science that began shortly after, laid the foundation for freedom of thought in the modern sense.

Moreover, the religious persecutions in Holland, in France, and in other parts of Europe led to the frequent emigration of skilled craftsmen to other countries, especially to England. In the 1600's thousands of weavers, jewelers, watchmakers, engravers, bookbinders, and artisans skilled in the manufacture of plate glass, parchment, hats, and other articles, settled there. Largely as a result of this, England's handicrafts expanded rapidly.

Did the Protestant revolt help to bring about Europe's march toward democracy?

The Protestant revolt brought little immediate benefit to the civilization of Europe. Devastating wars continued. Monarchs and nobles became more oppressive, and the living conditions of peasants and artisans were worse than ever before. There were few signs of any march toward government "of the people, by the people, for the people." There was no real advance in education, and historians of the time say that the rank and file of the people sank into "deeper and deeper ignorance." Although reformers within as well as outside the Catholic Church had urged the development of education, there was little increase in the popular schooling of the masses.

THE RENAISSANCE IN THE ARTS PARALLELED THE SCIENTIFIC AND RELIGIOUS REFORMATIONS

The new ways of thinking that produced the remarkable scientific revolution were accompanied by new ways of feeling in the arts — architecture, literature, painting, and sculpture. From about 1300 such a wonderful development in all these arts occurred that the period is generally called the *Renaissance* —

that is, the "rebirth." The spirit of creative expression seemed literally to be born again.

The way for it had been well paved by the remarkable beauty of earlier medieval architecture. After 1100 vast, beautifully ornamented cathedrals were constructed. A glimpse of their grandeur and the engineering skill necessary to build them is given by the pictures in figures 49 and 50. Compare them with the churches you have seen in American cities. Notice especially the heights and proportions of these cathedrals, the beautifully arched doorways and windows, and the carved towers that pierce the sky. We think of the hundreds of years these buildings have endured, and we realize how well the architects of the Middle Ages built.

The beauty and dignity of the high, vaulted roofs and arches and the long, quiet aisles of the interiors match the exteriors. One cannot walk through them without feeling the religious spirit itself. In each niche is a statue of a saint carved or sculptured to fit its space. Light filters through stained-glass windows that have never been surpassed in beauty. Design of building, sculptured decoration, and stained glass form a harmonious whole. The medieval cathedral was truly a work of creative art.

In addition to planning churches, medieval architects also built great castles for feudal nobles, and town houses for merchant princes. In these, and in a few town halls and royal palaces, the artists created unique and beautiful designs. Thus they prepared the way for the tremendous outburst of creative energy and interest in the arts that appeared first in Italy after 1300 and spread to every country in Europe.

How the wealthy nobles and clergy made the renaissance in the arts possible

History has harsh things to say about many of the kings and princes, Popes and cardinals, nobles and clergy of those days. It scores not a few of them for their greed, their conspiracies and their murders, their extravagances, and their oppressive rule of the people. But one thing many of them did — they used some of their wealth to support the creative artists of their time. Without their support it is doubtful if the Renaissance could have occurred. They built beautiful churches, cathedrals, and palaces, and employed painters to decorate the walls and ceilings. They financed sculptors to ornament the buildings as buildings had never been ornamented before and have seldom been equaled since. They supported and encouraged poets and writers. Thus the greatest renaissance of creative art that the world had ever known was made possible.

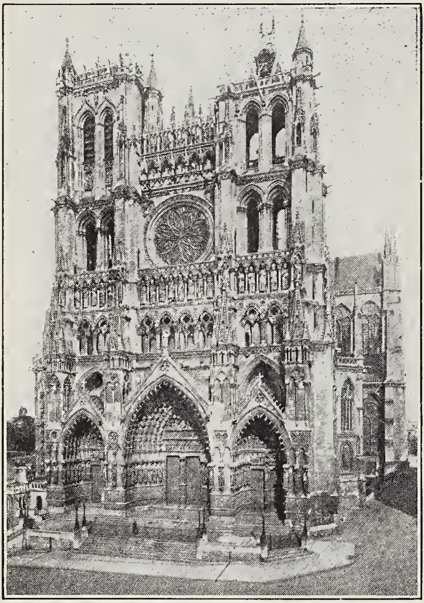

FIG. 49. The cathedral built at Amiens, France, between 1220 and 1288

The Italian renaissance in letters began in the 1300's

Scholars, painters, musicians, architects, and sculptors were encouraged by the patronage of wealthy and famous families. A group of scholars called Humanists grew up, of whom Petrarch (1304–1374), a protégé of the great Colonna family, was the most famous. The Humanists searched monasteries for ancient manuscripts and discovered many that had been lost for more than a thousand years. Furthermore, they built schools in Florence and in other Italian cities. During the next century Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) accumulated a great library in his palace in Florence and employed scholars to translate the old Greek and Roman classics.

Lorenzo de' Medici's son became Pope, under the name Leo X. With his encouragement, interest in painting, sculpture, poetry, music, and the theater grew rapidly. From Italy the new learning spread into other countries of Europe. By 1450 Greek had been established in schools in England and in France as well as in Italy. New universities were established in the German countries. French armies invading and plundering Italy took the classical learning back to France. Great scholars appeared in other countries too. For example, Erasmus (1466–1536), a Dutch churchman, became one of the greatest classical students of all Europe.

The new creative writing laid the foundations for *national* languages and literatures

In addition to this renewed interest in the Greek and Roman classics, creative writers in the various countries of Europe were at work developing their own *national* literatures. It is important to remember that until about this time (1300 and after) there had been no really *national* languages. There was no standard English, no standard French, Spanish, or Italian. As has already been intimated, these new writers, therefore, did much to *standardize* languages — that is, to set up a form of writing that others after them would follow. Their work led also to the establishment of *national* literatures. Let us note briefly merely a few of these great creative artists.

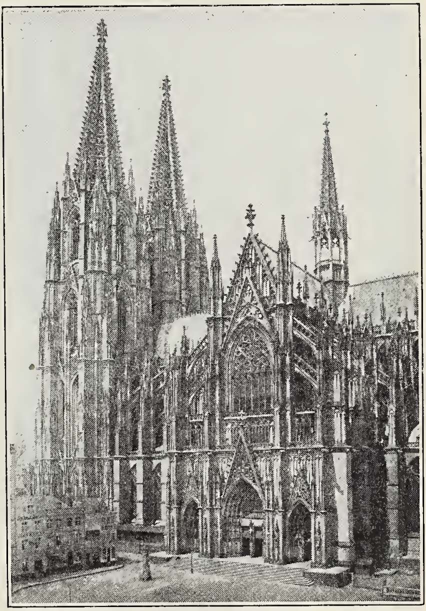

Fig. 50. The cathedral at Cologne, Germany, which was started in the 1300's. What similarities do you find between figures 49 and 50?

In Italy, as early as 1300, Dante (1265–1321) laid the foundations for modern Italian. He used the Florentine dialect, thus making it the literary language of Italy. His great epic, *The Divine*

Comedy, in which he drew vivid pictures of hell, purgatory, and heaven, is still regarded as one of the world's great writings. Later Petrarch, whom we have already mentioned, wrote many famous odes, sonnets, and lyrics in Italian instead of in Latin. *The Decameron* of Boccaccio (1313–1375) is another of the early works in Italian prose that has become famous in the world's literature. Nor should we overlook Machiavelli (1469–1527), who added to the increasing Italian literature a book called *The Prince*. This work was long regarded as one of the basic writings on the science of politics. It defended the idea that a ruler has the right to use *any* means to carry out his aims. More than one haughty and oppressive king defended his actions on the theories of Machiavelli. Thus such writers as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Machiavelli standardized the Italian language and laid the foundations of the national Italian literature.

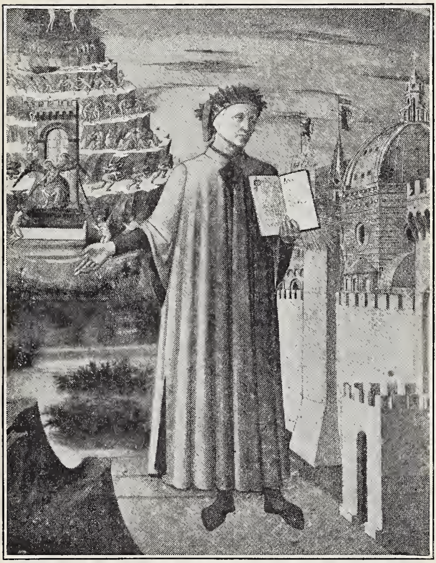

FIG. 51. A portrait of Dante holding his copy of *The Divine Comedy*. (From a painting by Domenico di Francesco, in the cathedral at Florence)

We have already spoken of the beginnings of modern English through the writings of John Wycliffe and Geoffrey Chaucer. In the 1400's another great book was produced — Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. The 1500's, however, is the time when some of the greatest English literature, indeed, some of the world's greatest literature, was written. In 1516 Sir Thomas More published his world-famous *Utopia*. Late in the century Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) produced his plays. Still later

William Shakespeare (1564–1616) wrote *Hamlet, The Merchant of Venice, Richard III, Henry IV, Macbeth,* and other plays. Taken together, these writings make Shakespeare one of the world's greatest dramatists. The first three books of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* appeared about the same time (1590). Other well-known writers were also at work; English literature was indeed developing rapidly.

Meanwhile the French language and French literature had begun to develop. We have already learned of that first French masterpiece — the *Chanson de Roland.* Among other early works is the *Roman de la Rose,* written in the 1200's. There were many writers in the several centuries that followed; of the names in this period one stands out — that of Rabelais (about 1490–1553). His work provided a sort of mirror of the social life of the 1500's in France. His tales combined biting satire, a poetical imagination, and keen observation. Thus in France too a national literature was beginning to emerge.

In Germany a national language was slower in developing than in other countries. By the close of the 1400's some progress had been made, stimulated largely by the religious movement of the Reformation. The writings of Martin Luther helped to establish a standardized German, and his translation of the Bible (1522–1534) was an important document in German literary history. Even in the 1500's, however, Germany was still far from having a unified language. Geographical and political conditions were important obstacles. Nevertheless there were the crude beginnings of a national literature. *The Nibelungenlied,* a powerful epic, was written about the end of the 1100's, and much lyric poetry was produced a century or so later. Furthermore, in the 1500's several dramatists appeared. Thus Germany too was developing a standardized language and a national literature.

In Spain also a national literature began to form about the same time. Under the patronage of Alfonso X (1252–1284), King of Castile and Leon, many literary works appeared. In the period that followed, one name stands out — Cervantes (1547–1616), whose masterpiece was *Don Quixote,* the famous satire on the romances of chivalry of sixteenth-century Spain.

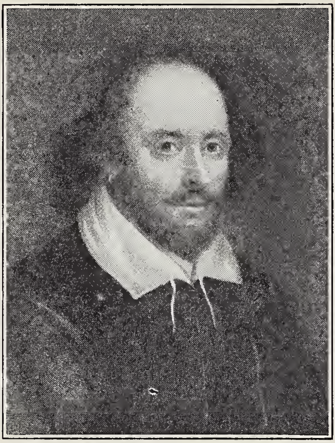

Fig. 52. William Shakespeare

Records in Stratford on Avon, England, show that an infant, William Shakespeare, was baptized on April 26, 1564. His father's hitherto comfortable living taking a bad turn, the boy left the Stratford free grammar school at the age of fourteen and was probably apprenticed to a local trade. Four years later he married Anne Hathaway. Presently he left home, apparently in disrepute for killing game on a neighbor's property. About ten years later he went to London, where, according to tradition, he became a flunky around London theaters, later acting minor parts. When we hear of him again he has written some poetry and plays, works destined to endure through 300 years to our own day and undoubtedly to enrich the world's literature for centuries to come. He died in 1616, at the age of 52. Thirty-seven plays are ordinarily attributed to Shakespeare, although we know that other men worked on some of the less important ones. Among those best known and still produced today are *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*. Shakespeare, who so vividly portrayed the drama of human life, is the greatest figure in English literature

Have you heard of Don Quixote and his fight with the windmill? Cervantes' novel about a crazy knight with a brass bowl on his head is one of the world's six greatest books. Its author, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), was a dashing soldier in the Spanish army until he was captured by pirates. After five years of slavery he went back to Spain and became a purchasing agent for the Spanish navy, in which rôle he wandered about through the south of Spain for a number of years. Difficulties with his superiors and with the peasants, from whom he requisitioned wheat and oil; losses; irregularities of one sort and another; imprisonments — all show how unfitted Cervantes was for this type of work. Between times he wrote, making use of his rich experiences as captive and traveler. In *Don Quixote*, which Cervantes tells us he wrote to poke fun at the extravagant romances of chivalry, he persuades us to see life as it is. In this book all society in sixteenth-century Spain passes in diverting review: nobles, priests, farmers, scullions, barbers, traders, kitchen maids, country girls, ladies, convicts, and poets. *Don Quixote* is perhaps even more popular today than it was three centuries ago

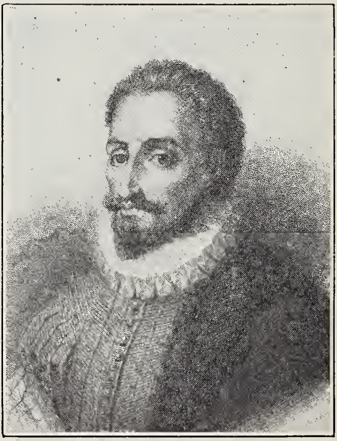

Fig. 53. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra

Thus we see that in the various countries of Europe national languages were beginning to take form, and, stimulated by the Renaissance, national literatures were emerging.

The renaissance in painting and sculpture

In painting and sculpture the renaissance in the arts went forward, along with the increased enthusiasm for creative writing. Some of the greatest artists in all history appeared during the 1300's and 1400's. Let us note a few of them.

Giotto (Giotto di Bondone, 1267(?)–1337). One great creative painter led the way for the astonishing revolution that developed in painting — Giotto, son of an Italian peasant. Above scores, even hundreds of contemporary workers, his name is remembered. A legend, the truth of which we cannot verify, has it that Cimabue (an Italian painter of the 1200's) saw Giotto, when a young boy, drawing a picture of one of his father's sheep with a sharp stone on another smooth, large stone. Astonished at his skill, he carried him off to be his apprentice. Other stories attribute his discovery and training to prominent sculptors of the time. Regardless of which one is the true account, one fact we know: Giotto became one of the greatest painters of all time — some critics say "the very greatest." Many stories are told of his skill. One tells that Pope Benedict XI asked for proof of his great ability. Giotto submitted as a sample merely a large letter "O," which he painted at a single sweep of his brush. But it convinced the Pope.

What did he paint? Mostly frescoes on the walls and ceilings of churches. Painters and sculptors of the times usually took religious themes. The Popes and the dukes paid royal commissions to those who would ornament their churches, cathedrals, and palaces. So Giotto, like his successors, painted scenes from Christian history. Perhaps most famous among his works are the four great paintings at Assisi in honor of Saint Francis. (See figure 54.) He also contributed frescoes to buildings in Padua, Ravenna, Rome, Naples, and other Italian cities. At the age of 68 he planned and began the famous campanile, or bell tower, at Florence.

Giotto was always a popular hero. Petrarch and the historian Villani wrote of him, and Boccaccio made him the subject of tales and anecdotes. Today he remains the "great man of painting."

Lorenzo Ghiberti (*1378–1455*). Today in Florence, Italy, the ancient baptistery still stands opposite the cathedral. Two of its bronze gates are very beautifully decorated with sculptured scenes from the Bible. This work, completed only after many years, was done by Lorenzo Ghiberti, one of the first of the Renaissance sculptors. It is said that Ghiberti labored for fully twenty years over his first gate! The magnificence of these gates was such that Michelangelo, himself one of the greatest artists of the Renaissance, declared them "worthy to be the gates of Paradise." Ghiberti also executed statues of several of the saints, and was an architect of the Florence cathedral.

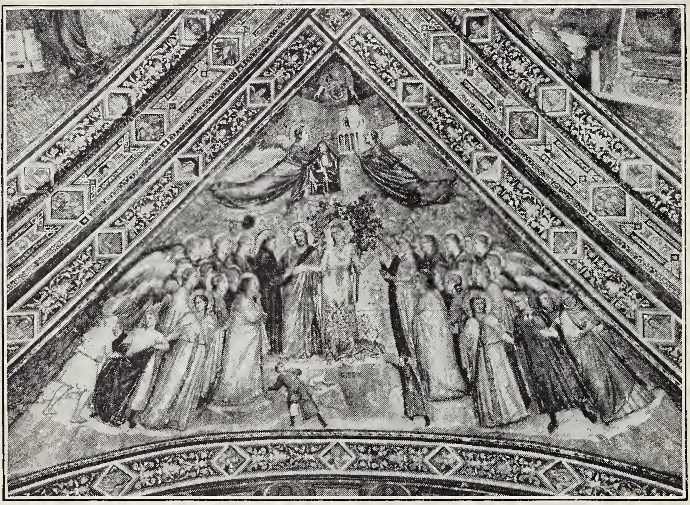

Fig. 54. "The Marriage of Saint Francis to Poverty," one of the four allegorical frescoes painted by Giotto in honor of Saint Francis of Assisi

Albrecht Dürer (*1471–1528*). Occasional painters appeared in Germany also, although Italy was the great center. In Nuremberg, Albrecht Dürer achieved an international reputation as the leader in the development of engraving and etching. Even today his

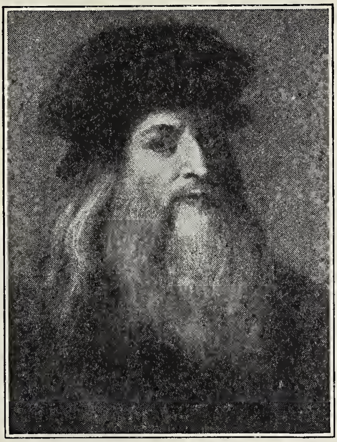

FIG. 55. Leonardo da Vinci

More than 400 years ago, in Florence, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) painted one of the most famous of all portraits, the *Mona Lisa*, and the familiar picture of *The Last Supper*. But this most extraordinary man did other creative things. He designed airplanes — designs that are considered practical by engineers of this day. As a scholar he anticipated Darwin's hypothesis of evolution. He was painter, engineer, architect, sculptor, poet, composer, athlete, mathematician, organizer — many say as perfect in each rôle as if it had been his only occupation. He possessed an amazingly encyclopedic mind which he applied to all aspects of the world. In the 5000 pages of scientific and speculative observations left by him are revealed the foundations of many sciences and arts which came later. These discoveries he kept to himself, possibly because he was afraid that the Church would object to them. The manuscripts lay concealed for centuries, while men were laboriously learning what Leonardo could have told them. He knew something of what, years later, Galileo, Bacon, Newton, and Harvey were to discover

One of the greatest achievements in art is the decoration of the dome of the Sistine Chapel in Rome — a set of frescoes illustrating the Bible story of the Creation. The most famous single painting in the world, perhaps, is the *Last Judgment*. And the dome of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome is one of the finest architectural creations yet achieved by man. Any one of these three works would be a vast contribution from one man to civilization, but Michelangelo (1475–1564), the immortal Florentine, produced all three — and much more. Tremendous strength of character, as well as genius, was necessary for the completion of some of these masterpieces. For example, Michelangelo worked four years on the Sistine Chapel paintings, much of the time lying on his back on a scaffold. When the task was done he wrote his father: "Today I finished the chapel I was painting. The Pope is very well satisfied." The statue of David is evidence of his ability as a sculptor. He was also an engineer, a poet, and a student of anatomy

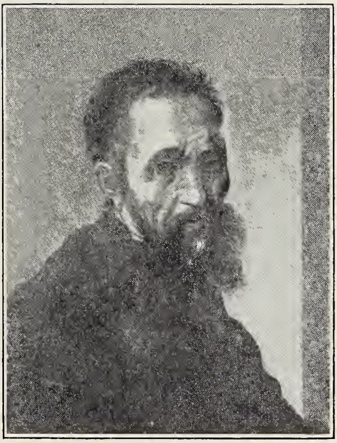

FIG. 56. Michelangelo Buonarroti

Saint Jerome in the Wilderness ranks among the greatest engravings of all time. Dürer was also a painter of considerable importance.

Painters also appeared in Holland and Spain. The development of painting in Holland and Spain was slower than in Italy, but in the 1500's and 1600's several artists of note appeared in both of these countries. In Holland, Rubens (1577–1640) and Van Dyck (1599–1641) became famous; in Spain, Velásquez (1599–1660) and Murillo (1618–1682) also achieved eminence.

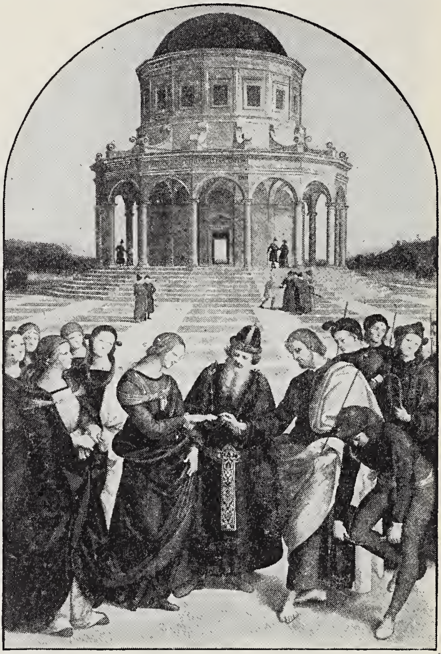

Fig. 57. The picture of this painting by Raphael can give us no idea of its exquisite colors, but it does show the harmony and balance of Raphael's work

The development of music and musical instruments in the Italian Renaissance

In the Middle Ages musical instruments had been crude, and music itself had been a rudimentary art. However, in the 1500's delicate instruments were perfected which made possible the later development of great music. This development we will discuss in a later chapter. It is sufficient here to state that composers began to create beautiful music, especially music for use in the Church Mass.

Thus life in Europe began to change after 1500

We therefore see that, by about 1500, changes had come about in the development of national languages and national feeling.

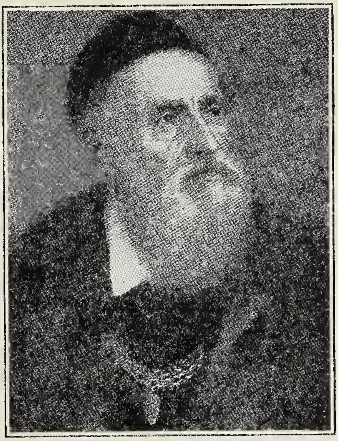

FIG. 58. Titian

Titian, the central figure of a group of painters known as the Venetian school, painted pictures for wealthy persons who would pay high prices for them. Because of this he has been called "the first professional painter." A highly intelligent, educated man, ambitious for personal gain, he aimed his extraordinary genius at the richest markets for his wares, painting his way to fame and fortune. As he employed a clever man to promote his patronage, he had, like many modern celebrities, a "press agent." Titian's outstanding talent was his use of color. He was also one of the first to appreciate nature, especially mountains, as subjects for pictures. It is reported that Michelangelo, after inspecting Titian's picture *Danaë in the Rain of Gold*, said of him, "That man would have had no equal if art had done as much for him as nature." Among his well-known pictures are *The Man with the Glove* and *Charles V*. Titian died in 1576, at the age of 99, enriched by commissions from the princes and the wealthy of Europe

Raphael was born in 1483, the son of a hard-working artist who taught his boy the principles of drawing and color. In addition to his great natural talent, Raphael was a hard worker. It was perhaps because he was so devoted to his work that he never married. His charming manner and good looks endeared him to all who knew him. When he died, at the height of his powers, only 37 years old, he had painted pictures that will live forever. There has probably never been a more universally popular painter than he. Like the other Italian painters of his time, Raphael selected his subjects largely from the principal events of Biblical history. Among his best-known pictures are the *Crowning of the Virgin*, the *Marriage of the Virgin* (see figure 57), and the *Entombment of Christ*. His brush decorated a suite of magnificent rooms for the Pope Julius II, and his designs helped to beautify the Vatican. For many years he superintended the construction of St. Peter's Cathedral, the dome of which was designed by Michelangelo

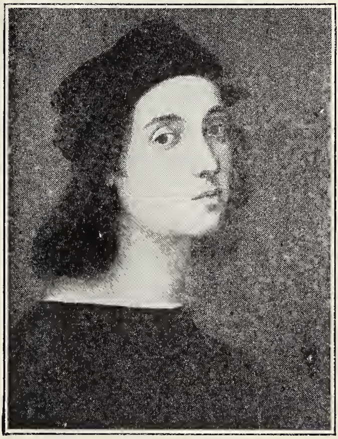

FIG. 59. Raphael

Furthermore, science, religion, and the arts had changed, too. A real rebirth of thought and creative effort had taken place. As a result experiments were launched in all the fields of thought and action. Indeed the period following 1300 was increasingly a time of revolution in all the arts of life.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Barton, George A. Jesus of Nazareth. The Macmillan Company, New York. The story of Jesus.

Cather, Katherine D. Boyhood Stories of Famous Men. The Century Co., New York. Includes sketches of Titian, Murillo, and Giotto.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. Don Quixote de la Mancha. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York. Retold by Judge Parry.

Davis, William S. The Friar of Wittenberg. The Macmillan Company, New York. Luther, the Reformation, and the religious wars.

Humphrey, Grace. The Story of the Williams. The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia. Includes the story of William Shakespeare.

Jewett, Sophie. God's Troubadour. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. Medieval church and St. Francis of Assisi.

Macy, John A. The Story of the World's Literature. Horace Liveright, New York.

Martin, Mrs. George. A Warwickshire Lad. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Shakespeare's boyhood.

Reade, Charles. The Cloister and the Hearth. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. Conditions in Italy, Germany, France, and the Netherlands during the Renaissance.

Van Loon, Hendrik W. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York.

Whitcomb, Ida Prentice. The Young People's Story of Art. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York. Stories of famous artists and their work in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

UNIT III

ENGLAND'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY

ENGLAND'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY

For the beginnings of Europe's march toward democracy we turn to England. It was there that the middle class of traders and well-to-do townspeople first developed. It was there that charters of liberty were first wrung from absolute kings by land barons and church officials. Hence in Chapter VII we trace England's first steps toward democracy — a long, slow evolution, paralleling the rise of England as a nation. Chapter VII, therefore, will carry the story up to about 1700.

To understand how Great Britain evolved the first representative government after 1700, we must study the rôle of the new ways of thinking which were applied to government as well as to the physical world. Thus in Chapters VIII and IX we shall see how "frontier thinkers" directed the world's march toward democracy. In Chapter VIII will be considered the application of their ideas to the ownership of property and to the control of government until the late 1700's. In Chapter IX we shall see especially how the rise of the Industrial Revolution produced, in the nineteenth century, a new group of frontier thinkers who changed the world's thinking about government.

With this background of understanding we shall see, in Chapter X, how these new ways of thinking were applied to the building of the first representative government, that of Great Britain after 1800.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND'S FIRST STEPS TOWARD DEMOCRACY

As we have seen, Roger Bacon had commanded: "Look at the world! Experiment! Think out your ways of living; don't take them merely on the authority of other people!" And new ways of thinking appeared — in science, in religion, in the arts!

Slowly but surely government in every country of Europe changed. Slowly kings lost their autocratic powers and the common people secured more political rights. But not for 500 years after Roger Bacon's time were real experiments in *democratic* government begun.

The change took place earlier in some countries than in others. In Germany and in Russia, for instance, it was long postponed; in some countries, indeed, it has come only in our own time. But in England the march toward democracy began much earlier than in others,— a long, slow, and rather steady evolution toward representative government. Hence it is to England that we turn for our first study of modern European governments and how they grew up.

The rôle played in government by the private capitalist

One group of people, more than any other, brought about the increase in representative government in England. This was, in general, the business class — the townsmen, manufacturers, shipowners, and merchants. To understand Europe's march toward democracy, therefore, we must first understand the emergence of this group, especially after 1500.

The group has been known in modern history by various names. Sometimes it is called the middle class — the kings, nobles, and other wealthy landlords being the upper class, and the great mass of common people the lower class. Sometimes it is known as the third estate — the first and second estates being the clergy and the nobles. Sometimes, because these people lived chiefly in the towns, they are called the bourgeoisie, from the French word *bourg*, meaning "town." The group is also referred to as the private capitalist or merely the capitalist class, meaning the people who possess capital.

As you doubtless know, it was this class that, especially after 1750, built up the new industrial system of England. It came to own the factories and the business enterprises, the mines, the transportation and communication systems, even most of the land; eventually it took control of the government. Hence, to understand the way in which Europeans developed their experiments in democratic government, we must see clearly how this middle class rose to power after 1500, and how they developed what we call today representative and parliamentary government.

To do that we must first glance back at the economic happenings in England.[1] For a long time before 1500 the landowners had slowly been taking the "common land" away from the peasants and "inclosing" it — fencing it in to provide a grazing place for their growing herds of sheep. Facing ever-increasing hardships in getting a living from their tiny plots of land, the peasants had turned more and more to handicrafts in order to eke out a living. Some had left their cottages and had gone to live in towns; others had become skilled spinners, weavers, or shoemakers, and carried on their crafts in their rural cottages.

Thus, by 1700 cloth-making, cabinetmaking, the manufacture of knives and other kinds of hardware, and the production of fine pottery were flourishing handicrafts in English homes. Wool from the English flocks, raw silk from China, and cotton from Egypt and India were being woven into fine textiles on English looms. In the towns paper-making, printing, bookbinding, and the manufacture of tools, glassware, soap, and other articles rapidly developed.

But to supply the raw materials and the wages for these growing crafts required capital, especially money and credit. In this period, therefore, capitalists — the forerunners of our modern capitalists — appeared in England. In the cloth-making industry, for example, men of ambition, thrift, and cleverness saw that they could make more money by buying wool and other raw materials and hiring workmen to spin and to weave them into cloth than by laboriously manufacturing cloth themselves. These clothiers, or traders in cloth, steadily increased the volume of their business as their orders in England and in other countries grew. Hence they accumulated ever larger amounts of capital.

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[1] At this point it would be well to read Chapters V–VIII of *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World.*

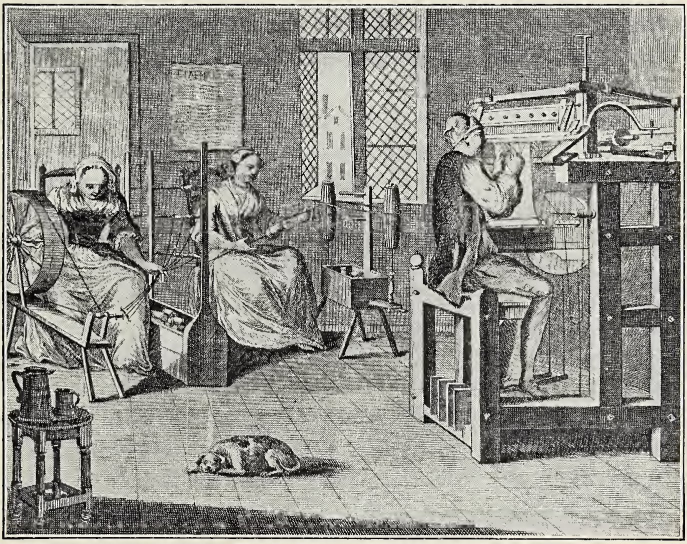

FIG. 60. Many English homes of the 1700's were factories in which the handicrafts flourished. In this family the women carded and spun wool while the man wove the yarn into cloth. (From the *Universal Magazine*, 1750)

England became the pivot of world trade. As the crafts developed, British trade mounted by leaps and bounds, and Bristol and other English ports became thriving centers. British merchants formed great trading companies under charters from the crown which gave them a monopoly of trade between England and other countries. Recall the fabulous sums made by the British East India Company through importing the products of the Far East and selling them for large profits in England and on the Continent. Recall also that in the early 1600's the Plymouth and London Companies were chartered, the American colonies were established in Virginia and Massachusetts, and commerce increased between England and the New World.

Two important ideas: (1) private capitalism; (2) private ownership

Thus a new economic class — capitalists — developed in England and in the other countries of western Europe about the same time. Since we shall use the term *capitalist* many times let us illustrate it very carefully.

Manufacturers, for example, are capitalists. Owners of railroads and shipping companies are capitalists. Owners of houses and of apartments which are rented for profit, bankers and owners of stocks and bonds, farmers who hire "hands," and storekeepers who hire clerks are capitalists. In general, then, anyone who makes a profit from the labor of others or from income derived from rent or the use of money is a capitalist. Thus today in most countries of the world a very considerable number of the inhabitants are capitalists. We shall note later the increase in this class in various countries.

But back of this idea of capitalism is another important idea — namely, that of private ownership of property. This is perhaps the most important single idea underlying civilization in most countries of the world. Therefore we must understand it also. In the United States, England, France, Germany, China, Japan, and India — in fact, in almost every civilized nation — *things are owned and produced by private individuals.* For example, farms are owned privately and food is produced by the individual farmer *for profit.* Coal lands are owned and coal is mined by private citizens *for profit.* Oil fields, iron mines, and other natural resources are owned and worked by private citizens *for profit.* Even railroads, telegraphs, telephones, the radio, and most forms of entertainment are owned and operated in this way.

Thus, in these countries, all food, shelter, and clothing and most services needed by the people are provided by private individuals. Very little is produced by the state — that is, by the government. It owns little property, produces few goods, and carries on very few services. It operates the postal system, supplies water in most communities, and provides certain other services of government. But beyond these, *nearly everything upon which our lives depend is carried on by capitalists for private profit.* Thus we speak of our civilization as a *system of private capitalism.* It is a capitalistic civilization.

Back of this idea is the belief that all these things will be done most efficiently if they are left to the initiative and ambition of individual citizens. This has been held by practically all modern nations and is the economic basis for practically all government. As we shall learn in later chapters, there is one important exception — the present experiment in state ownership and operation of property which is now being carried on in Russia.

In beginning the study of the development of representative government in England, therefore, it is most important to keep in mind the rise of this middle class of private capitalists after 1500. These owners of farm land, of herds of sheep, of coal and iron mines, of warehouses, of docks, and of banks took more and more control of both local and national government, especially after 1600. This capitalist class ousted the kings, the princelets, the dukes, the archbishops, and the abbots from political rule and developed what we know today as parliamentary and representative government.

One other important question: What is meant by "parliament"?

Before considering the steps by which England and other countries built up the parliamentary government which we have in the world today, one other important idea must be made clear —*parliament.* In Great Britain, in France, in Germany, and in some other countries, government today is spoken of as "parliamentary." To understand what the term means let us note how it developed.

The English word "parliament" comes from the French word *parlement,* which was the name applied to any meeting held for discussion. This word, in turn, came from the French *parler,* meaning "to speak." The French word *parlement* was first given to annual councils which the Capetian kings called together on the occasion of certain festivals (about 1000 A.D.). To these council meetings the leading lords and officials of the Church were invited, and the kings secured their advice on various problems of the kingdom. The kings also decided various legal controversies which came up for decision.

When William the Conqueror and his Norman successors introduced French customs into England after 1066, they continued to call together nobles and clergy in a Great Council to advise the king. One reference in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,[1] for example, states that William the Conqueror had "very deep speech with his Witan." (*Witenagemot* was the name applied at that time to this council, or meeting, of landowners and prelates who were known as the *witan*, or "wise men.")

By the early 1200's the French word *parlement* was in frequent use in England as a name given to debates and discussions; shortly after that it was applied formally to the Great Council of the king. Thus, the Statute of Westminster of 1275 speaks of the Great Council in England as the *parlement*. As the standard English language slowly evolved out of the mixture of the West Saxon, Danish, Kentish, and other dialects and the new Norman tongue, the English term "parliament" finally emerged as the official name of the legislative body of the English government. Today the British Parliament includes the king and two legislative houses — the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Although the king is a constituent part of Parliament, yet in the ordinary use of the term only the Lords and Commons are included. In the remainder of this chapter and in Chapter VIII we shall describe and illustrate parliamentary government.

THREE DECLARATIONS OF RIGHTS UPON WHICH THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION IS BASED

Today the rights of a British subject, which are essentially the same as those of an American citizen, are protected by a constitution, as they are in the United States. But the British

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[1] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a contemporary record of events covering the years from the reign of Alfred the Great until 1154.

Constitution is unlike the American Constitution in one very important respect — it was not made in the same way. The seven articles of the American Constitution were written at one time, in the summer of 1787, by leaders of the thirteen American colonies. In the century and a half since that time twenty-one amendments have been added. The British Constitution, however, was not written at one time. It evolved very slowly, item by item, during a period of nearly 700 years.

Three charters of British liberties comprise the heart of the Constitution.

1. Magna Carta (the Great Charter), 1215.
2. The Petition of Right, 1628.
3. The Bill of Rights, 1689.

These three declarations of rights are justly famous in the history of parliamentary government. The American Declaration of Independence, the American Constitution, and, in a large part, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789, were based upon them. Indeed, the parliamentary government which evolved in England was the basis for most of the experiments in parliamentary government in various parts of the world. Let us note briefly the circumstances under which these three documents were prepared, and the civil and political rights which they guaranteed.

Magna Carta, 1215 — the first charter of English liberties

Nearly a thousand years passed from the time of the kings of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex to the time when government in England became representative. Nearly 1000 years were required to substitute for the absolute rule of a single hereditary king the representative House of Commons of the capitalist class.

About midway in this long period came the first great written document in the history of representative government in England. This was the so-called "Great Charter," *Magna Carta,* which the more well-to-do land barons and Church officials compelled King John (1199–1216) to sign in the year 1215. As one eminent historian says, the Magna Carta was "the first, clearest, most united and historically the most important enunciation [of English liberties]." It marked the beginning of the checks upon royal authority and laid a foundation for the development of representative government in England and in western Europe as well. It shows that at least a few of the Englishmen of that time — the large landowners and the clergy — had achieved enough power to deny the king the right of absolute or autocratic government.

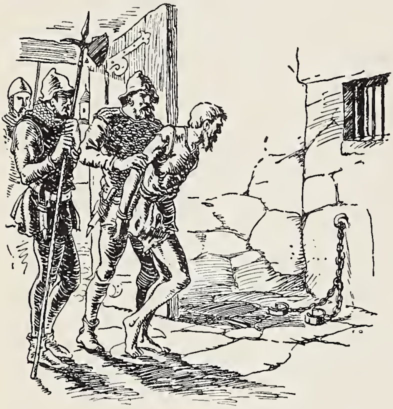


FIG. 61. In England before 1215 anyone might be imprisoned without trial

Included in the list of 63 fundamental rights of the leading property-owners were the following: the King promised not to levy taxes upon the owners of land and other property without the consent of the Great Council; the Church was left free to choose its own officials and otherwise administer its business; London and other cities were guaranteed certain rights to carry on their collective affairs. Furthermore, the Charter said that "no freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested . . . unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." Thus, government was to be only "by the consent of the governed."

But we must note carefully that the Magna Carta did not guarantee self-government to the English people as a whole. "The governed," in the foregoing phrase, meant only the large property-owners, the land barons, the bishops and abbots of the Church — in short, it meant only the nobility and the clergy. These made up, certainly, less than 1 per cent of the population. Those who owned no property — more than 99 per cent of the English people — were still without a written guarantee of liberty.

The House of Commons also began in the 1200's

In 1254 came the next step in the evolution of a government which would be representative of more of the British people. In that year, in summoning the nobles and prelates to meet in the Parliament, the King also called two lesser knights from every shire or county. That is, the "gentleman" landlords of each rural district elected two representatives. In this election only the owners of property were permitted a voice. It is said that the King added these lesser landowners to the Great Council not from any desire to let more of the people have a deciding voice in government, but to obtain directly from the rural landlords information concerning the amount of taxes which each district could pay into the royal treasury.

Eleven years later, in 1265, another event took place which increased very slightly the representativeness of English government. Simon de Montfort, a wealthy land baron who objected to the autocratic ways of King Henry III, took matters into his own hands and called a parliament. Not only were the chief nobles and Church officers and two lesser knights from each shire included, but also *two burgesses from each of 21 towns* were summoned. These knights of the shire and burgesses of the towns were generally owners of small amounts of property and were regarded as "commoners."

In subsequent years the Parliaments continued the practice. Thus in 1295 Edward I summoned a "complete parliament," including not only archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, but also *two knights from every shire and two citizens from every city and borough* which satisfied certain requirements. By the early 1300's the representatives met separately in two bodies: (1) the House of "Lords, Spiritual and Temporal," including the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and other chief barons; and (2) the House of Commons, including the knights of the shires and the burgesses of the cities and towns. During most of the six centuries that have since passed the British Parliament has been made up of these two bodies—the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

As the story of representative government in England unfolds, we shall see two steady changes: (1) the step-by-step decline in the power of the House of Lords; (2) the inclusion in the House of Commons of representatives of a larger and larger proportion of the British common people.

But let us note carefully that at the time of the formation of the House of Commons and for 500 years thereafter, this so-called House of Commons still represented only owners of property. The great mass of peasants, craftsmen, and other wage-earners — and these made up the vast preponderance of the people — were not yet represented. A beginning had been made, however, in building up a government of the British people; for now the small capitalists of the towns and villages, as well as the hereditary landlords, were represented in Parliament.

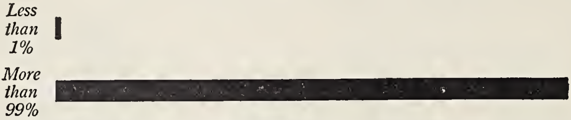


Fig. 62. The distribution of the English people in the year 1300 according to their right to vote. The upper bar represents the per cent of people who were entitled to vote. The lower bar represents the per cent who had no vote

THEN BEGAN THE LONG STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT FOR THE CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT

As we have already seen, the political history of England was essentially the story of the rise and fall of kings — of the attempt of one family to keep the throne and of others to take it away by intrigue or by force, by conspiracy or by murder, by any means, fair or foul. "The king is dead! Long live the king!" Generation after generation, when British kings died the throne passed to their sons, their daughters, or to younger brothers and sisters, or lacking those, to cousins. As the chart of Table III showed us, the descendants of William the Conqueror and of the Plantagenets of France ruled until nearly 1400. Then for almost 100 years the rival families of Lancaster and York conspired, intrigued, even murdered one another, in their eagerness for the throne. In 1485 Henry VII started a new line — the Tudors (Table IV). This family — Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth — kept the throne until 1603. The story of the reigns of many of these earlier monarchs is, indeed, a tale of riotous and extravagant living by the rulers and their favorites. Huge sums of money were squandered upon elaborately furnished palaces. Other stupendous sums were wasted in useless wars: wars of aggression and spite against other kings — the King of France, the King of Spain, and the rulers of Holland and other parts of Europe; wars conducted by the rulers to put down the insurrections of rival nobles who rose in rebellion to secure the throne or to wrest greater privileges from their kings.

TABLE IV

English Rulers from the Tudors to the Present

TUDOR LINE (1485–1603)

Henry VII (1485–1509)
Henry VIII (1509–1547)
Edward VI (1547–1553)
Mary (1553–1558)
Elizabeth (1558–1603)

STUART LINE (1603–1714)

James I (1603–1625)
Charles I (1625–1649)

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector (1653–1658)
Richard Cromwell (1658–1660)

Charles II (1660–1685)
James II (1685–1688)
William and Mary (1689–1702)
Anne (1702–1714)

HANOVERIAN LINE (1714–)

George I (1714–1727)
George II (1727–1760)
George III (1760–1820)
George IV (1820–1830)
William IV (1830–1837)
Victoria (1837–1901)
Edward VII (1901–1910)
George V (1910–1936)
Edward VIII (1936)
George VI (1936–)

But regardless of who occupied the throne the story of government in the centuries in which England was forming as a national state is essentially the story of the long struggle of the property-owners of the shires and the towns to take the control of government away from the king and to make him financially dependent upon them. This was the political history in those centuries — the story of conflict over the control of government.

"He who controls the army, controls the government!"

Perhaps you wonder why millions of people permitted a tiny group of so-called royal leaders — kings, princes, earls, and dukes — to squander their wealth and to govern them so autocratically. There are several reasons. One was the long-established tradition of reverence for the king. The royal ruler became a symbol of the nation itself, and of the power and the glory of the people as a group.

But there was a far more important practical reason than that — the king controlled the army. He appointed the officers, paying them and the soldiers from the royal treasury. He saw to it that the army was well paid, well fed, and, in general, contented. Hence the loyalty of the army was to the king, not to the people. The king knew that he governed so long as the army did his bidding. The moment he lost the army he lost the government. Note carefully, therefore, as you continue your studies of Europe's march toward democracy, how frequently this maxim of earlier governments is borne out — "He who controls the army, controls the government."

The chief cause of conflict over government — control of taxation

But who really paid the army? Who really paid for the devastating wars that went on year after year, generation after generation, between the kings and princes of England and France, Spain and Holland, and other countries? The farmers grubbing a meager living out of the soil of England, Scotland, and Wales; the weavers and spinners, shoemakers, carpenters, tool and implement makers, and other artisans of the towns and cities. Everybody, except those exempted by the king, had to help pay the costs of government. Taxation fell most heavily upon the common people.

Now from the 1200's on the more powerful landowners and merchants were in almost constant conflict with the kings over the control of taxation. In the Magna Carta the leaders in the Parliament had shown the kings their growing power. From then on, one English king after another was compelled to reaffirm the Great Charter of liberties in order to secure the approval of the Parliament and get necessary subsidies of money.

Then, in the 1500's, England fell under the Sway of Absolute Monarchs

There came a time, however,— in the 1500's,— when it seemed that the march of the lesser nobles toward control of the government had been stopped. Several clever, energetic kings and queens of the Tudor family followed one another on the throne of England and succeeded in obtaining almost absolute power. These were Henry VII (1485–1509), Henry VIII (1509–1547), Edward VI (1547–1553), Mary (1553–1558), and Elizabeth (1558–1603). Of these, Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth had the most ability and built up control over the British government.

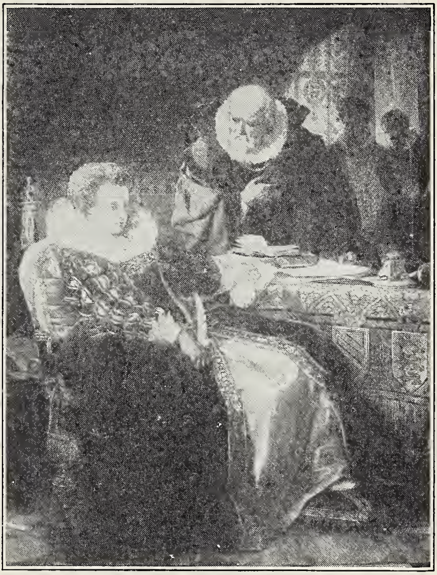


Fig. 63. Queen Elizabeth, last and greatest of the reigning Tudor family. (From a painting by Schrader)

These monarchs succeeded in this where earlier ones had failed, for several reasons. First, they kept rigid control of the army. Second, they secured great wealth without burdening the people generally with heavy taxes. For example, they confiscated valuable properties of the Catholic Church. It was in Henry VIII's reign, you will remember, that the control of the Pope and his officials was thrown off and the king made himself head of the

Church. As a result millions of dollars' worth of properties were seized by the throne, and the revenue of the royal family was increased without working a hardship on the nobles or the mass of the people. Third, Henry and, after him, his son and daughters economized carefully and kept strict control of the finances of the kingdom.

As a result of these factors, there was little conflict between the king and Parliament. The House of Lords and the House of Commons met only a few weeks in each year and generally approved the king's requests without much discussion. Thus as time went on the government of England became nearly an absolute monarchy. That is, the king settled most political questions without asking the consent or advice of Parliament or any other representatives of the people.

James I proclaims the " divine right " of kings

When Elizabeth died in 1603 without an heir to the throne the Tudor line of kings and queens came to an end. Elizabeth, a few days before her death, had expressed a preference for James VI, king of Scotland, as her successor. James was the son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, who was the grandniece of Henry VIII and was therefore a logical candidate for the English throne. Thus James VI of Scotland became also James I of England.

There are two important facts to remember concerning this event. First, the landowners of Parliament were glad to accept James as king, because coming from outside the realm he would have little following in England and it would be easier for them to build up their own power at royal expense. As our narrative continues, we shall note that twice more in a little over 100 years Parliament chose a foreigner to reign over England.

The second fact is perhaps even more important. King James proclaimed that he ruled England by "divine right." He declared boldly:

> It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do or say that a king cannot do this or that.

Not only was King James to rule absolutely, but it was to be definitely agreed by all that he ruled by divine right. He was to be regarded as God's representative in England, and *not as the choice of the people of England.*

James attempted to carry his proclamation into practice, passing laws without consulting Parliament, assuming the power of absolute master of the fate of every one of his subjects, and demanding that huge sums of money be raised by taxation. His acts as well as his proclamations angered the earls and barons and the lesser representatives in the House of Commons. Their irritation was greatly increased by the extravagance and foolhardiness of the King in entangling England in foreign wars with France and Spain and in living in a wasteful and lavish manner.

Trouble started early in his reign. When James asked for large subsidies of money with which to finance his needs, Parliament refused. The King retaliated by attempting to force some of his wealthy subjects to make loans to him. Presumably these loans were to be paid back. Actually they rarely were — hence the term *forced loan.* Such a practice amounted to confiscation of property — taking something by force without payment of any kind.

King James used other illegal methods to get money. He sold noble titles (many kings of Europe did this) to well-to-do persons in return for money or gifts paid into his treasury. He imposed royal duties on certain imported goods, which means that a tax had to be paid to him on certain articles brought into England from another country. He granted monopolies to certain clever leaders in return for a percentage of their profits; for example, he granted lands in North America to the London Company and to others in return for a share of the profits.

Steadily members of the House of Parliament rebelled against these high-handed methods. Matters came to a head in 1621, when the members of the House of Commons solemnly inscribed in their records a Great Protestation against King James's illegal assumption of power. In high rage James tore the Protestation out of the Journal of the House and sent the members of Parliament to their various homes.

MANY IMPORTANT ADVANCES AND CHANGES WERE MADE IN ENGLAND DURING THE EARLY 1600'S

To understand why members of Parliament even dared to draw up such a protestation against a king who had proclaimed himself ruler by "divine right" we must recall the stirring events of the times. Men were beginning to think for themselves about government as well as about every other phase of life. As we have seen, this was the period of the scientific revolution. Galileo was making observations and experiments in Italy. In England, Harvey was discovering new facts about the human body, and Francis Bacon was classifying scientific knowledge and was inciting men to think independently. In France, Descartes was inventing the new mathematics and was supplementing Francis Bacon in the study of the sciences. Many new measuring instruments were being invented, and many new facts about the physical and the human world were being piled up.

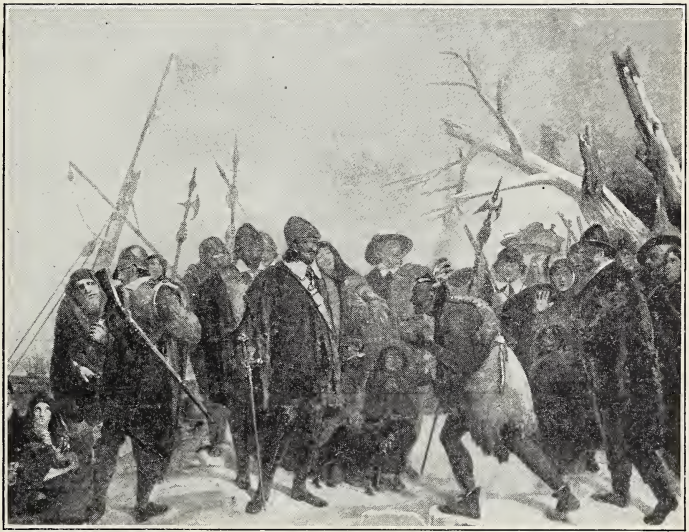
Great changes had also been made in religious beliefs. Only two generations before, the great Reformation had swept over Europe, and many people had been led to think out their beliefs for themselves. In England and Scotland new sects of independent-minded persons were appearing who insisted on worshiping as they saw fit — the Puritans, the Independents, the Separatists, the Quakers, the Presbyterians, and others.

Remember, moreover, that this seventeenth century was the period in which extensive explorations of North America were being followed by settlements in the New World. In the early 1600's colonies appeared near every important harbor on the Atlantic coast. Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert had led their ill-fated expeditions to Virginia in the late 1500's; Captain John Smith had taken his to Jamestown in 1607. Recall others: Plymouth, 1620; Massachusetts Bay, 1628–1630; the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, 1624; Roger Williams, 1635–1636, and Anne Hutchinson, 1638, in Rhode Island; Thomas Hooker in Connecticut, 1635–1636.

This was also a period of great literature in England. Shakespeare was writing *Othello* and *The Tempest* in the reign of James I. Francis Bacon was writing his great book *The Advance-*

ment of Learning (1605), dedicating it to King James I. Furthermore, the authorized translation of the Bible into English was made — the King James Bible, which is used even today in many Protestant churches in English-speaking countries.

Thus, these earlier years of the 1600's were a period of dramatic change in European life. Hence it is easy to understand that in such free-thinking times men of ambition and intelligence who had accumulated wealth would insist on having their proper share in the governing of their collective affairs. That is exactly what took place under leadership within the capitalist class.



© A. S. Burbank, Plymouth

FIG. 64. The Pilgrims land at Plymouth. Breaking away as they did from almost all that was familiar to them illustrates both the changes that were taking place during the early 1600's and the independence of thought that made some of these changes possible. (From a painting by Henry Sargent, in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth)

The important part played by the Puritans in English life in the 1600's

In these stirring times one group took the lead in opposing the absolute "divine right" assertions of the kings — the Puritan capitalists. They were, in fact, the same Puritans of whom we learned in American history, members of the various Protestant churches which had sprung from the teachings of "protestants" against the abuses of the Catholic Church. Thousands of them emigrated to America in the great migration of the 1630's under the leadership of John Winthrop, Endicott, Cotton, and others.

The name *Puritans* came from their desire to "purify" the Church practices and from the stern code of life which the followers of this faith preached and practiced. To understand it, recall the characteristics of the Puritans who settled in Massachusetts. Recall their plain manner of living, their strict observance of the Sabbath, the formality of their speech, their dress, their houses. These were the people, remember, who thought dancing around the Maypole a sin, and who drove Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson out of Massachusetts Bay Colony for disagreeing with them. These were the men who hanged "witches."

Now these Puritans were leaders in the life of England. They were among the rising business men and factory-owners of the cities and towns, the shipowners and the merchants who were building up foreign trade. They were the wool-growers and the well-to-do gentlemen farmers of the shires. They were leaders in industrial undertakings as well as in religion. They were also the men who refused to take orders from "divine right" kings in England in the 1600's.

The struggle for the control of government between the King and the Puritan leaders

Now we have an illustration of a principle that was revealed so many times in the history of American government — namely, that the strongest economic group tends to control the government. From your study of American history you will recall that this happened in every generation from the landing of the Puritans to the rise of the great industrial corporations of our own day.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in England, the same thing took place. It was the Puritan business men who acquired more wealth than other men and who, as they did so, increasingly asserted their control over government. It was they who rose in the House of Commons and recorded the Great Protestation against the King; it was these same Puritan leaders who succeeded in obtaining two more great charters of liberty.

The conflict between the King and the representatives of the middle-class property-owners in Parliament was a quarrel over every kind of right. It was a quarrel over *economic* rights, to determine who should pay taxes and duties, who should have monopolies, and the like. It was a quarrel over *civil* rights. The rising middle class demanded the right of free speech, of protection against unfair imprisonment, and the like. It was a quarrel over *religious* rights also, the same business leaders demanding of the King freedom to worship as they pleased. Thus, this astonishing seventeenth century was indeed historic in the world's march toward democracy. Let us see some of the significant events.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT, 1628 — THE SECOND CHARTER OF ENGLISH LIBERTIES

James I succeeded in living out his life and dying a natural death without further open rupture with the Puritans, and his son, Charles I, came to the throne in 1625. From the moment of his succession Charles continued the same policy of arrogant, absolute government established by his father. He embroiled England in expensive wars and demanded great sums of money from the people to finance his extravagant court.

One dramatic event followed another in swift succession. Within three years the controversy between the King and the leaders in Parliament came to a head. Charles demanded vast subsidies, to be supplied by heavy taxes upon the people. When the House of Commons refused to approve his request, Charles did as his father had done — sold titles of nobility for money, forced large loans from wealthy subjects, imposed duties upon imports, and sold monopolies in return for a share of the profit. Persons who objected, he punished by imprisonment without trial. Soldiers and sailors were quartered in houses of subjects who had incurred his disapproval.

Still he lacked sufficient money to provide for his extravagant needs, and in 1628 he was compelled to accede to the demands of the House of Commons in return for the desired subsidies. These demands were embodied in the second great charter of British liberties — the Petition of Right. This document was in a sense a restatement of the essential rights guaranteed in the Magna Carta — the first charter of liberties — 413 years before. Indeed, the Great Charter was actually referred to in the Petition of Right. The civil right of fair trial was exacted again, and the control of Parliament over taxation was asserted.

From a list of the promises by the King, four should be remembered:

1. No Englishman could be taxed *without the consent of Parliament.* (A new political right)
2. No free man could be imprisoned or otherwise punished without being tried and due cause of imprisonment proved. (A renewed civil right)
3. No one could be compelled to quarter soldiers and sailors in his house. (A new civil right)
4. No one could be tried by military courts in times of peace. (A new civil right)

Note that one significant gain seemed to have been made for representative government. The Petition of Right stated that *no Englishman* could be taxed without the consent of Parliament. No Englishman — not merely the landlords.

The quarrel between the King and the Puritan business men in Parliament continued

But the treacherous Charles had barely signed the Petition of Right when he began to violate it. The very practices against which Parliament had objected were continued. As a result, the House of Commons started investigations of the acts of the King's ministers. They were beginning with the affairs of the unscrupulous Lord Buckingham, when the latter was assassinated. The House of Commons then investigated the illegal collection of customs by the King's officers and the introduction of Roman Catholic practices into the Anglican Church. Incensed at this, Charles sent the members of Parliament home. The King of England was still permitted to do that!

For eleven years (1629–1640) Charles ruled England as *an absolute king without Parliament.* For eleven years he levied fines and taxes, collected duties, and forced loans from his British subjects. He granted monopolies in the sale of wine, salt, and other commodities in return for a payment of a large amount of "graft" to him. He compelled the shipping towns to contribute money to his treasury for a navy.

Out of this last form of royal tyranny grew the famous case of John Hampden, a member of the House of Commons, who refused to pay a tax of twenty shillings for ship money. Hampden was arrested, tried before a court made up of king's judges and convicted — but only by a bare majority. This case became famous in the history of English liberty, because it revealed the marked increase in the independence of the people, and showed very clearly that the property-owners of England would shortly take the government into their own hands. For, although the judges, as favorites of the King, were under his influence, nevertheless almost half of them refused to convict Hampden.

While this conflict over taxation and the raising of money went on, the leaders of Parliament were also greatly incensed at Charles's attitude toward the Catholic Church. He appointed William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury — that is, head of the Church of England. Much to the anger of the strict Puritans, the English Church, under Laud, became much more like the Roman Catholic Church. "High church" formalities were introduced. Catholics were favored all over the country, and the exactions on the Puritans increased. It was in this decade of the 1630's that thousands of Puritans emigrated to America and settled at Massachusetts Bay.

But Charles went too far. He tried to introduce the ritual and organization of the Anglican Church into Scotland, and in 1638 the Scotch Presbyterians rose against him and his bishops. Troops which Charles ordered to advance against them mutinied. The situation of the King became worse and worse. For two years his armies were defeated at home and abroad. At last, in 1640, he was compelled to summon a Parliament. Three times in that year the King tried to deal with Parliament, which openly denounced him and his favorites. The Short Parliament assembled, wrangled three weeks, and was dismissed. A council of lords was then called together to advise Charles. Finally, in November, 1640, he summoned the last Parliament of his reign. This was known as the Long Parliament — well named, for it lasted from 1640 to 1653. During these years famous events happened and important history was written for England.

The Puritan Revolution

More and more insistently the Puritan leaders boldly demanded the democratic control over government which the charters of liberty had implied. Daring middle-class gentlemen like John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell rose in their seats in the House of Commons and defied the tricky king. In fiery speeches they maintained that government of England could be only by the consent of the governed and that the supreme authority lay only in the House of Commons.

Step by step they took the power they asserted. First they impeached Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, King Charles's close friend and minister. To save his friend, Charles plotted to seize London by means of the army. Discovering these plots, the Puritan leaders hastened the preparations for Strafford's trial. Fearing an acquittal by the House of Lords, the House of Commons changed the impeachment charge to a bill of attainder; that is, a general argument against Strafford's misdeeds was presented instead of specific proof of definite charges. This was successful, and King Charles was ordered to sign the execution warrant. Crowds gathered everywhere in London demanding the head of the English minister, as they did later that of Archbishop Laud. The King, who was, as one English historian says, "probably one of the meanest and most treacherous occupants the English throne has ever known," was badly frightened by the menacing mobs and signed his friend's death warrant. In 1641 Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the confidant and the personal minister of the King, was beheaded. Four years later, Archbishop Laud was tried for high treason against the people and was likewise beheaded.

One dramatic event followed another. Steadily the leaders of Parliament became bolder. At one stage of the controversy Charles tried to bluff. At the head of an armed force, he went to the House of Commons to arrest the ringleaders of the Puritans. These, however, having been informed of his plans, had left the House and had gone to a safe place in London. Charles demanded that they be handed over to him. The Londoners refused. For a week there was intense excitement in the city. Finally the King, who was steadily losing followers, left the city, and the Puritan leaders were reëstablished in Parliament with great acclaim.

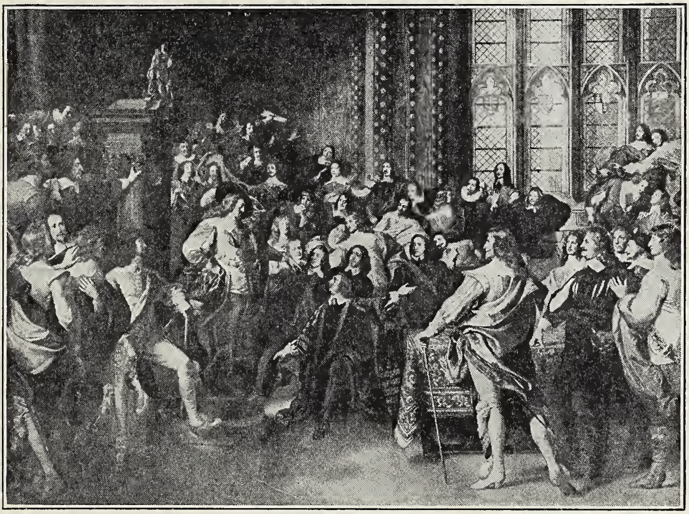


Fig. 65. Charles I in the House of Commons, autocratically demanding that five of its members be delivered to him on a charge of treason. This was the first and only time in history that a British ruler invaded the House of Commons. (From a painting by John Singleton Copley)

England moved swiftly toward civil war. Two groups lined up against each other. On one side were the King, a few favorite nobles, the Church leaders who were inclined toward Roman Catholic practices, and occasional loyal country squires. Against them were arrayed the so-called middle classes, led by a few of the great landowners, most of the small country gentry, and the business men, manufacturers, and merchants of the towns. Thus it was "divine right" aristocrats against middle-class business men. For the first time in English history the middle class was powerful enough to fight a king openly.

Thus the Great Rebellion of 1642–1652 developed. In 1644 Charles and his Royalist armies were defeated in battle at Marston Moor by a combined army of Parliamentary and Scotch-Presbyterian forces. Throughout Scotland the High Church formalities which had been introduced into the Church by the Anglicans were abolished.

Oliver Cromwell and his army take control of England

A man destined to make important changes in English government now entered the scene. This was Oliver Cromwell, a country squire, a member of Parliament, and an Independent in religion. Cromwell had organized a regiment of cavalrymen, who had become the most efficient soldiers among the Puritan troops. He was a stern, God-fearing taskmaster, who had gathered together a regiment of like-minded soldiers, "honest, sober Christians." These soldiers of Cromwell's, who were fined a shilling if they swore, represented well the stern Puritan way of living. For example, they went into battle singing psalms! They earned the name of "Ironsides" because of their strength in battle. Cromwell's Ironsides set such an example that they served as the New Model on which the whole Independent army was reorganized. Gradually Oliver Cromwell himself became the leader of the opposition to Charles, and by 1646 the New Model army had thoroughly defeated Charles's troops and had made the king a captive.

Then followed two years of indecision and quarreling among the various religious and economic groups of Parliament. Some wanted to put Charles back on the throne with restricted powers. Others — extremists — demanded that he be tried for treason to the English people. Others, equally dissatisfied with the king but believing in his authority, asked themselves: Can a "divine right" king commit treason?

The crisis came in December, 1648, when the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons declared they were willing to receive Charles back again on the throne. Thereupon Colonel Pride, an Independent army officer, stationed his soldiers at the door of the House, arrested 143 Presbyterians, and excluded them from the deliberations of the Parliament. This high-handed act has been known throughout English history as "Pride's Purge"; that is, he purged the House of the adherents of the "divine right" kings.

Sixty Independent opponents of King Charles were left. This remnant is known as the Rump Parliament. These immediately appointed a High Court of Justice to try King Charles for treason. The court, made up of his enemies, tried him and convicted him of treason to the English nation. On January 30, 1649, Charles I mounted the scaffold in front of his own palace of Whitehall in London, and his head was cut off.

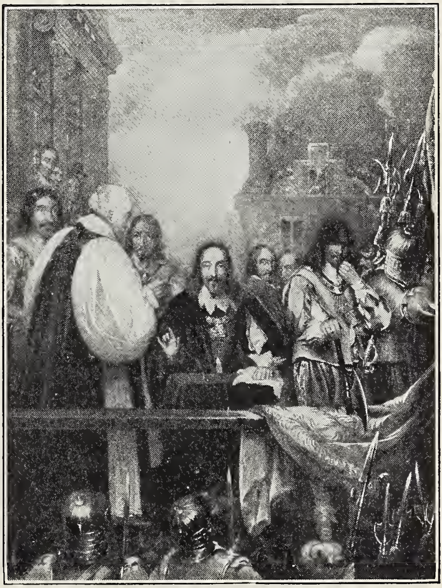


Fig. 66. Mean and treacherous though Charles I was, he met his end with dignity. "He nothing common did or mean Upon that memorable scene." (After a painting by William Fisk)

Thus a small group of middle-class property-owners quarreled with an absolute "divine right" king and asserted that the power of government lay in the hands of the larger propertied class. Democracy moved forward a little in England.

But let us not forget that more than nine tenths of the English people were unconcerned with all this quarreling over civil and political rights. Most of the people went on harvesting their fields, weaving at their looms, buying and selling in their shops, and loading and unloading their ships. They thought much about their daily bread and little about government. Probably not more than a tiny fraction knew of the striking events which led to the beheading of an English king, and certainly only the few who were close to the scene of action in the larger cities had an inkling of the root of the controversy. But through the work of a few leaders — selfish though their motives may have been — the cause of all the people was promoted, and autocratic rule by English kings ceased.

The Commonwealth: England a Republic for a Few Years

Then for several years out of its long history England had neither king nor House of Lords. Parliament — this same "Rump" of the total Parliament — ruled England without even a figurehead on the throne.

Let us not think for a moment that democracy had come to England. An absolute oligarchy, centered in a Council of State of 41 persons, had merely taken the place of an absolute monarchy. The mainstay of the oligarchy was Oliver Cromwell's army; again we see the principle which is especially true in unsettled times, that "he who controls the army, controls the government."

Almost immediately this army faced rebellion in every section of the kingdom. Royalists, as the defenders of the King were called, arose in Ireland and Scotland. But Cromwell, the efficient military leader, quickly marched against his enemies. He slaughtered thousands of Royalists in Ireland, defeating the opposition in one battle after another. Other thousands he sold as slaves or exiled to the West Indies. When the rebellion against the Commonwealth had been put down in Ireland, he turned to Scotland and butchered the opposing armies which in the meantime had risen in support of Charles II, the son of the beheaded Charles I. As a result Charles II was compelled to flee from the British Isles and hide in France.

In the meantime the Rump Parliament, once in power, had begun to "graft," as had its royal predecessors. But when Cromwell's wars were won, he marched his troops back to London and took charge of government himself. In 1653 he sent the members of the Rump Parliament to their homes, saying to them, "Your hour is come; the Lord hath done with you!"

For five years, 1653–1658, Oliver Cromwell ruled England as the Lord Protector, with a small Council of State.

Cromwell, the most efficient leader of his time, the most masterful military and political man of his era, ruled wisely though sternly. In religion he was an Independent, a democrat as far as religious organization of the Church was concerned. He was known to be interested in art and music.

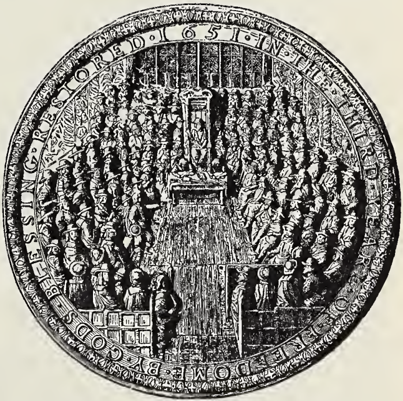

IN THE THIRD YEARE OF FREEDOME BY GODS BLESSING RESTORED 1651

Fig. 67. The Great Seal of the Commonwealth. It shows Parliament once more in session. Read the lettering and note the date

With the establishment of the Protectorate — as Cromwell's first government was called — what is believed to be the first written constitution of modern times was prepared. This, the Instrument of Government, provided that Parliament was to meet at least every three years, that it had the sole power to make laws and to levy taxes upon the people. The Lord Protector — who was really a constitutional monarch — was forbidden the right to veto laws passed by the Parliament. Also, there was to be one religion for the entire country — namely, the Puritan religion.

Other reforms were made. Parliament was to consist of only one house and was to be the "Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland"— not merely of England. Furthermore, members of Parliament were apportioned on a new basis of representation. The larger towns were given more representatives, and the many small places which had had an unduly large proportion of the representation now lost it.

For the last three years of his life (1655–1658) Cromwell ruled England as military dictator, his army enforcing order throughout the country. For three years the nation carried on its business, agriculture, and foreign trade in prosperity. Skilled artisans, irrespective of race and religion, were permitted to settle in England. The sea was made safe for merchantmen by the punishment of Barbary pirates. Spain was defeated by the English navy, which strengthened England's claim to be mistress of the seas. Treaties were signed with Holland and France. It was indeed a time of prosperity for England.

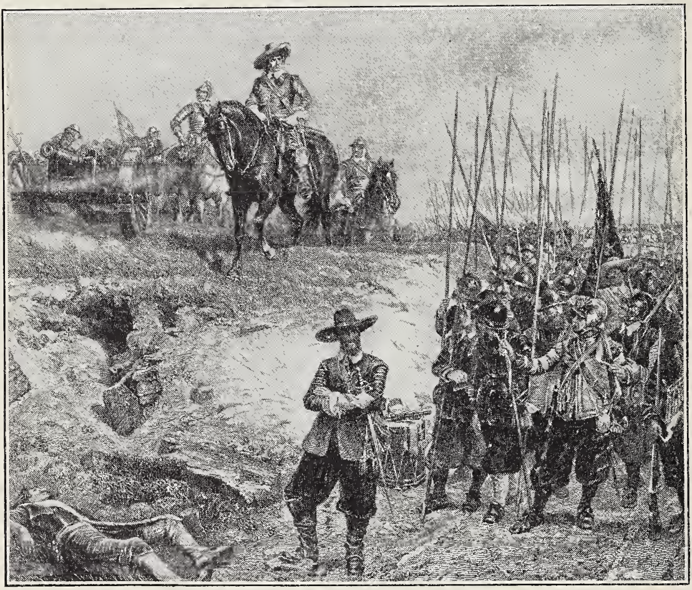


FIG. 68. Cromwell (on horseback) and his Ironsides at Marston Moor during the Great Rebellion. It was in the battle fought here that Cromwell scored his first great victory over the Royalist forces of Charles I. (After a painting by Ernest Crofts)

But it was not *democracy*; it was *autocracy* — absolute government. Cromwell was a military dictator, ruling England because he controlled the army. For the time being, representative Parliamentary government was dead. Government was not by the consent of the governed.

Then, in 1658, Oliver Cromwell died. Again England was left without a head — even a figurehead! For a short time Richard Cromwell, the dictator's son, tried to carry on the government. But, lacking his father's remarkable powers, he soon lost the army and the control of the Parliament. For two years the government of England was disorganized.

In this interval the soldiers of Cromwell's armies really ruled the country. No single leader appeared among them strong enough to seize the power. No single person appeared among the Puritans or the various Independent groups strong enough to receive the support of a majority of the leaders. Finally, it became clear that rather than continue the anarchy of the soldiers' government, most people preferred a Stuart king. Thus, public opinion grew in favor of restoring the Stuart kings to the throne of England.

The Restoration of a King, — but without Divine Right, — 1660

Now there happened in England what has so frequently happened throughout the history of civilization. The leaders put back on the throne again the very family — the Stuarts — which only a few years before they had ousted. You will note in the history of our own country and in the history of other countries that the attitudes of people change. First they put one group in control of government. Becoming discontented with that group, they put it out. But perhaps in a very short time they swear allegiance to the very group that they have put out of power. Note how frequently this happened in the history of France and of other countries. Such examples will teach us how important it is to study the psychology of such attitudes — how opinions and loyalties are formed and what changes them.

Thus in 1660, Charles II, who had been in exile in France, was welcomed back to England as king. The House of Lords and the House of Commons convened once more and passed a resolution that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." So it was that the republic of England came to an end and the kingdom of England was restored. From that day to this the same form of government has been maintained.

But note that Charles ruled as *king by permission of the leaders of Parliament, not by divine right.* Representative government, that is, government as representative as it had ever been during the reign of former kings, was established once more in England.

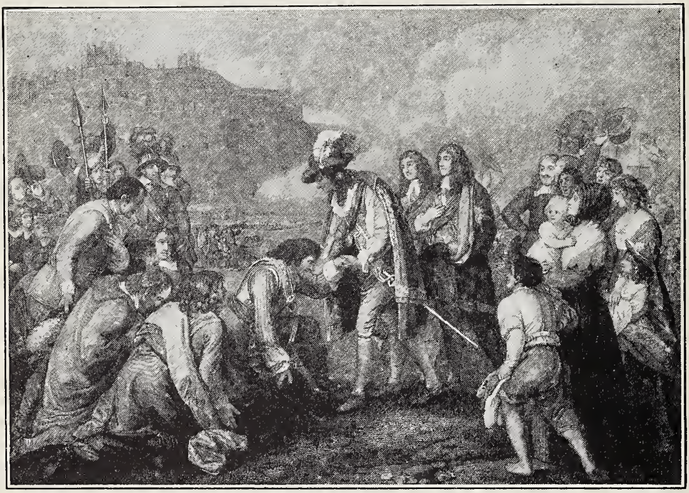


FIG. 69. The people forgot what they had suffered at the hands of their earlier kings and enthusiastically welcomed Charles II back to England. (After a painting by Benjamin West)

We need not recount in detail the happenings of the reign of Charles II. He succeeded in ruling England for twenty-five years and died a natural death. Yet, like his father, he was crafty and hypocritical, constantly conspiring to advance himself. It was later discovered that he had signed a secret treaty with Louis XIV of France by which he was to receive approximately $1,000,000 annually and aid from French armies in case of need. He, in his turn, was to help Louis against his enemies, Holland and Spain, and was to announce himself as a Roman Catholic.

The government of Charles II looked little different from that of James I or Charles I. The King revived the very practices for which Charles I had been beheaded. The old Royalist clique went into power again — the earls and barons, the bishops and abbots. There were the same demands for money; there were the same forced loans. In one case, for example, Charles refused to pay back approximately $7,000,000 worth of gold which London goldsmiths had lent to him. A forced loan indeed!

In the meantime the religious controversy continued. Members of the Anglican Church controlled Parliament, established one uniform church, and decreed that no one should hold an office who was not a member of the Established Church of England. They passed an Act of Uniformity in 1662, debarring every clergyman of the Church who refused to accept every item in the Book of Common Prayer.

Throughout the 1670's and 1680's, Charles himself, however, leaned toward the Catholic religion. Steadily he urged legislation which would favor Catholicism. In 1672 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which tended to give freedom of worship to all Dissenters, including Catholics. Furthermore, his brother, James, heir to the throne, was a Catholic.

Fear spread among Puritan leaders in Parliament that Catholicism would increase throughout the realm. Hence the House of Commons assumed more power than ever before. It passed an Exclusion Bill in 1680, which, if agreed to by the House of Lords, would debar James from the throne at the death of Charles II. After a long fight, however, the House of Lords refused to pass the bill.

The Complete Establishment of Parliamentary Government, 1688

When Charles II died in 1685 and his Catholic brother, James II, was placed upon the throne, Parliament was prepared to assert its power. Within three years it did so, for in that short time James II had so antagonized the leaders of Parliament that he was forced to flee from the country.

Once more England was without a royal head. Once more Parliament was confronted by the problem of choosing a leader. We must note, however, the real significance of the next event; for there has been none more important in English history — perhaps in Europe's march toward democracy.

Parliament had now (1688) achieved such power that it could choose the king! In doing so, it stated the conditions to which he must subscribe in order to be king of England. That is, it compelled him to recognize the fundamental civil and political rights of the British people in the world-famous Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights, 1689, the third great charter of British liberties

So in 1688 Parliament invited a royal couple — Prince William of Orange (Holland) and Princess Mary — to become king and queen of England. Princess Mary was the daughter of James II and Prince William was his nephew. In inviting them to become rulers Parliament stipulated very carefully the conditions of the invitation in a famous document — the Declaration of Rights. After these conditions had been accepted and the new king and queen had been duly crowned, this Declaration of Rights was made a part of the statute law of the kingdom in the form of a Bill of Rights, which is the third great charter of British liberties, the first two being the Magna Carta, 1215, and the Petition of Right, 1628. Its thirteen articles make clear that the British Parliament had invited William and Mary to take the throne only with the understanding that certain enumerated evils of government should be eliminated. The Declaration stated, for example, that James II had assumed many illegal powers such as taxation, quartering soldiers upon civilians, discriminating against Protestants in favor of Catholics, prohibiting freedom of election and speech, imprisoning persons illegally, imposing excessive bail and fines, and inflicting illegal and cruel punishments.[1]

The Bill of Rights stipulates that there shall be freedom of election to Parliament and freedom of speech within it; that Parliament shall be assembled frequently; that laws cannot be suspended, taxes levied, or an army maintained *without the consent of Parliament*; that English subjects shall be tried by impartial juries; that excessive bail shall not be required, or excessive fines and cruel or unusual punishments be inflicted.

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[1] You will recall that Jefferson and the American colonists, in preparing the American Declaration of Independence, recited a similar list of evil and illegal practices of which King George III had been guilty. Compare what follows to find other similarities between the two documents.

"But these are like articles and amendments in the American Constitution!" perhaps you exclaim. They are, in essentials at least. For the English Bill of Rights became famous in world history and was copied into the constitutions of many other countries. It was the basis of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States.[1] It also definitely influenced the leaders of the French Revolution in their famous Declaration of Rights exactly 100 years later, 1789. Thus, the British Bill of Rights has justly become a famous document in the history of written constitutions in the modern world.

Other civil liberties which are today dear to people in democratic countries were also protected in this period of advance in democratic government. In 1689, for example, the Act of Toleration was passed, permitting freedom of worship to the dissenting religious sects of England; that is, to all but Unitarians — those who denied the idea of the Trinity — and Catholics. A bill was then passed establishing comparative freedom of the press and revoking all the former laws by which the government censored and licensed the publishing of books. Thirty years before that time, John Milton, the famous poet, had written an eloquent denunciation of government censorship of books in his *Areopagitica*, but nothing had been done. Thus, this new act of Parliament was another forward step in the freedom of thought and speech.

There is little more of importance in England's slow march toward democracy to tell at this time. William and Mary reigned together until the death of Mary in 1694. Then William reigned alone until his death in 1702. After that, Mary's sister Anne reigned as Queen of England, 1702–1714.

One political event is perhaps worth remembering — the Act of Union of 1707. This *legally* united England and Scotland in what was known as the Kingdom of Great Britain. Although from the time that James had ruled Scotland as King James VI and England as King James I (1603–1625) there had been a kind of personal union between the two countries, they had never been a really united nation. For hundreds of years the English and the Scotch had quarreled. Gradually, however, old hatreds had died down; in 1707 the two peoples legally became one. Steadily the loyalty of people to England or to Scotland has been replaced by loyalty to Great Britain. Little by little, as generations have passed, Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Welshmen have come to regard themselves as British. Figure 70 shows how this union is set forth in the Union Jack — the British flag.

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[1] At this point you might re-read the first ten Amendments to the American Constitution.

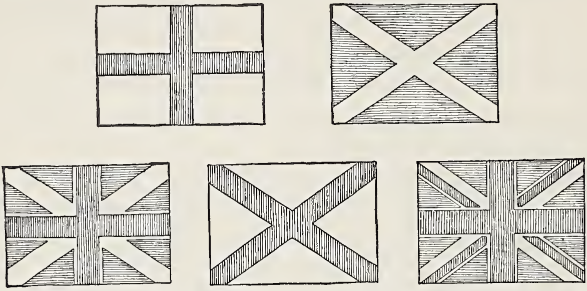

Fig. 70. On the top row are shown St. George's Cross and St. Andrew's Cross, the emblems used on the early flags of England and Scotland, respectively. The first drawing on the second line shows how these two crosses were combined into one flag under James I to signify the union of the two countries. When Ireland was made part of the kingdom, St. Patrick's Cross (lower center figure) was added, and the final drawing shows how the symbols of the three countries are combined today in the Union Jack

How far then had England marched toward democracy in 1700?

Looking back now we see that the idea of government by divine right had been supplanted by the idea of government by a small group of property-owners. A small, wealthy upper class had developed a government representative of itself. Step by step the middle-class landowners and business men had increased their wealth and had taken the control of government away from the king and his small circle of noble favorites. Thus the foundations of parliamentary government had been laid, and three great charters of liberty had been written and accepted by the kings. All this had been accomplished before 1700.

But government was by no means representative of the British people. Not more than 3 per cent of the total population of England had representation in the national government, for at least 97 per cent were still without the right to vote and hold office. Thus it could not be said that the English people had political liberty in 1700.

Similarly, some gains had been made in the attempt to guarantee civil liberty to the people as has been shown by the Bill of Rights. People could no longer be taxed at the whim of a king; no one could be imprisoned or otherwise punished without fair trial. Thus, by 1700 definite gains had been made in both civil and political liberties. They revealed very clearly that the foundations of England's march toward democracy had been laid.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

DIX, BEULAH M. Hugh Gwyeth. The Macmillan Company, New York. Cavaliers and Roundheads.

DUMAS, ALEXANDRE. The Black Tulip. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. William of Orange.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Magna Charta Stories. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, Boston. Stories of struggles for liberty.

HAWES, C. B. The Dark Frigate. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. The days of Cromwell.

MARSHALL, BERNARD. The Torch Bearers. D. Appleton and Company, New York. Story of Cromwell's time.

MARSHALL, HENRIETTA ELIZABETH. Our Island Story: a Child's History of England. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

MASEFIELD, JOHN. Martin Hyde, the Duke's Messenger. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. James II and the rebellion of 1685.

QUENNELL, MARJORIE and C. H. B. The History of Everyday Things in England. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. See Part II, 1500–1799.

QUILLER-COUCH, ARTHUR T. The Splendid Spur. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Interesting account of the time of Charles I.

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. The Black Arrow. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The Wars of the Roses.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW "FRONTIER THINKERS" DIRECTED THE WORLD'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY

We must turn aside for a moment from our study of the development of British parliamentary government and note what was happening among the thinking men of western Europe. It will aid us in understanding the stirring events of the next two centuries.

In the 1600's the scientific revolution had been centered about the facts of the natural and physical world. In the 1700's, however, it began to affect people's ways of thinking about industry, government, and the social world as well. The idea held by the two Bacons, by Galileo, and by the other physical scientists that men should observe the problems of the world carefully and think them through clearly was being seriously considered. A few thinking men began to speculate and draw hypotheses about economic life and government as well as about the physical world.

It was high time they did so. Vast changes were taking place in Europe — changes in the way men worked, in the way they worshiped, and in their living conditions. As a result of these far-reaching changes, difficult and immediate problems were demanding thought. There was, first and foremost, the problem of providing every man with a job and a decent income. There was the problem of making government efficient and economical. There was the problem of safeguarding the health of the people. And there was the problem of guaranteeing civil and political liberty — making government truly of, by, and for the people. Do you not recognize these as the chief problems of today?

In the midst of those stirring changes and insistent social problems, most people of intelligence and initiative devoted themselves to seeking personal prestige or to building up their personal fortunes. Some physically daring men went exploring new lands — witness Columbus, the Cabots, Cartier, Pizarro, and Magellan.

Other adventurers took charters from ambitious kings and financed or settled colonies — as, for example, Walter Raleigh, John Winthrop, and William Penn. Still others sailed the high seas either in merchant ships, buying goods in Asia and selling them at great profit in Europe, or in pirate vessels, making fortunes for themselves by the capture of a single Spanish galleon or a shipload of Oriental spices and teas.

Many of those who remained at home became kings' ministers of war or tax collectors, using their energy and intelligence to fill the royal coffers and incidentally to enrich themselves. The world was muddling along, while the leaders in business, industry, and government secured most of the wealth. In the meantime the mass of the people, less intelligent or less fortunate or both, submissively accepted their poverty-stricken fate, knowing nothing about the management of their collective affairs.

A few clear-minded "frontier thinkers," however, in France, England, Germany, America, and other countries, began to apply their minds to the solution of the difficult social problems. A very small company of students undertook to think through the baffling problems of human living together. It was these first "social scientists" who really redirected Europe's march toward democracy. It was this little band of hard thinkers who saw what lay beneath the surface of the new civilization which Europe was producing. It was these adventurers in creative thinking who gave the world new and important hypotheses about government.

Therefore to understand the experiments in government which have come in recent times we must understand the ideas of these thinkers. To a brief consideration of them we turn next.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM: HOW SHOULD PROPERTY BE OWNED?

Throughout the recorded history of the world, problems of government have been closely tied up to questions of owning property. Perhaps the simplest example to us is the fact that until very recent times, even in the United States, in order to vote or to hold office one was required to own a stated amount of property. Indeed, political liberty in America, even three generations ago, was given only to those who owned property. In the previous chapter we saw that the same thing was true in England. In later chapters we shall see similar examples of the relation between government and property in still other countries. This important topic of property and its ownership is the fundamental question upon which the plans and experiments in democratic government have been carried out in the Western world. Indeed, the basic question which every political philosopher of the past 200 years has been compelled to face, sooner or later, is, *How should property be owned?*

We have already seen the long struggle of western Europeans for the control of property. We have seen kings fighting kings to satisfy their desire for more property. We have seen son pitted against father, brother against brother, family against family, in the attempt to secure more land, money, ships, trade, horses, cows, factories, houses — in short, more property.

Adventurous explorers dared the dangers of the Atlantic to accumulate property. Drake and Hawkins — bold highwaymen of the sea — plundered the Spanish Main in the mad race for property. Merchant companies of England, Holland, France, Spain, and Sweden founded colonies in America, essentially to increase their property. The triangular trade in molasses, rum, and human slavery which grew up in the 1700's is another example of what men will do to secure more property.

Were this a history of the ancient world, we should record examples in every age of that time and in every continent of how men fought to secure slaves, raw materials, and other possessions, even as the animals in the jungles, forests, and plains about them fought for food. Indeed, in viewing the history of advancing civilizations we can see it as the story of men settling the age-old question *How should property be owned?*

Furthermore, had we the space for a long historical view of this problem, we should see how most men, for tens of thousands of years, answered the question in just one way — namely, that property shall be owned by the strongest or the cleverest. They said: "You can own whatever you can take by force or by ingenuity. Might makes right." This idea was put into practice in the age-long armed struggle for thrones, in the enslaving of millions

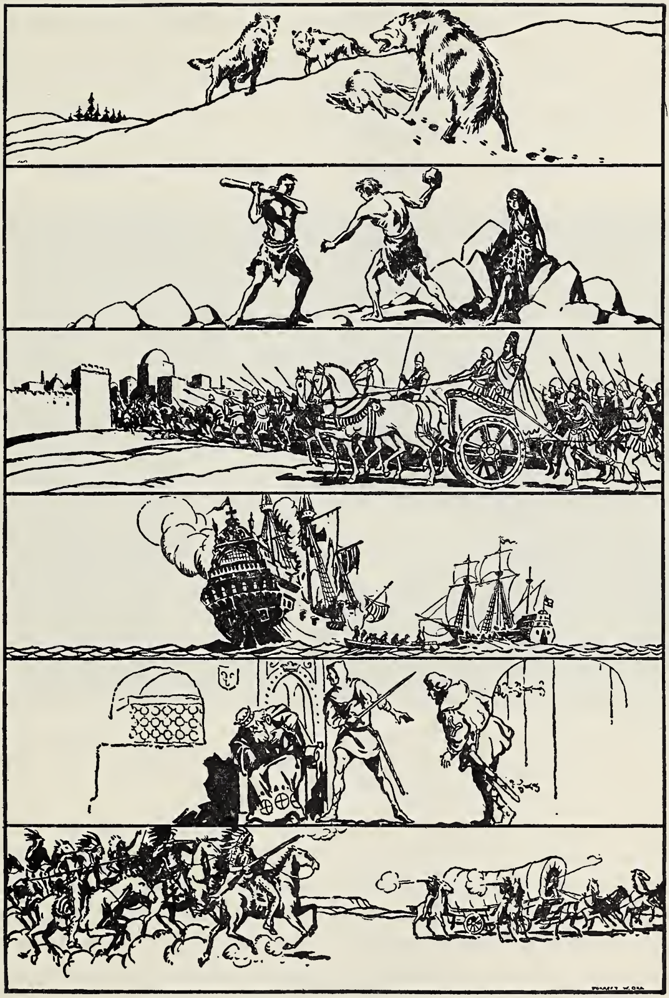

Fig. 71. The age-long struggle for property

of men conquered in battle. It was revealed in the cruel devastating wars of the "absolutist" kings. It was shown in the exploits of the pirates of the seaways and the robber knights of the land highways. Even today it is illustrated in the organized gangs of our cities and in the dishonest practices of some of our politicians.

For tens of thousands of years the private ownership of property, established by force and cleverness, even included the ownership of human beings. Until the nineteenth century — in fact, until within the past three quarters of a century — human beings were regarded as property. They were bought and sold as were horses and cows, land and trees, houses and implements. Recall to mind the enslaving of the Negro in America until 1863, as well as the enslaving of millions of white men, women, and children as serfs on the landed estates of Russia. Thus ages passed while man was evolving an idea that to us, who are accustomed to it, seems to be obvious — namely, that human beings are not property.

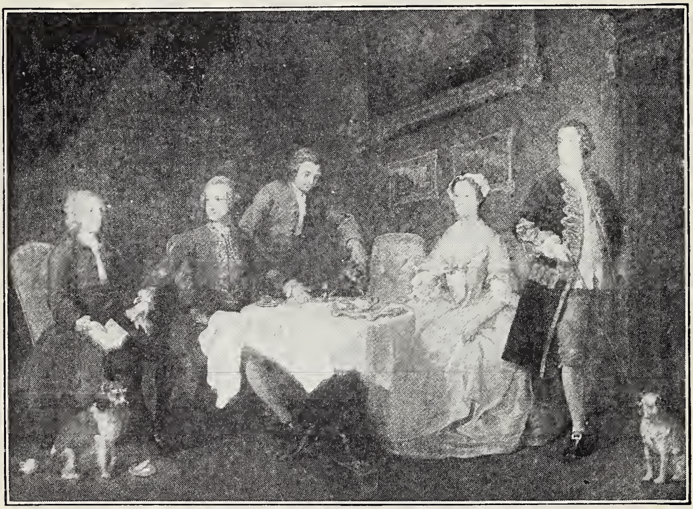

Fig. 72. A middle-class family of property in the 1700's. Compare with figure 60. What differences do you see between these two families? (From a painting by Hogarth. Courtesy of the National Gallery, London)

But in the meantime there has been much hard thinking, much controversial debate, indeed, much shedding of blood and much human suffering, over the question *How shall property be owned?* Most owners of property themselves have been inclined to answer, "Privately" . . . "For private profit." Some impartial frontier thinkers have drawn the same conclusion. But among other scientific students of society there has been an increasing tendency to propose that many things should be owned publicly, communally.

What is meant by "public ownership"?

To understand the long struggle over the control of property we must comprehend clearly what is meant by "private ownership" and "public ownership." To do so look about you in your own community. What kinds of property are owned and operated publicly — that is, by the community as a whole?

Several very important things are so owned. Consider, for example, the water-supply system. In most communities of the United States and of England, France, Germany, and other Western countries, reservoirs, pipe lines, pumping stations — the water works as a whole — are owned and operated by the community. Each house-owner or house-renter pays a certain amount for water supplied from the public reservoir to his home. The amounts charged are supposed to cover merely the actual cost of storing, purifying, and delivering the water. Thus a community's water supply is a good example of communal or public ownership. No private profit is expected to be made from its management.

The public streets, parks, and playgrounds are also owned by the community as a whole. Every man, woman, and child has the right to walk or drive upon the streets, or play upon the playgrounds. Similarly, public libraries, museums, town or city halls, police and fire stations, and the like are owned by the community as a whole, and operated in the interest of the people. The people of the community, through taxes of one kind or another, contribute to the establishment and upkeep of these public enterprises, but no individual is supposed to make a profit out of their maintenance.

In the same way a state or a whole nation owns and operates some things. The postal system is an example of national ownership. In the United States, England, France, Germany, and other countries the postal service is owned and operated publicly. This is carried on by officials who are servants of the people as a whole. Their office buildings and their work facilities, such as automobiles, trucks, and clerical equipment, are owned by the nation as a whole.

The examples given illustrate collective, or communal, ownership. Each of these enterprises is supposed to be carried on at a minimum cost to all the people. No single person is supposed to make a private profit from them.

Most things are still owned privately

We have named but a few examples of public ownership. As you have learned, most things and most services are owned privately and carried on for private profit. In the United States, for example, although water is owned publicly, in most communities the land, either farm land or city land for residence, trade, or manufacturing, is owned privately. Farming, mining, manufacturing, and trade are also owned privately. Although the postal system is owned publicly, transportation and other communication systems — railroads, ships, telegraphs, telephones, and radio — are owned privately. Thus *the means of production and distribution of food, shelter, and clothing are owned privately* in the United States.

In some European countries, notably in France and Germany, railroads, telegraphs, and telephones are owned by the national governments. Thus there are differences among countries with respect to the ownership of some of the public utilities.

We need not multiply cases further. Enough of them have been presented to illustrate the meaning of public ownership and operation as contrasted with private ownership for private profit. It is important to understand this distinction clearly, because it has been the chief problem of controversy among frontier thinkers and political leaders for several hundred years. It is not an exaggeration to say that Europe's march toward democracy has depended upon the settlement of the questions Which things should be owned publicly? Which should be owned privately?

How Leading Frontier Thinkers proposed to solve the Difficult Problems of Government

They began to use the scientific method

In the 300 years that have passed since Galileo and Francis Bacon, many talented minds have attempted to devise more effective schemes of government for the modern nations. These minds have tried to apply the scientific method to problems of political and social life as Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, Isaac Newton, and a host of other men were doing in the study of the physical world.

After 1700 these students were inspired and aided by the growing group of clear-thinking physical scientists. We must not forget that no sooner had Newton, Descartes, and Leibnitz invented their clever schemes of mathematics and physical science than successors appeared who carried their discoveries much further.

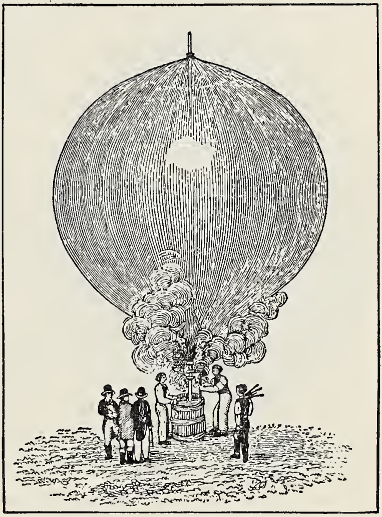

Fig. 73. Physical scientists of the 1700's paved the way for the conquest of the air. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

For example, this was the infancy of the age of electricity. The American, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), was discovering that lightning is a manifestation of electricity. Alessandro Volta (1745–1827) and Luigi Galvani (1737–1798) were making their great discoveries in electricity. Perhaps you have heard electricians speak of "voltaic cells," which are named for this same Volta, or tinsmiths refer to "galvanized iron," named for Galvani. It was at this time that Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), Antoine L. Lavoisier (1743–1794), and others were discovering oxygen and other chemical elements, and building up the foundations of our modern science of chemistry. Explorers were also adding to our knowledge of the earth. The voyages of Captain James Cook (1728–1779), both in the Arctic and in the South Seas, were revealing regions about which little had been known in Europe.

We must bear in mind that once the scientific method was adopted (about 1600) it began to be applied to every aspect of the physical and human world. First the physical universe was studied by means of it. Then the plant and animal worlds were brought under its scrutiny. And after 1700, students began to think scientifically about the problems of government, industry, business, and social life generally.

François Quesnay and the Philosophy of *Laissez Faire*

About the middle of the 1700's there emerged in France and England men who proposed new solutions for the difficult problems of government. The movement started in the court of the French king, Louis XV, under the leadership of a middle-class physician named François Quesnay. Quesnay was investigating the general conditions under which a nation's wealth could become greatest. He and others were debating to what extent the government of a country should control what private capitalists did. They asked such questions as Who should be taxed — farmers? owners of land? manufacturers? merchants? artisans?

As a result of their inquiries Quesnay and his associates advanced a new idea about taxation; namely, that it is only the farmers and miners who produce real goods and thereby add to a nation's wealth. Manufacturers and merchants merely buy and sell, transport and exchange goods; they do not produce new "real" things. Hence, these new political economists said, tax only the farmers and the miners. Leave manufacturers and merchants free to compete with one another as they please. The authors of the new idea coined a simple slogan which epitomized their philosophy,— *laissez faire,*— which, being freely translated, means "Let them do as they will."

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* presented a more complete statement of the philosophy of *laissez faire*

The work of these new political economists was given widespread recognition in an epoch-making book that was to be read throughout the entire intellectual world of Europe and America, a book heralded by politicians and business men alike as a political classic. This was Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, known more generally as *The Wealth of Nations*.

Smith was a professor of moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow, Scotland. He had studied the ideas of Quesnay and the new political economists, accepted many of the essential ones, and presented them, together with his own theories, in his systematic and historic book. One historian, commenting on the fact that *The Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, the same year as the American Declaration of Independence, described it as a "declaration of independence for industry."

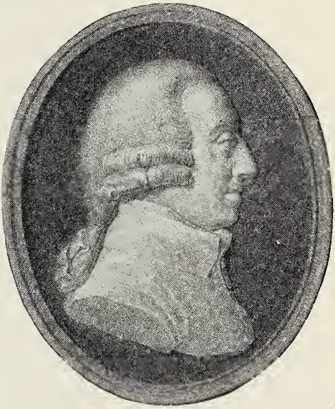

Fig. 74. Adam Smith (1723–1790). (After a medallion by Tassiel)

"Leave every person free to compete with every other person in taking all the land, coal, iron, oil, forests, and other natural resources which his initiative and intelligence permit him to take," was the basic idea of Smith's book. Let business, industry, and agriculture be unrestricted by government, said Smith, and the greatest wealth will be produced for the nation. In this way, he said, the collective life of a people can be carried on most effectively. Upon this principle high standards of living for a people will result.

As you can readily understand, this idea was eagerly taken up by the merchants and manufacturers in England and on the continents of Europe and North America. If adopted it would give them a free hand to develop their business. To make a short story of a long one, it was adopted generally. It became the basic economic principle upon which the westward settlement of American land developed in the 1700's and 1800's. Upon this fundamental principle coal, iron, and other mineral land was taken and exploited by the first discoverers. This idea of unrestricted competition of private owners was the one upon which hundreds of millions of acres of forests were cut down. It was the basic idea upon which oil was squandered in America, in the Near East, and in Asia. With this slogan English business men, French business men, Italian business men,— in fact, the business men of every European country (except Russia today) and of the industrialized countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America,— developed their modern enterprises.

Can you not see the very great importance of the idea in developing modern industry, business, agriculture — and government?

In the 1700's Talented Writers attacked the Inequalities among Men

In the discussion and theorizing of Quesnay, Smith, and their followers, there was little questioning of the idea of private ownership. That principle was accepted — indeed, assumed implicitly. Land, mines, factories, means of transport, selling agencies — all were to be owned by individuals, by private citizens who were to be left free and unrestricted to compete with one another for the world's goods.

But Adam Smith and the new political economists represented only one group among the thinking men of the period. Opposed to them was a steadily increasing group of more radical thinkers. Their minds were grappling with the two problems which we have been considering: (1) How should property be owned? (2) What form of government will best represent all the people?

These more independent critics comprised a twofold group. On the one hand there were literary men — essayists, novelists, satirists — who lashed out at the evils and the unfair practices of the times; and on the other, scholarly students of government and economics.

Again came the slogan "Think things out for yourself"

In the 1600's and repeatedly in the 1700's the clarion call of the earlier physical scientists was sounded for the study of government and social life. Two writers stood out above all the others for their courageous attack upon the idea of people living without some share in solving the problems of their collective affairs.

John Locke, English student of government psychology and education

The first was the Englishman John Locke (1632–1704), son of a soldier in Oliver Cromwell's army. He was well-educated, a graduate of the English university of Oxford. He was brought up in the midst of the most revolutionary period in England's long history — the period of the Commonwealth. After the collapse of the republic in 1660, being an advocate of democratic ideas he was compelled to live in exile in Holland for some years.

Locke influenced thinking in those strenuous times by means of several important books. The most famous are his *Two Treatises on Civil Government* and his psychological and educational books, especially the essay *On the Conduct of the Understanding.*

In his scholarly studies of government Locke advanced a revolutionary idea, — an idea which has recurred again and again in the march of the peoples of the world toward democracy. This was the principle that sound and progressive government can be developed only by the consent of those who are governed. Government will fail, said Locke, unless it is so designed that the will of the people as a whole is represented.

Here, then, is the principle of consent, upon which the American government has been built. This idea of Locke's is the same principle of consent that lay behind the struggle of the backwoodsmen of the North American colonies for 150 years. It was the guiding idea of the revolt of the common people against the captains of industry who controlled the government after 1870. This is the same idea that Abraham Lincoln had in mind when he wrote his famous phrase "government of the people, by the people, for the people." And here, indeed, is the basic idea of those who brought about the French Revolution in 1789 with the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

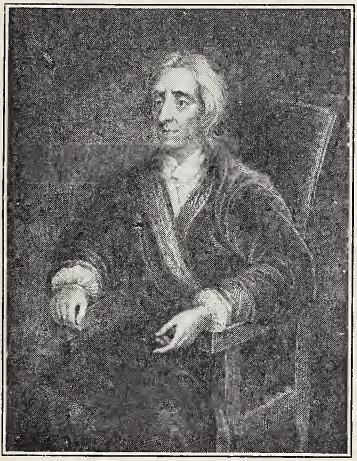

FIG. 75. John Locke (1632–1704)

Locke was more than a creative student of government. He was also a student of psychology and education. Some, indeed, have regarded him as the first modern psychologist. For Locke broke definitely with the teachings of the Church about human understanding and was one of the first to apply the scientific method to the study of the human mind. The Church had taught that man's capacity to see with his eyes, hear with his ears, feel with his sense of touch, think with his mind, was bestowed on him by God; that he could think thoughts and achieve acts only through the grace of God. The new psychological scientists (notably Locke and a bishop, William Berkeley) maintained, however, that we inherit our capacity to see, hear, feel, touch, and think from our elders, and that we develop these capacities through contact with our environment. They described the "psychology of growth" as the response of a human being to the world about him. Two hundred years later experimental psychologists were to prove the essential truth of Locke's contention.

Thus even before 1700, under the leadership of John Locke, men began to apply to the study of human behavior the scientific method of observing the world and thinking principles out for themselves. The idea, also, of experimenting rather than of accepting one's fate on the mere say-so of persons in official authority was again applied to government and to social behavior. And thus was laid a little more of the groundwork for the world's march toward democracy.

Then in the 1700's came Voltaire, urging allegiance to "him who masters our minds by the force of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence"

In almost every age the world has produced powerful thinkers who have helped to destroy the abuses, the useless ceremonials, and vicious class distinctions of their time. Such a creator of discontent with the authority of absolute monarchs was François Marie Arouet (1694–1778), known in his later years and throughout history by the name he gave himself — Voltaire.

Voltaire was not a *constructive* political economist, nor a careful student of government or business. He was a destructive antagonist of every aspect of life which seemed to him to enslave man. In a long lifetime of prodigious work he produced "a hundred volumes." In comedies and in tragedies, in epic poems, in "histories of civilization," with biting sarcasm he satirized the luxurious extravagances and the scandalous behavior of the kings and nobles of Europe. He was a determined opponent of the Church, which he regarded as an enemy of social welfare and human progress. Year after year he ridiculed the ceremonial of the Church and urged men to think out their religion for themselves, not to take it on authority.

As a result Voltaire was constantly in danger of imprisonment and bodily attack, even of exile. Like many another critic of government and of the Church in those times, he lived close to the frontier, where he could slip quickly across the border in case his attacks upon the kings and bishops should provoke retaliation. Thus he was constantly on the move. When things became too unpleasant for him in France, he moved to Prussia. There he lived in Berlin for a time as the protected friend of the Prussian despot, Frederick the Great. Even there, however, his tongue got the better of his discretion, and after a short time he left. Even in Switzerland he incurred the enmity of the magistrates of Geneva.

There was one government in Europe that he admired most of all — the parliamentary government which he saw evolving in England during his three years' stay there. There it was that he became greatly attracted to Isaac Newton and the ideas of the physical scientists. Indeed, he said that he worshiped Newton for the independent thinking which had brought about his discovery of the law of gravitation. The three years in England also built up in him a great respect for the business middle class which had then risen to power. His disdain of the idling nobles of Europe and his admiration for the business man of England and elsewhere is shown in the following quotation from his writings:

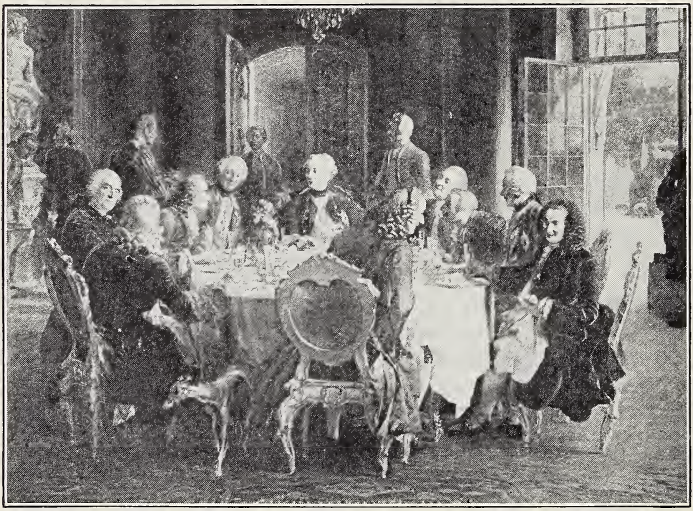

Fig. 76. A noonday meal at the palace of Frederick the Great during Voltaire's visit to that despot. Frederick is facing you, and Voltaire is second at his right. (From a painting by Adolph Menzel)

> I am not sure that the merchant who enriches his country, gives orders from his countinghouse at Surat or Cairo, and contributes to the happiness of the globe is not more useful to a state than the thickly bepowdered lord who knows exactly what time the king rises and what time he goes to bed, and gives himself mighty airs of greatness while he plays the part of a slave in the minister's anteroom.

Through his vitriolic satire Voltaire spread discontent among the reading classes of Europe for many years. Although he preached the substitution of scientific thinking for reverence for authority, not once did he offer constructive suggestions for rebuilding society; his task seemed to be to destroy the evils of the old, dying one.

At the age of 84 this international scoffer returned to Paris. He was received by the populace with cheers of flattering admiration. By that time (1778) he had become known as the intellectual dictator of Europe,— hated, feared, and admired more, perhaps, than any other single man on the Continent.

Rousseau offers constructive suggestions for government and ownership of property

Then came Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the man who may be said to have influenced Europe's march toward democracy more than any other single person of modern times.

The recital of the bare facts of Rousseau's personal life gives little indication of the powerful influence which the man exerted through his writing. He was a wandering ne'er-do-well, a failure at every occupation he followed. In Switzerland, France, Italy, Prussia, England, he wandered from place to place, working as household servant, as liveried footman, as tutor for youthful noble heirs and heiresses, as secretary to lords, as a copier of musical notation.

Scarcely any fine qualities can be revealed in his personal life. He was notorious for his unfaithfulness and his immorality. One might comment, too, on his inconsistency in deserting his own five children and permitting them to be brought up in a foundling asylum while he wrote one of the greatest educational books in modern history.

Nevertheless, through several books he brought to the modern world a new outlook on life, new insight into psychology and education, and a clearer and sounder understanding of the ownership of property and of government among men.

It was in two books that Rousseau's stimulating ideas about government and the ownership of property were presented to the intelligent reading public of the Western world. The first was an important essay, *What is the Origin of Inequality among Men?* (1753); the second was *The Social Contract* (1761). In these he turned his pen to the analysis of government and the organization of society. In the first he stated the principle of the tremendous individual differences among men. Some are strong and others are weak; some are talented and have great intellectual ability, others are mediocre in power of thought; still others are dull, unable to solve even simple problems.

Furthermore, some of those who are strong and very intelligent are also ambitious and greedy. It was these intelligent, ambitious, greedy men who had developed society as it was then organized in Europe. That society was based upon the principles that might makes right. Rousseau said that, in a society like that of Europe, the strong tyrannized over the weak. Greed "for the profit of a few ambitious men" had "subjected thenceforth all the human race to labor, servitude, and misery." Therefore, said Rousseau, society must find some way of controlling the strong, some way of restricting their ambitions so that they will not oppress the weak. In this little essay, then, is a statement of one of our most fundamental democratic theories.

That essay appeared in 1753. Eight years passed, filled with more wandering, more living close to nature, much discussion of government, law, and the reorganization of society. Then, in 1761, came *The Social Contract,* which has become famous in political history. The essay begins with these words:

> Man is born free and yet is now everywhere in chains. One man believes himself the master of others and yet is after all more of a slave than they. How did this change come about? I do not know. What can render it legitimate? I believe that I can answer that question.

Rousseau answers it by declaring that government can rightly be based only upon the will of all the people. He presents a theory that a social contract had been made among peoples in early civilizations in which they bound themselves to be governed "only by their own consent." *The only true sovereign* in any country *is the will of the people.* Every act of government, therefore, must be for the people, in the interest of the people, and not "for the profit of a few ambitious men."

What kind of government will tend to bring that about? Certainly not absolute monarchy, said Rousseau. A republic appealed to him as giving the best chance for the people to make their own laws by popular vote. Rousseau, like Voltaire, was also attracted to the experiment in parliamentary government which was then developing in England. A republic, he said, would respond more easily to the will of the people than any other imaginable form of government.

In Rousseau's writings can be found a development of the central ideas of Locke's principle of government by the *consent* of the governed. Here we find Rousseau advocating even a larger popular share in the government — government by the *will* of the people, the people being conceived as the true sovereigns.

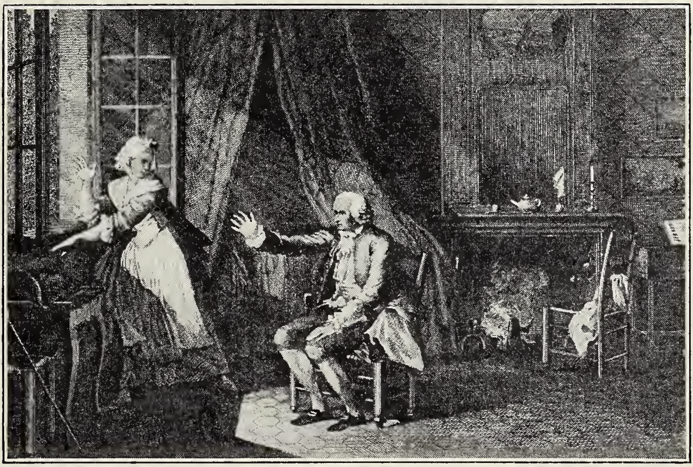

Fig. 77. The last days of Rousseau. Here he is shown with his wife at his home in Montmorency

Rousseau's books were printed and reprinted, read and reread, by a curious mixture of people. They were read by the lords and ladies of the courts, by the intellectuals of the universities and the churches, and by the rising leaders of the middle class. They directly influenced the young group of city leaders who shortly were to rise and throw off the autocratic rule of the French court.

Let us add one word concerning Rousseau's influence on other aspects of social life. He played as important a part in the development of modern ideas of education as of government and economic life. In a great educational treatise, *Émile,* issued about the same time as *The Social Contract,* he set forth his ideas of "natural" education. Instead of imposing education artificially upon children, as the schools of Europe did at that time, and as many schools in the modern world still continue to do, he would fit education to the child's nature. In this sense Rousseau was the great forerunner of John Dewey and other pioneers who are developing progressive schools today.[1]

Thus, along with the development of scientific ways of thinking about the natural and physical world, the attention of thinking men was turning to the problems of political and social life. Not until the great Industrial Revolution, however, did the ideas of these frontier thinkers permeate the masses. We shall see in the next chapter how these changes took place.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

BRIDGES, T. C. The Young Folk's Book of Discovery. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. The age of exploration and discovery.

HOLLAND, RUPERT S. Drake's Lad. The Century Co., New York. The adventures of a lad who sailed with Drake.

KELLY, MARGARET D. The Story of Sir Walter Raleigh (Children's Heroes Series). E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES. Westward Ho! The Macmillan Company, New York. The spirit of adventure and exploration.

LANG, JOHN. The Story of Captain Cook (Children's Heroes Series). E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

MACY, JOHN A. The Story of the World's Literature. Horace Liveright, New York. See Chapter XIX.

ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY, and BEARD, CHARLES A. The Development of Modern Europe (Completely Revised and Enlarged Edition). Ginn and Company, Boston. See Volume I, Chapter VIII.

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[1] In considering only Locke, Voltaire, and Rousseau as leaders who paved the way for more democratic experiments, we must not forget that other constructive thinkers also helped uproot the evils of European society and absolutism in government. Were there space at least two other constructive thinkers would be discussed. The first is Montesquieu (1689–1755), a French noble who made important studies of the law. In two famous books, *Persian Letters* (1721) and *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), he insisted that government must be designed to fit the peculiar needs of each nation. Many of Montesquieu's ideas were incorporated later into the Constitution of the United States.

The other was Denis Diderot (1713–1784), the director and editor of the great *Encyclopedia.* This was a seventeen-volume monument of learning, written by the most scholarly Europeans in the fields of science, mathematics, philosophy, and government. It was more than a storehouse of knowledge; it was also a courageous and honest criticism of existing institutions. It went far toward helping men to dispel their superstitions and misconceptions of the world by giving them "scientifically established" facts about it. The *Encyclopedia* was suppressed by the French government of Louis XV because of its frank criticism of the Church, of government, and of social life. Diderot and his associates were known as the Encyclopedists.

CHAPTER IX

HOW "FRONTIER THINKERS" DIRECTED THE WORLD'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY (CONTINUED)

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

As the years of the eighteenth century passed, the criticism of government and of the inequalities among men increased, and plans for alleviating the evils began to be proposed. To understand these changes, let us review what was happening during this period of the Industrial Revolution.

The first step was the invention of practicable machines and engines.[1] As early as 1690 the Frenchman Denis Papin had discovered the principle of the piston and the cylinder, which is the basis of the modern engine. In 1698 Captain Thomas Savery had constructed a crude steam engine. In 1705 this had been much improved by Thomas Newcomen's "fire engine," a machine that would pump water from the iron and coal mines of England effectively and cheaply. But the real Industrial Revolution started 60 years later, after the Scotch instrument-maker James Watt, while repairing a Newcomen engine, succeeded in producing the first really practicable steam engine.

In the meantime effective machines were being invented to do the work of human muscles in manufacturing goods. John Kay invented the fly shuttle in 1733. Richard Arkwright patented his "waterpower-driven spinning frame" in 1769, and Hargreaves his spinning jenny in 1770. Samuel Crompton combined these earlier inventions in the so-called Crompton "spinning mule" in 1779, and in 1785 Edmund C. Cartwright succeeded in driving a loom by water power. Shortly after, in 1793, on the other side of the Atlantic, Eli Whitney, an American school-teacher, produced a practicable cotton gin with which raw cotton could be cleaned with great rapidity. Thus the Industrial Revolution got under way.

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[1] At this point it would be well to read Chapters III and IV of *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*; also Chapters VII and XII of *An Introduction to American Civilization.*

You know the story of these events and the swift transformation in the production of all kinds of goods which took place especially after 1800. You know that British spinners, weavers, shoemakers, and ironworkers left their spinning wheels, hand looms, shoemakers' benches, and iron forges, and went to work for wages in factories. Fourteen to sixteen hours a day they huddled together in noisy, filthy workrooms, little children and women as well as able-bodied men working at exhausting labor. Day in, day out, week in, week out, with few holidays, they slaved for a miserable pittance.

As these things happened the population of cities grew by leaps and bounds. Hamlets and villages disappeared as the people drifted into the manufacturing towns. Even by 1800 Leeds, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester had become large cities ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. As industry grew, railroads and canals were built and the steam locomotive was made practicable. The whole face of the countryside changed. Coal-mining cities grew up near rich deposits of coal. Little iron forges became the iron and steel mills of great industrial centers.

Recall also the social changes that were brought about by this Industrial Revolution. The people of England were divided more sharply than ever into economic and social classes. The capitalist system had begun even before 1500, but the industrial capitalist who appeared in the late 1700's and the 1800's was more important than ever before. Consider Richard Arkwright, for example, the man who started the first modern textile factory. No sooner had he built one successful factory, using his water frame, than he started others, hiring foremen and managers for his various mills. Within a few years he had become a millionaire and had considerable influence in politics. Then George III made him a knight — "Sir" Richard Arkwright.

Arkwright was merely a single example of the hundreds of capitalists who organized the new industrial enterprises. To understand what took place in England in the late 1700's and throughout the 1800's, one needs merely to recall the corresponding industrial expansion in the United States. A few energetic, intelligent business leaders built up vast fortunes, while the mass of the people remained in comparative poverty.

Other distressing economic problems were brought about by the Industrial Revolution. One of these was the problem of unemployment. In the first years of machine invention thousands of craftsmen were thrown out of work. Rioting was common in the growing towns and cities. Starving weavers and other craftsmen smashed the new machines which were taking away their means of a livelihood. Thousands of paupers lived on government help. Poor people who could not pay their bills were imprisoned in workhouses, and their children were compelled to work as slaves in factories. Laws were so inhumane that until the early 1800's more than 200 offenses, many of them of a minor character, were still punishable by death.

These, then, were the new industrial conditions that developed about the turn of the nineteenth century. These are the conditions which must be borne in mind in considering the proposals of the frontier thinkers for the development of more democratic kinds of government.

Poverty of the Masses led to Philanthropic Experiments in Socialized Government

Then, about 1800, came experiments in community government. For more than a century frontier thinkers had theorized, talked, and written books about the ownership of property and how to set up more democratic kinds of government. For more than a century humanitarian leaders in the wealthier classes had increasingly questioned the unequal distribution of wealth. But it was not until the early 1800's, when the new power-driven machines had produced the foul tenement slums and the filthy and noisy factories, that men began to act upon the ideas of these leaders. Then theories were actually tried out, even though slowly and only in isolated experimental communities.

It was to be expected that the first experiments would be little more than benevolent business philanthropies. They were experiments of the masters rather than of the workmen. That the workmen were muttering among themselves is well known. But they were uneducated and did not understand even the rudiments of government. Furthermore, they were unorganized and lacked the means of bargaining collectively with the masters. Indeed, they were prevented from doing so by the very laws of the land. A few wealthy business men, however, began the experiments with new communities.

1. Robert Owen's experimental communities

The first of the philanthropists to experiment actively with more socialized ways of owning property was the British inventor and factory-owner, Robert Owen (1771–1858). While still a young man, Owen had made successful improvements for cotton-spinning machinery, had built and managed factories, and had accumulated a small fortune. While working shoulder to shoulder with his employees, he became impressed with the need for vast improvement in working conditions and for a more equitable division of the returns from industry and business. He saw that the owners and the managers of factories and farms received most of the financial returns, while the workers did not receive even enough to enable them to live decently.

Determined to try out some new ideas, he and several other small capitalists built an experimental mill community of about 2000 workers at New Lanark, Scotland.

Within a few years New Lanark became famous all over Europe as a model industrial community. Owen's experiment seized the minds of thinking people everywhere. Dukes and princes, lords and ladies, theorists, factory-owners, and new industrialists visited the community. Many went away loud in their admiration of results. Even conservative newspapers like *The Times* and the *Morning Post,* of London, supported Owen in his proposal that industries should be developed all over Europe in small communities patterned after New Lanark.

Owen and other socializers of property foresaw that industrial civilization would spread rapidly over Europe and America, and perhaps into other continents. Unless the movement was forestalled very soon, the condition of the great factory cities of

England would be duplicated elsewhere. He believed that New Lanark could be used as a model for the setting up of thousands of *little* communities, of about 1200 inhabitants each, practically self-supporting, with farm land, buildings, implements, factories, machines, engines, and the like being owned "communally," that is, by the community. He believed that if this were done, the evils of the growing factory cities could be done away with. He cites the fine results obtained at New Lanark, summing them up in these words:

> For 29 years we did without the necessity for magistrates or lawyers; without a single legal punishment; without any known poor rates; without intemperance or religious animosities. We reduced the hours of labor, well educated all the children from infancy, greatly improved the condition of the adults, diminished their daily labour, paid interest on capital, and cleared upwards of £300,000 of profit.

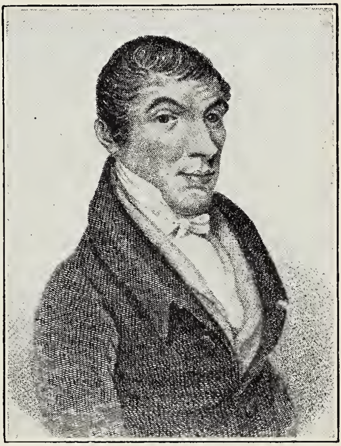

Fig. 78. Robert Owen. (1771–1858)

Robert Owen threw himself into the campaign to extend his model-community idea around the world. He wrote pamphlets, made speeches, and helped establish other socialized communities at Orbiston, Scotland, at Tytherley, England, and at Ralahine, Ireland. He even founded a community in America. Gathering a considerable group of workers together, he crossed the Atlantic to the United States, joined some westward-bound immigrants, and established a settlement at New Harmony, Indiana.

In the meantime, under the forceful campaign of Owen and his associates and in spite of the selfish opposition of factory-owners generally, the British Parliament finally passed the first Factory Act, 1819. This law was a pioneer step in the regulation of the way in which industrial capitalists might manage their property. Compared with the laws upon the statute books of

England and other countries today, it was feeble, indeed; but it was important because it was a first step in what was to be more than a century of new social legislation.

Especially was it important because it was the first attempt to control child labor by law. Let us not forget that up to 1819 little children worked in factories as wage slaves, often fourteen or sixteen hours a day. The Factory Act of 1819 prohibited *children under nine years of age from working more than twelve hours a day*! A feeble beginning, indeed! But it was the beginning of a continuous effort to free the children of the poor from industrial slavery and ignorance. As one historian has said, it was the "Magna Carta of childhood."

Owen's experiment at New Lanark succeeded as long as he remained on the spot to guide it. But as success came to him, he became interested in other social problems. Among other things he made severe attacks upon the evils of the organized church and radical suggestions for changing marriage relations and other social conventions. As the years passed he made enemies on every hand. Conservatives in every walk of life — factory-owners, outraged churchmen, and citizens — joined hands to discredit the experimenter and his socialized communities.

In 1828 Owen's partners in the New Lanark community bought out his share. For a time this and the other experimental communities survived. But misunderstandings and jealousies gradually arose among the settlers. There was lack of clear thinking about the questions of what should be owned communally and what personally. Social difficulties of various types arose, and so, one by one, Owen's communal experiments failed.

But Robert Owen and his socialized communities had builded better than they knew. Though they failed ultimately, they had provided the Western world with concrete materials for thinking about the public ownership of property. They had achieved beginnings in the practical working out of coöperative ownership. Out of their experiments developed later the movement for coöperative stores, a plan which spread through England and other countries with great steadiness and stability. Beginnings had also been achieved in more humane legislation for the improving of conditions of work. Courage to carry on the march toward democracy had been given to the leaders of industrial workers everywhere. And last, but by no means least, social experiments were actually being launched. Roger Bacon's command "Look at the world! Experiment!" was being carried out 600 years after his time.[1]

2. Other experimental communities

At the same time other plans for model communities were being developed in France and new experiments were being tried in America. In France there were the somewhat visionary theorists, Count Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and François Marie Fourier (1772–1837). Saint-Simon tried to get Louis XVIII to support a movement to build a new industrial society with scientific thinkers in charge. Fourier devised another plan for the joint ownership of property. His plan, like Owen's, was to set up small farming and manufacturing communities of from 1500 to 2000 persons, with buildings, machinery, tools, land, and the like owned jointly. Profits were to be divided, the largest share going to labor, the next largest to capital, and a smaller proportion to the organizing and managing minds of the community.

In America as well as in Europe many thinking people were influenced by these plans of Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and others. You have probably read of the communist experiments of the Massachusetts group — Bronson Alcott, George Ripley, and others. These unpractical people tried several times to establish communal settlements, but their attempts also failed.

One community experiment, however, succeeded in a rather unusual manner. This was the Oneida Community (1845–1881), at Oneida, New York. It illustrated the importance of having a clear-thinking, hard-working dynamic leader in charge. The Oneida community lasted for 36 years, largely because of the intelligence and industry of John Humphrey Noyes. Under his leadership Oneida became prosperous, accumulated large amounts of property, and developed into a strong business corporation. It paid large dividends and became respected in the business world. But in 1881 it too was dissolved.

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[1] It is not too much to say that the model communities which exist in various countries today are the descendants of Robert Owen's experiments.

Thus, sooner or later, all these socialized communities failed. Many factors contributed to their lack of success. Jealousies and friction arose among their members; there was lack of careful planning; but, probably more than anything else, there was inability to think through the complicated problems of public and private ownership of property. Not enough insight had come to the Western world in the 1830's and 1840's to answer the ever-pressing questions What should be owned privately? What should be owned publicly? How can all the people be given a full share in carrying on government?

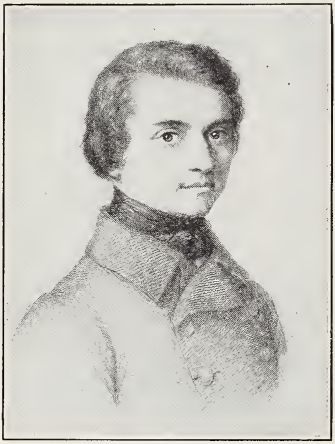

FIG. 79. Louis Blanc (1811–1882)

3. Louis Blanc and his social workshops: his proposals for government ownership

By the 1840's still other proposals for the socialization of the ownership of property and of government were being made. One of the most important came from Louis Blanc (1811–1882), a talented Parisian journalist, who proposed a kind of government ownership of industry. He suggested that the national government should go into the manufacturing business, creating many little social workshops. The employees of each shop should select their own managers, organize their factory, and receive their wages in the form of a division of profits. The scheme was the forerunner of many later proposals for state capitalism. In this plan the state, rather than any private owner, becomes a capitalist, building plants, railroads, warehouses, and the like, and letting the workers of each community organize their own enterprises.

Blanc's influence among the workingmen of northern France was very great. His writings and his leadership among the trade-unions of the 1840's played a large part in bringing about the widespread revolutionary movement of 1848. Others regard his proposals as the beginning of the movement which eventually led to the government ownership of public utilities in some European countries.

Out of these experiments and other movements grew socialism

Those who originated or defended these communal experiments were often attacked and derided as visionary dreamers whose plans were quite impracticable. Robert Owen and his associates were frequently called by their opponents "Utopians"[1] or "Utopian socialists." As years passed such plans for reorganizing society were called indiscriminately socialism. As we continue our studies, however, we must distinguish their proposals from what is known as socialism today. These early plans were paternal, built up by rich or moderately well-to-do capitalists in the interest of helping the workers. They were masters' movements, not workers' movements.

Need increasingly recognized for the universal education of workers

To build up a permanent and truly democratic society required something the world had never yet provided, namely, *universal education* — education not merely in "reading, writing, and reckoning," of which there was a little even in the years from 1825 to 1850, but *education in thinking* about industry, about government, about the ownership of property, about community life. Historians, looking back over the past century of struggles over problems of democracy, can see that the people in the experimental communities and the labor unions of the early 1800's were not ready for democracy. They lacked the education necessary even to *understand* their current problems, let alone to *solve* them. Not one in ten could read and write well. Even elementary education was far from universal, and such as there was had little to do with the real lives of the people.

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[1] Visionaries or idealists, so called from Sir Thomas More's book *Utopia*. Utopia is the name of an imaginary island where a state of ideal perfection existed.

THE WORKERS BEGAN TO ORGANIZE: THE FIRST TRADE UNIONS

In one sense the education of adult workers was actually developing in the early 1800's. This took place not in formal schools, but in workingmen's associations. The new industrial conditions of the larger cities were bringing this about. In the growing manufacturing cities of the United States, in the period between 1800 and 1825, mechanics in the various trades were forming clubs. It was in these same years that similar organizations were formed in England, to be followed soon after by others in France and Germany.

The great need of the workers was to join together for the purpose of bargaining collectively with their employers. As we have already learned, when the craftsman left his home craft and went to work in the factories, he lost his power of deciding independently the conditions under which he would work. The individual workman was completely at the mercy of the capitalist employer, who dictated hours of labor, wages, and working conditions in the factory. The worker had to take what the employer offered him or starve.

But manufacturing cities grew in England, France, and Germany as they did in the United States — in England even more rapidly than elsewhere. As they did so, the same conditions of social discontent arose. As workmen were herded together in factories and tenements, they talked together about their grievances. More and more they began to demand their rights.

The Declaration of Rights in the British, American, and French constitutions helped them to phrase their desires. Educated and intelligent leaders developed among them and organized them into clubs, societies, or associations. These leaders saw that one man alone was unable to obtain what he regarded as his rights, but that many together could bargain effectively. *United* they could obtain short hours of labor, decently high wages, and healthful working conditions. And, at first, that was practically all that they demanded; there was little thought of the right to vote or to hold office in government. The demand for political liberty came somewhat later.

In the early 1800's, even in England, laborers were prevented by law from combining in order "to raise prices or wages." So, for many years, workmen organized secret societies, social clubs, and the like, masking the real trade-union purposes of their organizations. As employers became even more harsh in their handling of labor, as they attacked these societies, and as many timid workers refused to join them, the conflict sharpened between employers and employees.

Robert Owen and other leaders took sides with the workers, demanding changes in legislation which would permit trade-unions. Largely as a result of their efforts, the British Parliament repealed the law which prohibited workmen from joining together. A year later a new law was passed which definitely allowed the formation of unions "to determine the scale of wages or hours of labor." But even that law hampered the labor organizations, for it was still an offense against society to strike. Thus workers could only organize, talk, hold meetings, confer with owners, and ask for changes. They still lacked the real power needed to obtain what they regarded as their rights. They still lacked the power to vote and to control government.

From this time on, however, trade-unions developed rapidly in England and somewhat later spread to France, Germany, and all other countries which had adopted machine manufacturing.

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Modern Socialism

This was the condition of the working classes in Europe when important leaders arose who not only helped to organize unions, but who also thought hard about the basic problems beneath these signs of workers' distress. Outstanding among them were two western Europeans, Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895).

Karl Marx was the son of a lawyer who lived at Trier, near the border between France and Germany. He was a brilliant youth, educated in the classics and in modern literature, trained at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. In 1841 he received a degree of doctor of philosophy in history and philosophy from the University of Jena. Through the influence of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, professor of philosophy and a world-renowned writer upon the philosophy of history, Marx became very much interested in the history of civilization. Through studying with Hegel, Marx became convinced that a clear understanding of current problems could be obtained only by the study of the history of man's institutions; for example, in order to understand how to plan better governments, one should study the history of government in the rise and fall of civilizations. One central idea of Hegel's helped him especially to formulate his later theory of socialism. This was the idea that the history of the world shows men slowly but steadily advancing from a condition of unintelligent slavery under despotic rulers to one where they controlled, by reason, their own destiny.

Fig. 80. Friedrich Engels (1820–1895)

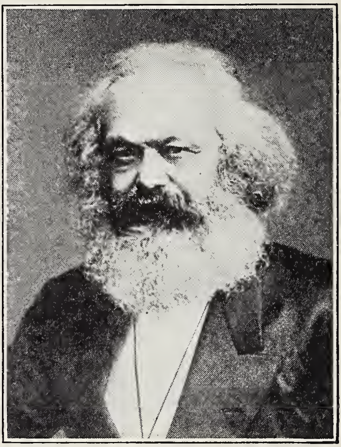

Fig. 81. Karl Marx (1818–1883)

On leaving the university Marx plunged into journalism and edited the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He made it a frankly liberal newspaper and openly criticized the Prussian government. In 1843 the government suspended the journal, prevented Marx from getting the university position to which he aspired, and, because of his campaign for freedom of speech, compelled him to leave the country.

Marx turned to Paris, long the cosmopolitan center of culture and now the haven of exiled liberals. For two years, 1843–1845, he made a meager living by writing and editing the journal *Vorwärts*. It was in Paris that Marx met Louis Blanc, who was then organizing mechanics and laborers and agitating for his social workshops. He became acquainted with Proudhon and Bakunin, of whom we shall hear shortly as the founders of another school of thinking about government and property. In Paris Marx studied Robert Owen's plans for experimental communities. There, too, he met Heine, the German poet, and joined a group of creative literary men. In Paris, also, Marx came into first-hand contact with labor problems. He went into factories and studied working conditions. He helped organize the workers, wrote pamphlets and editorials, and spoke at meetings.

And it was in Paris that Marx met Friedrich Engels. Engels was the son of a German cotton-spinner who owned a factory at Manchester, England. He had become a socialistic critic of industrial conditions in 1842 and 1843 through his work as manager of his father's cotton-spinning factory. In 1844 Engels issued a book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. It was the reading of this book that made Marx the close friend and associate of Engels. From that time on the two men worked together, developing the ideas known later as modern socialism.

Wherever Marx went, however, the eyes of the Prussian government followed him. In 1845 Prussia succeeded in persuading the French government to suppress his newspaper *Vorwärts* and banish Marx from France. He fled to Belgium and lived in Brussels from 1845 to 1848. There he developed his theories of government, of the social classes, and of the ownership of property. There, also, he threw himself into the trade-union movement, organizing associations, lecturing, and writing.

Steadily Marx was evolving a new theory of government. In 1847 he and Engels attended a meeting of the International Alliance, at London. This organization was an outgrowth of the Communist League, which had been created in France eleven years before by other exiled Germans. At the meeting Marx and Engels entered into the discussions of the place of the workers in society, of the redivision of property, and of the reconstruction of government.

Marx and Engels issue *The Communist Manifesto*, 1847

Then in 1847 came one of the epoch-making documents in the history of government — *The Communist Manifesto.* It was a little pamphlet and, at the time it was published, created no stir at all. Indeed, its publication was known only to a small group who were in the centers of economic and political ferment. Gradually, however, as the socialistic movement spread in western Europe, more and more people turned to the pamphlet as a basic statement of the workers' creed. In our own day, because of the present Russian experiment, it has again become a theme of discussion.

Marx's later history can be told in a few sentences. The Prussian government again compelled him to move on by persuading the Belgian officials to ask him to leave. He returned to Paris at the very beginning of another revolution in France and the establishment of the Second Republic. Then, as revolutions swept western Germany in 1848, Marx returned to his native land. But his stay there was short-lived. In 1849 he was exiled again. This time he moved to the more stable and quiet circumstances of London, where he lived for 34 years.

Always a student, Marx spent most of those years in London in the musty alcoves of the library of the British Museum, writing a philosophy of history and economics which he called *Das Kapital* (*Capital*). It is in this volume that Marx attempted to base his plan for the reorganization of society upon a careful historical study.

One other important event is remembered in connection with Marx's name — the organization of an international society of workingmen, 1864. Of that we shall speak soon.

WHAT WERE THE CHIEF IDEAS OF MARX AND ENGELS?

The main ideas upon which modern socialism has grown in the past three quarters of a century are to be found succinctly stated in *The Communist Manifesto.* They are developed in greater fullness in Marx's *Das Kapital.* And they have been written about, interpreted, and criticized by literally thousands of writers. For our brief summary, however, let us go back to the original writings themselves.

In order not to become confused with too many details, let us take only a few main ideas, — namely, the class war, the public ownership of the means of production, the elimination of differences in opportunity among people, compulsory useful labor, the public control of credit, the redistribution of population, and free public education for every child. The last of these ideas has long been accepted by most people in Europe and the United States. As the others have been the center of intense controversy, we should study them a little now.

1. *The idea of the constant struggle for power over government by economic classes.* The very basis of Marx's plan for a more democratic society lay in his years of study of the historical records in the British Museum. From that study he developed the theory that in each civilization fortunate people — fortunate because of their position, their wealth, or their abilities — seize land and trade and acquire most of the wealth, and that with it they control the armed force of the group and thus the government.

The history of society was viewed as a continual struggle between class-conscious groups.

Marx maintained that in recent times a new and powerful economic class had arisen — namely, the industrial capitalists. These ambitious men, he said, had seized the coal, iron, and other raw materials, as well as the land, had secured trade concessions and monopolies from kings and other governors, and had succeeded in getting control of governments everywhere.

Furthermore, Marx said, in setting up the new industrial system, a new economic class had been brought into existence. These were the city workers, whom Marx called the proletarians.[1] These city workers and the farm workers with them, Marx maintained, had been and were exploited by the capitalists, who had seized the ownership of property and the control of government.

At that point Marx forsook history and ventured a prediction, namely, that this proletarian class of city workers would organize itself, secure the ballot, rise to power, and by means of its political power supplant the capitalist class. Thus would be established the true communist state.

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[1] This comes from the Latin word *proletarius*, from *proles*, "offspring." In ancient Rome a *proletarius* was "a citizen of the lowest class, without property and regarded as capable of serving the state only by having children."

2. *How should property be owned?* The second idea in Marxian socialism deals with the difficult question of the ownership of property. The question, according to Marx, is to be settled by organizing the workers everywhere. They will secure the vote and, because of their superior numbers, will eventually wrest political power from the few owners. It may be a peaceful way or it may develop into a violent way.

Once in power the proletariat will pass laws which will abolish the private ownership of certain kinds of property. *The means of production will become the property of the entire community.* Neither Marx, Engels, nor their followers were exactly clear concerning what was included under "means of production." In general, however, they included factories, mines, farm land, and banks and treasuries controlling credit. Such things as these, they said, should be owned and operated by the national state and its local communities. Means of transportation and communication, they maintained, should be operated under the supervisory control of the state.

Thus Marx and his followers proposed to substitute the public ownership of all basic means of producing food, shelter, and clothing for the system of private ownership which was then in force in every civilized country on the earth. Thus this second idea of Marx's would set up state capitalism in place of private capitalism, public ownership instead of private ownership.

3. *The elimination of unequal economic advantages at birth.* Marx proposed to abolish all inheritances; each child should start life without an economic advantage over any other child.

4. *The idea of compulsory useful labor.* So far as his physical and mental abilities permitted, each human being must work; each must contribute to the common good, either with physical work, with mental work, or with artistic achievement.

5. *The control of credit.* All capital should be owned publicly; that is, the control of credit should be taken away from private bankers and centralized in a single national bank.

6. *The redistribution of population.* The rapid concentration of population in towns and cities should be broken down by the settlement of people in villages and towns.

7. *Free public education.* The most fundamental provision of all was the education of every child at public expense. The crucial importance of this latter point is recognized when we recall the insistence of a great body of Marxian socialists upon using peaceful means to socialize society. Throughout three quarters of a century they have opposed those extremists who advocate armed violence, military revolution, as the way to establish government by all the people. Most modern socialists have followed Marx's slogan, "Educate. Give every individual a fundamental knowledge of society."

Thus class war meant to Marx and many of his followers the peaceful use of the ballot, not the warlike use of guns. No government would be permanent, they maintained, that did not rest upon the intelligent understanding and approval of the vast majority of the people. Hence, educate!

Briefly summed up, these are the central ideas of Marxian socialism; we see in them an attempt to think through the complicated problems of economic, political, and social life. That they have influenced leaders in every walk of life since that time cannot be doubted. As we continue our studies we shall see how these ideas played a most important rôle in the redirection of Europe's march toward democracy.

The International Workingmen's Association, 1864: the First International

With the idea of putting his views into practice, Marx spent many years helping to organize workingmen's associations. In France, in Belgium, in England, he devoted himself to this work with trade-unions. The principal idea behind the work was that of a world-wide brotherhood of man, with all the world conceived as one society. Thus Marx's message was international in character.

At the London Exposition (1862) a gathering of workingmen was tentatively organized through the union of workers from France, England, and Belgium. Two years later, under the leadership of Marx, a permanent organization was created called the International Workingmen's Association. Gradually this came to be known in various countries as the International and later, as successors to it appeared, as the First International.

For several years the First International spread slowly in France, Belgium, England, the United States, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. It lasted for twelve years — years marked by internal disagreements as to policies and programs, and by attacks which were made by its capitalist opponents.

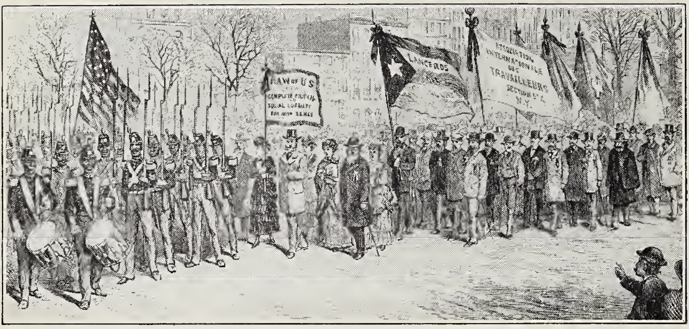

Fig. 82. The spread of the influence of the International Workingmen's Association is illustrated in this procession, which took place in 1871 in New York. The procession commemorated members of this organization who had been executed in France in that year. (From *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1872)

European trade-unions went into politics

In the meantime, however, as we shall see in the later chapters, workingmen went into politics in each of the leading industrial countries. In Germany, during the years between 1863 and 1875, the Social Democratic movement gained headway under such leaders as Ferdinand Lassalle, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and August Bebel. Although not all these Social Democrats subscribed to every proposal of Marx and Engels, they all sought the right to vote so as to secure their share in the German government. In the minds of many was the hope of getting control of government affairs, as Marx predicted they would, and putting into practice many of the socialist proposals.

Several socialist organizations also developed in England, all playing an increasing part in government. We shall learn in Chapter X how in 1867 the English laboring men finally achieved the right to vote, and how they finally came in our own time to secure a plurality of the votes in the House of Commons.

The Labor party of England today arose as a result of the activities of several groups. Chief among them was the Social Democratic Federation, an organization favoring Marx's ideas. In 1883 a group of brilliant thinkers formed the Fabian Society in London, which today includes such prominent leaders in Great Britain as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, Arthur Henderson, and Ramsay MacDonald. The Fabian Society was devoted primarily to the discussion of economic, political, and social problems, and to educating the public generally in the principles of socialism.

Then, in 1893, the Independent Labor party appeared, under the leadership of a miner, Keir Hardie. Eventually these various groups representing different varieties of socialism combined in a general, working political party known as the Labor party. It is this party which, under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald, twice secured control of the British government in the 1920's.

In the meantime, as you have already learned, the socialist movement also developed in the United States. It grew steadily until, in the national election of 1912, that party polled nearly 900,000 votes. At present one can find it in most countries of the Western world.

Only one more fact should we remember about the development of Marxian socialism. That was the split among the followers of Marx after his death in 1883. The split came over questions of how socialists should organize themselves to secure control of the government. Most socialists were agreed upon the fundamental Marxian principles which we have enumerated. But they divided on the question of how to put them into practice. One group was called "strict Marxians" or "Marxists." The other group was called "Reformists" or "Revisionists." As we shall see later, in the discussion of the development of government in France, Germany, and Russia, these two groups came to form separate political organizations. Each took a separate position on questions of religion, how trade-unions should be used, ownership of farm lands, and problems of internationalism.

All Marxian socialists believe in government. They make no attempt to abolish it. They recognize clearly that in our modern civilizations of villages, towns, and cities there must be a central government to carry on the life of the community in a quiet, orderly way. Thus Marxian socialists have always recognized the need for orderly social control.

Fig. 83. Sidney Webb (see page 223), English statesman, socialist, and analyst of industrial and political problems

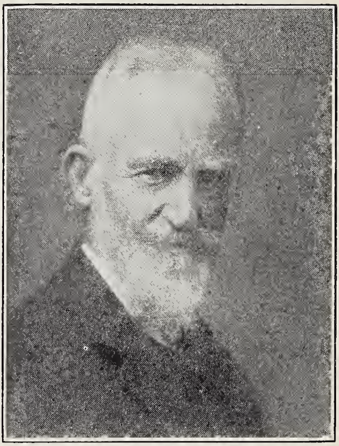

Fig. 84. George Bernard Shaw (see page 223), Irish dramatist, essayist, socialist, and crusader against social evils

Anarchism — another theory of social living

There were extremists, however, working at the same time as Marx and his associates, who proposed the abolition of all government. There were, for example, the Frenchman Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) and the Russian Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876), who proposed to carry on social life without government. Neither of them ever showed clearly how any single country, let alone our interdependent and industrial world society, could be carried on without central government. Each was listened to and followed by only a minute fraction of the people.

In Conclusion

This, then, must bring to a close our very short outline. We have seen how certain outstanding frontier thinkers on social conditions laid the basis for important changes in the 1700's and 1800's.

One fact can be seen clearly from the vantage point of the 1930's: a people could not make substantial progress toward a more democratic way of living *until thinkers had pointed the way.* Clear thinking about the basis of living together was what the people of the world needed. But this was rarely forthcoming in the 2000 years from Aristotle and Plato to the social scientists of the eighteenth century. A few thinking men, students of the scientific method, stood out above the mass. But until the time of John Locke, Montesquieu, Diderot, Rousseau, and Marx the intelligence of the Western world was applied principally to the study of the physical and natural world and preparation for a new world after death. Then slowly appeared social scientists, students of government, of property ownership, of wages and hours of labor, of city and town life — of social life generally.

Our next task, therefore, is to see what influence these leaders have exerted on the development of government in the past 200 years. What *was* the condition of government and social life?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Bridges, T. C. The Young Folk's Book of Invention. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. See Chapters IV and VI.

Craik, Mrs. Dinah M. John Halifax, Gentleman. Harper & Brothers, New York. Early years of the Industrial Revolution.

Gibson, Charles R. Heroes of Science. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. The dramatic stories of scientific leaders.

Holland, Rupert S. Historic Inventions. Macrae Smith Company, Philadelphia. See Chapter IV, "Watt and the Steam Engine," and Chapter V, "Arkwright and the Spinning Jenny."

Osgood, Ellen L. A History of Industry. Ginn and Company, Boston. The industrial development of England.

Rugg, Harold. Changing Civilizations in the Modern World. Ginn and Company, Boston.

Van Loon, Hendrik W. Man, the Miracle Maker. Horace Liveright, New York. This book tells of many inventions that broadened the world of Europeans.

Van Loon, Hendrik W. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York.

CHAPTER X

GREAT BRITAIN: THE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

The history of government in the countries of the world is essentially the story of the conflict between groups. Recall the struggles in American history: colonial aristocratic merchants and planters against poor, back-country farmers; merchants, shippers, and manufacturers of the North against slave-owning planters of the South; bankers and captains of industry against farmers and laborers. *Each group tried to control the government to get what it wanted, rather than by expert or scientific plans to give all the people what they needed.* This was the history in America. But it was likewise the story of other governments before North America was discovered.

The beginnings of democracy in England illustrate the same conflict of groups. Duke fought against duke; prince against prince; king against king; landowners against kings; merchants and capitalists against peasants and artisans — each trying to control government in order to have wealth, comfort, and power. After a thousand years of struggle the landowners, merchants, and small capitalists had sheared the "divine right" kings and their courtiers of their power. By 1688 government had become parliamentary and representative of property-owners; that is, government was "representative" of, let us say, 3 per cent of the people.

England's Experiment in Representative Government first produced Political Parties

But the little group of lords and merchants that now controlled England's affairs did not agree perfectly as to the government of England. Having succeeded in reducing the power of the king, they differed among themselves on many issues. They differed about religion, about taxation, about the kind of government which would be best for England. So, as happened later in America, France, Germany, and other modern countries, they split into factions — that is, into political parties. Those who wanted relatively the same things and believed in the same general ways of getting them tended to clique together, to gather together socially, and to vote together on matters of government. This brought political parties into existence in England before it did in other countries. Indeed, after 1775 the United States, France, Germany, and other modern nations tended to pattern their governments on that which England had developed before them. Hence the importance of understanding the first political parties in the modern world.

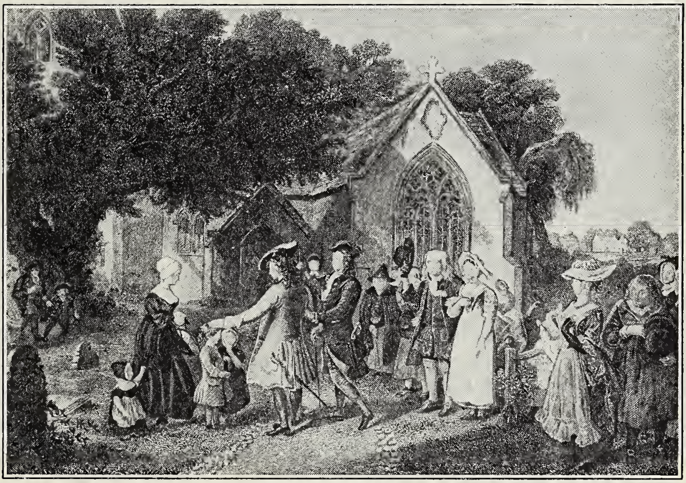
Fig. 85. In the early 1700's two Whigs, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, through their writings influenced landowners to be more kindly and considerate to their tenants. (After a painting by C. R. Leslie)

In the reign of Charles II (1660–1685) Parliament had split into two parties — called Whigs and Tories — over the question of the exclusion of the Catholic James from the throne. The Whigs were the more liberal faction. Many of them were Dissenters in religion, whose elders had been Presbyterians in Scotland. As such dissenting groups in Scotland had been called Whigs, this nickname was given to the new party and clung to it for a century and a half.

Persons of varying wealth and social position gathered in the Whig party. There were the merchants and the other business men of towns and cities who wanted greater power in government. There were also certain leading earls and barons who, jealous of the king, were eager to assert their own authority. This mixed group was held together by a common desire to reduce the king's power and increase its own. Furthermore, the Whigs disliked both the Catholic and the Anglican Church, favoring instead the more liberal nonconformist sects.

The name "Tory," given to the other party, had been the nickname applied to certain Irish outlaws, professedly Royalists. This party was made up of country squires and clergymen and members of the Anglican Church. These people were true conservatives — they disliked change, they feared experiments, they shunned new ways of thinking. Many of them lived in little communities where changes came slowly. They disliked the rising business men of the towns and cities, regarding them as upstarts and interlopers. Most of all, they feared civil war, turmoil, and political and social disorder of any kind. Consequently they said about government: "Keep a hereditary king. Any kind of king is better than civil war and hard times."

Into these two parties, in the 1700's and early 1800's, the English people who could vote grouped themselves. The division shows two differing attitudes: the more progressive attitude of the Whigs and the more conservative outlook of the Tories, who wanted things left as they were. Later, in the 1830's, the names, though not the principles, of these two parties gradually changed. The Whigs became the Liberal party, and the Tories the Conservative party, of today.

In the later 1600's the Whigs gradually increased their power and succeeded in passing important laws. One, which really constitutes an important document in the British written constitution, was the *Habeas Corpus Act of 1679*. This act provided that no individual could be imprisoned for an indefinite period without being given an opportunity of a hearing before a court. It is the basis for similar *habeas corpus* provisions in our own constitution and in those of other countries.

In the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 the Tories, fearing Catholicism, joined the Whigs in offering the throne to the foreign Prince William of Orange. During the reign of William and Mary the Whigs further increased their power. As the king was a foreigner, more interested in other matters than in English government, they succeeded in passing laws repealing the censorship of books and allowing greater freedom of speech. They passed the Toleration Act of 1689. This law granted freedom of worship to all Christians except Unitarians and Catholics (although none but members of the Church of England could hold office). Thus by the early 1700's the government of England was not only parliamentary but, generally speaking, it was also carried on by two clearly divided political parties.

A New Family of Kings for England: the German Hanoverians, 1714 to Today

The members of Parliament could have done nothing to increase their power more than having another foreign king.

Anne, queen of England, died in 1714 — without an heir. Parliament had provided for that very possibility by an Act of Settlement in 1701, which named another foreign ruler — Sophia of Hanover (a German state), a granddaughter of James I — or her children as successors to the throne. Thus in 1714 George, a German elector, son of Sophia and great-grandson of James I, became King George I of England.

Since the accession of George I, in 1714, nine sons and one daughter of the House of Hanover have been sovereigns of Great Britain. Notice their reigns in the chart of Table IV, page 161. The first four Georges were kings during the 1700's and early 1800's. After William IV, who served for only seven years (1830–1837), Victoria was queen for nearly two thirds of a century (1837–1901). Four other members of the House of Hanover (now called House of Windsor) have followed her — Edward VII, George V, who ruled from 1910 to 1936, and his sons Edward VIII (1936) and George VI, the present ruler.

For 200 years these German-English sovereigns (now wholly English, of course) have been generally content merely to *reign*, letting Parliament *rule*. In that time there has not been a single instance of armed revolution in England. While other countries have been the scenes of civil war and revolt, England has gone steadily onward to an increasingly democratic government.

ABOUT 1700 THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BECAME THE FIRST CABINET GOVERNMENT

During this period, when foreign kings occupied the throne, and Parliament really ruled, the so-called *cabinet* government of England was evolved. Let us see how it developed.

Even before 1500 the king had been aided by a small Privy Council of advisers selected from the Great Council of earls, barons, bishops, and abbots. As the Great Council became the ever-larger British Parliament, the Privy Council also grew. Finally it also was too large for effective discussion and decision. Hence it was gradually supplanted by a little inside ring which was called a Cabinet Council because it met secretly with the king in a private room called a "cabinet."

The importance of the Cabinet Council grew steadily during the rule of William and Mary and during the reigns of the first Georges. As you know, these kings were foreigners. William of Orange, for example, was much more interested in the success of Holland and in defeating the ambitions of Louis XIV of France than he was in matters of state in England. Consequently he relied more and more on the council of ministers for decisions on questions of government.

THE CABINET WAS COMPOSED OF LEADERS OF THE MAJORITY PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

When William III first began to use the cabinet to aid him in discussing and directing government, he included leaders of both political parties — Whigs and Tories. This plan did not work very well. When the Whigs were in the majority in Parliament, Tory ministers were constantly criticized and were sometimes in danger of impeachment, and vice versa.

Hence the king learned that *government was carried on more smoothly if his cabinet was composed altogether of ministers from the political party that was in power.* Thus when the Whigs had a majority in Parliament the cabinet came to be made up of Whigs. When the Tories secured a majority the king replaced the Whigs by a Tory cabinet. Thus the *majority party,* through the members of the *cabinet,* virtually governed England. This practice of changing the cabinet when the party in power changed, begun in the late 1600's and early 1700's, has continued from that time on. It is the practice today.

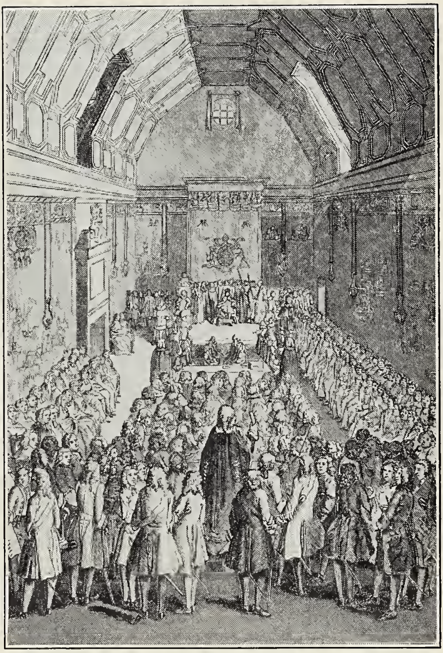

FIG. 86. A session of the House of Lords during the reign of George II. The King is facing you, seated on his throne. (From an old print)

George I (1714–1727) was as uninterested in English matters of state as was William III. One English historian said that he was "ideally fitted to be an incompetent king of England." In every way he was German rather than English; he could not even speak the English language. When he came to England he was accompanied by a retinue of German attendants, and the court became a center of German culture.

George knew nothing about English politics or about the English people. Hence he too left most of the decisions of government to the Cabinet Council, made up of the leaders of the majority party — the Whigs. Indeed, he did not even attend cabinet meetings! The king became more and more a ceremonial figurehead. He presided at social functions, signed state papers, and became a *symbol* of royalty which the people respected and to which they were loyal.

THE CABINET MEMBERS WERE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Another step in the development of modern government was accomplished when the members of the cabinet became also the heads of government departments. For example, one member of the cabinet became the *secretary of state for foreign affairs*, or foreign minister, dealing with international problems. Another member became *chancellor of the exchequer*, handling certain financial matters; another, the *first lord of the treasury*, managing other finances. Similarly, the *secretary of state for war* was responsible for the army, and the *first lord of the admiralty* for the navy. As the duties of government multiplied with the growth of the British Empire, the departments were still further subdivided. Eventually the cabinet was made up of nineteen of these chief officials. There were even more department heads, however, not all of them being members of the cabinet.

The leader of the majority party became the prime minister, replacing the king as the real head of government

As the kings of England continued to stay away from cabinet meetings, a chief minister gradually became the leader. He and the other ministers of the cabinet were also members of Parliament. As today, each attended meetings of the House of Lords or the House of Commons, personally presented his proposals for bills to his house, and was available on the floor of his house to answer questions and to defend his ideas. This is another difference between the British form of government and the American form. In the United States, although the heads of departments are members of the president's cabinet, they are not members of the Senate or the House of Representatives.

Thus, in the years from the accession of William and Mary to the middle of George I's reign, the *leader of the majority party* gradually came to be regarded as the *chief minister*. He presided at cabinet meetings and, if strong enough, dictated the policies of government. Eventually, during the times of George I and George II, this leader was called the "prime" minister — that is, the first minister, the real head of the government.

The position of the prime minister in England, indeed in all modern countries, was really established in the years between 1721 and 1742 by Sir Robert Walpole, earl of Orford. Walpole was a master of debate, a man of prodigious industry, and a calm and patient politician. Furthermore, he knew trade and finance; it was said that he was the best "master of figures" of his time. He was secretary of war at one time and was later treasurer of the navy. By 1721 he was recognized as the leader of the Whig party, which position he held for twenty-one years. He it was who first came to be regarded as the prime minister.

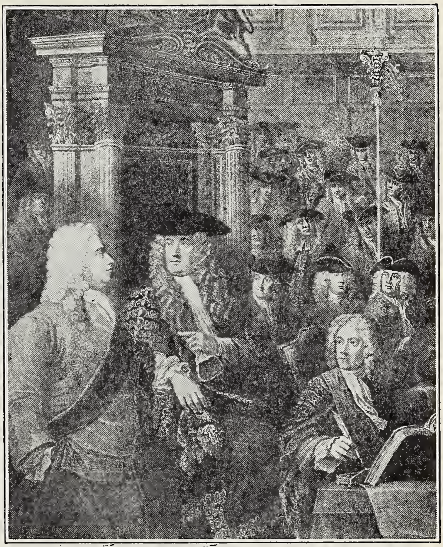

FIG. 87. A scene in the House of Commons in Sir Robert Walpole's day. Sir Robert is seen at the extreme left. (After a painting by Hogarth and Thornhill)

CABINET GOVERNMENT PROVED TO BE VERY RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE REPRESENTED

What does it mean to say that a government is *responsive* to the people? It means that as the desires of the people change, laws and the actions of government change with them. Thus government really fits the needs of the people; the representatives conduct it as would the people as a whole.

Now students of government agree that the parliamentary cabinet form, which was developed in England during the 1700's, is really more responsive to the popular will than are the forms in other countries. Indeed, it has been said by one prominent historian that this form "is the most perfect which has yet been devised for speedily and peacefully voicing the will of the people."

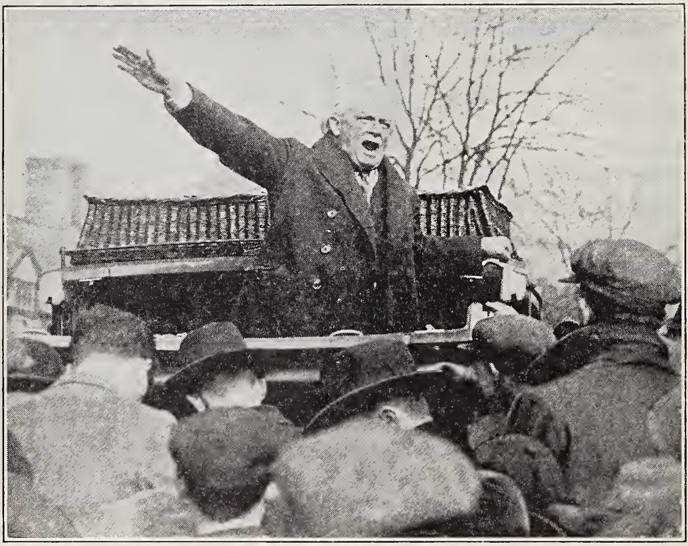

FIG. 88. When Parliament refused to support the measures advocated by David Lloyd George in 1922, he tendered his resignation as prime minister. That necessitated a general election in Great Britain. Here we see Lloyd George appealing to the people during his campaign for reëlection

How? By being arranged so that the government changes whenever Parliament as a whole refuses to approve the policies of the prime minister and his cabinet. The cabinet, of course, is made up of ministers chosen from the majority party. As time goes on, however, members of the House of Commons, representing the people who elected them, change their views about various political matters. As this happens — for example, as the Liberals lose seats in Parliament and the Conservatives gain them (or vice versa) — the majority changes. The Conservatives rather than the Liberals then constitute a majority. Thus the proposals of a Liberal cabinet are defeated in the House of Commons. When that happens one of two things occurs: either (1) the ministry resigns and the king asks the leader of the opposition party to form a new cabinet; or (2) Parliament is dissolved, the members return to their homes, and a general election is held all over Great Britain.

As a result of this general election the party or temporary combination of parties totaling the majority of members of the House of Commons then forms a new cabinet. The leader of the new majority party becomes the prime minister and appoints new heads of departments. These officials make new plans for the government of the country and present them to the new Parliament. If they are approved, the cabinet stays in power; if not, the government changes again.

Thus the government changes as frequently as the members of Parliament and, behind them, the points of view of the people who elected them change. This is what is meant by saying that the British form of parliamentary cabinet government is *responsive to the people.*

But did this Government really represent All the British People?

In the 1700's and early 1800's was this the representative government it was heralded to be by such contemporary students of government as the French writer Voltaire? Was this government of all the people? No, it was government representative of a very small proportion. *Not more than 3 per cent of all the people* were represented.

During the 1700's and early 1800's the members of Parliament included (1) the wealthy bishops of the Anglican Church; (2) the "peers" (nobles who held hereditary seats in the House of Lords); (3) the newly rich tradesmen who, because of their financial favors to the kings, had been given titles; (4) the knights of the shire, or smaller landlords of the rural districts; and (5) the representatives of the trading towns and cities. We see, therefore, that these members represented the Church, the aristocracy, and those who controlled land or money. The mass of the people — *97 per cent of the population* — was unrepresented. Even the two knights from each shire were elected by the relatively well-to-do. To vote, a man was required to own an estate from which he obtained a yearly rent of 40 shillings ($10), a very considerable sum in the 1700's. Furthermore, all women, no matter of what wealth or ability, were debarred from voting.

Thus, historians have estimated that not more than 1500 men out of a population of several millions actually controlled a majority in the House of Commons. Hence 1500 men really controlled the government of England.

The Real British Government

To understand the real character of government in the 1700's we need merely recall what we have learned about the real government of America and of other modern countries today.[1] We found that in American communities there are three groups, each one wanting something from government:

1. The rank and file of the people.
2. The interested groups.
3. The politicians.

In England the communities of the nation divided themselves for two centuries in the same political way, and do so still. First there were the mass of the *people*, who until recently were not allowed to vote. Second, there were the *interested groups* of rich landlords, millionaire merchants, shipowners, manufacturers, owners of monopolies, and the like, who, because of their wealth or social position, secured favors from the government. Third, there were the *politicians*, the leaders in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons and the ministers in the cabinet.

Furthermore, then, even more than now, the mass of the people had no means of exercising their will upon government or of getting what they wanted. Thus, government in England in the 1700's and 1800's, as in America today, was controlled by the interested groups and by professional politicians — those

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[1] An interesting comparison between the present discussion and that in Chapter XI of *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture* can be made at this point.

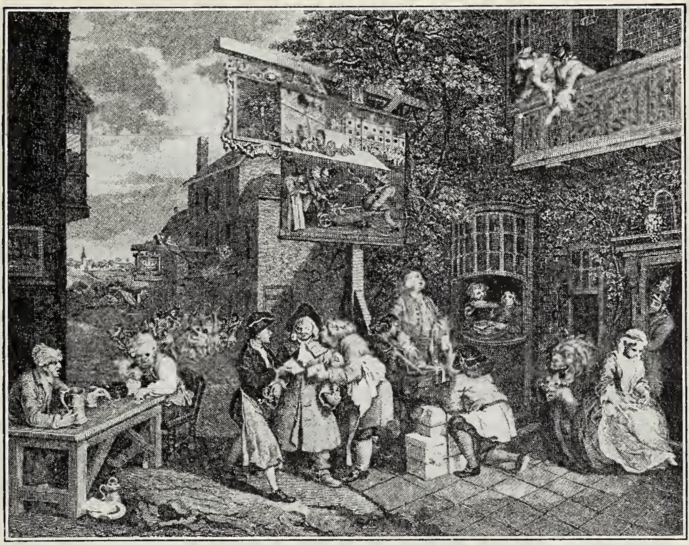

FIG. 89. Election day in a village during Sir Robert Walpole's time. Members of two rival parties are trying to buy the vote of an enfranchised citizen. (After a painting by Hogarth)

who made a job of governing. In those days, however, politics was regarded as a "gentleman's game." In a recent book Hayes describes the condition of real government as follows:

> The nobleman who sat in the upper house [the House of Lords] had his dummies in the lower chamber [the House of Commons]. A certain Sir James Lowther had nine protégés in the lower house, who were commonly called "Lowther's Ninepins." A distinguished statesman of the time described the position of such a protégé: "He is sent here by the lord of this or the duke of that, and if he does not obey the instructions which he receives, he is held to be a dishonest man." [1]

Thus at this time a system of politics developed in England which was imitated in nearly all civilized countries. It first achieved prominence under the leadership of Sir Robert Walpole and the Whig party. Under it the well-to-do people, working closely with professional politicians, controlled government and ran it in their own interest.

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[1] Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, p. 435. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1920.

The evils of the system are clear. First, voting was public, — not secret, as today. In any community of England any freeman had the right to examine the poll books and see what any other voter had done. Hence fear of disapproval compelled the less well-to-do to vote as the most well-to-do wished them to vote.

Second, votes were openly bought and sold. Politicians went among the people bidding for votes, the standard price being about £5 ($25) at that time. However, prices differed in various localities. "By long-established custom the price of a vote at Hull was two guineas [over $10]; at Stafford, seven." When rival politicians were competing for a seat in Parliament, the price sometimes went as high as £25 ($125) or even more. Not only were individual voters bribed, but politics was so played that the votes of whole boroughs were sold to the highest bidder. It is said on good authority that to secure the vote of a borough cost about $25,000.

George III openly bribed people to vote for candidates to the House of Commons who he knew would do his bidding. Anecdotes recount that he used to go out into the towns and villages, giving money to the shopkeepers, artisans, and farmers to vote for his candidates.

Third, politicians appointed their political associates and their friends to government posts at fat salaries. This practice was openly carried on by Walpole as the Whig prime minister. As we have already seen, these political associates decided the policies of the government in secret cabinet meetings.

Fourth, the various districts of England were not represented in Parliament in proportion to population. Some sections with almost no population at all had more representation than had large towns and cities. In the 1700's and early 1800's people left the villages and moved into the growing manufacturing towns and cities, thus redistributing the population, but the plan of representation remained the same. A quotation from Hayes will illustrate the problem:

> . . . Old Sarum had once been a prosperous village and had been accorded representation, but after the village had disappeared, leaving

to view but a lonely hill, no one in England could have told why two members should still sit for Old Sarum. Nor, for that matter, could there have been much need of representation in Parliament for the seacoast town of Dunwich. Long ago the coast had sunk and the salt-sea waves now washed the remains of a ruined town. Bosseney in Cornwall was a hamlet of three cottages, but its citizens were entitled to send two men to Parliament.[1]

Thus Lord Macaulay, a famous English historian, could say that the English government was "a mass of represented ruins and unrepresented cities." And a political leader of the times, William Pitt the Younger, could say of the House of Commons in the 1700's:

> This House is not a representative of the people of Great Britain; it is the representation of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates.

Indeed, corruption was so prevalent in those days that these so-called "rotten boroughs" were also called "pocket boroughs" — that is, they were in the pockets of the politicians who had sufficient money to purchase their votes and thereby control their seats in Parliament.

This, then, was the system of British cabinet government and the degree to which it represented the British people throughout the 1700's.

THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS BEGAN TO PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PART IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT

We see, therefore, that while the introduction of machines pauperized and enslaved the masses of the people, it produced a rich, powerful section of the middle class — namely, the industrial capitalists. A group of several thousand owners of factories, banks, coal and iron mines, steel mills, machine shops, railways, canals, ships, wholesale and retail stores, and exporting and importing companies rose to power. It was a new group of the *bourgeoisie* — the leading people of the manufacturing towns.

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[1] Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 434–435. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1920.

For two hundred years this class had been slowly growing stronger because of its ownership of land and its control over craftsmen. Now, as the new business promoters accumulated wealth, the capitalist class grew rapidly in numbers. After 1800 these captains of industry — like the captains of industry in the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and other countries — worked with the politicians for the control of government. They saw that thus they could control the production and prices of goods and the costs of labor (or wages), and thereby control profits.

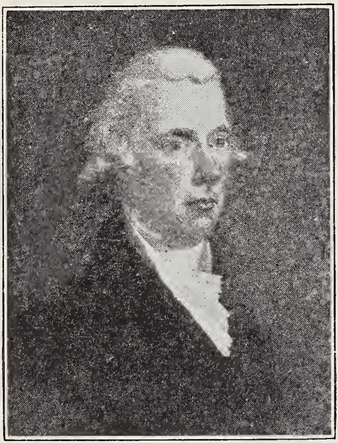

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FIG. 90. William Pitt, the Younger (1759–1806). (From a painting by William Hoppner in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts)

Not until 1832 did the new industrial capitalists secure much representation in the government

Until after 1800, however, Parliament was largely under the control of the descendants of the old nobility—rich landlords and merchants of the older type. With this inner ring that controlled government, the rising industrial middle classes at first had little influence. Great towns like Manchester and Birmingham still lacked actual representation in either the House of Commons or the House of Lords. Thus the industrial captains were excluded.

In the meantime, in the later 1700's, the conditions of the masses of the people had become so bad that liberal people had joined together under the leadership of William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806) to improve them. The forces of reform gained adherents rapidly. Bills were proposed in Parliament which would take representation from the rotten boroughs and give it to the growing towns and cities more directly in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each. Newspapers were established in London and in the larger cities and, by reporting the discussion of debates in Parliament, did much to inform the rising middle classes of the condition of affairs. They also stimulated discussion among the people of the towns and cities and increased their desire for change.

It was the well-to-do manufacturing capitalists, however, who led the demand for reform in government. They were intelligent, wealthy, and therefore of growing authority in the country. Moreover, they were organized and felt most keenly the lack of representation in Parliament. They therefore led the general movement for reform.

In the 1820's three important improvements were made in the laws of England. The first was the revision of the criminal laws, 1824. You will remember that more than 200 offenses were punishable by death. Among them were many "crimes," such as petty thieving in stores and shooting game upon the lord's land, which did not warrant such a severe penalty. The criminal act of 1824 changed this cruel system of punishment, making such petty offenses punishable by fines and imprisonment but not by death.

The second improvement was a law passed in 1824 which repealed earlier laws prohibiting the organization of workingmen's unions. Thus laboring men could organize unions "to determine the scale of wages or hours of labor." Even then, however, laborers could not strike in the attempt to enforce their demands upon employers. But democracy had marched forward a little. Those in political power had yielded more rights to the common people.

The third improvement was aimed at the existing religious intolerance. Although those who differed with the Anglican Church were no longer persecuted for their beliefs, yet not all of them were permitted representation in Parliament. An act passed more than 100 years before (1678) compelled all members of Parliament to declare that the Catholic form of religion was "idolatry." This, of course, Catholics would not do. Hence they were not represented in Parliament.

In the early 1800's vigorous movements to give Catholics equal rights in Parliament started in Ireland, then as now largely a Catholic country. In 1828, in a defiant uprising of 50,000 Irish Catholic farmers, Daniel O'Connell, a popular lawyer, was elected to a seat in the House of Commons. Parliament refused to seat him because he would not declare that the Catholic religion was idolatrous. Three times between 1821 and 1828 the House of Lords vetoed measures proposed by the House of Commons to remove the discrimination against Catholics. Finally the movement toward rebellion in Ireland became so strong that the House of Lords passed a Catholic Emancipation Bill, 1829. This permitted approximately a quarter of a million small property-owners in Ireland real representation in Parliament.

Then the Reform Bill of 1832 gave the rising business aristocracy a larger share in government

After the Catholic Emancipation Bill had been passed, events moved swiftly toward greater reform in government. Even conservative Tories and cautious Whig leaders in the House of Commons, such as Lord John Russell, Earl Grey, and Lord Macaulay, urged a change in the unfair representation in Parliament. The conservative House of Lords, however, fearing the increasing power of the manufacturers and business men, were deaf to all proposals.

In 1831 a reform bill proposed by the Whigs was defeated by the House of Lords. A general election held the same year gave the Whigs a new majority in the House of Commons, but of course this did not affect the House of Lords. A second reform bill was passed by the House of Commons, but was again defeated in the House of Lords.

Riots broke out in several of the manufacturing centers of England where the disappointed workingmen believed that the passage of the Reform Bill would have given them the right to vote. Leaders even urged their constituents to refuse to pay taxes, to withdraw their deposits from the banks, and thereby to create a financial revolution and eventually a military revolution. For the first time in nearly 200 years England seemed near civil war.

Seeing the turmoil they had brought about, however, the Tory lords gave in. The Reform Bill was passed in 1832.

Did democracy gain by the Reform Bill of 1832?

Three changes were made in the government of England by this new law — three additions to the British Constitution. First, representation in Parliament was changed, all seats being taken away from each borough having less than 2000 inhabitants and only one seat being allowed each borough having a population between 2000 and 4000. Most of these seats were given to the larger towns which until this time had not been represented in the Parliament — for example, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and others. The larger rural shires also received new seats, and a few were given to the people of Scotland and Ireland.

Second, in the new towns which had just secured representation, all persons renting property at £10 a year (about $50) or over were allowed to vote. Some gains were also made in the rural districts.

Third, all voting in a general election was to be completed within two days. At one time an election had extended over forty days; later it had been reduced to fifteen days. Even then, however, there had been time enough for buying and selling votes and for much social disorder.

Did the Reform Bill of 1832 really bring about true representation of all the people?

It did not. It increased the number of voters from 3 per cent to approximately 5 per cent, and gave representation to the industrial capitalists and to all who owned or rented property valued at a certain amount. But still only the comparatively well-to-do could vote. For example, only 6700 of the 187,000 inhabitants of the manufacturing city of Manchester could vote under the new act. Thus the increase in the representativeness of British government was slight. Before the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, 3 per cent of the people could vote; after that, approximately 5 per cent could vote. *But 95 per cent of the British people were still without a direct share in the government of their own affairs.*

We must remember, furthermore, that the communities which obtained representation by the new bill were essentially factory towns. Thus at last the industrial capitalists had obtained a real place in the House of Commons, and hence in the government of Great Britain.

THE INFANCY OF DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE, 1800–1850

It could hardly be concluded, therefore, that in 1832 government in England was democratic. In the 600 years that had passed since the signing of the Great Charter by King John, England's march toward democracy had been slow indeed. It took more than 400 years to secure the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, giving the control of government to noble landowners, country squires, and city merchant princes. Almost another 200 years were necessary before the manufacturing princes and the banker princes had an equal share. But 95 per cent of the people were still without a voice in government.

Of course we must not forget that most of this slow, sure advance had taken place without civil war and revolution. With the exception of the stirring times (1625–1660) of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth, the drama of British government was staged in comparative physical peace. In this respect it was a sharp contrast to the revolutionary history of France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and other countries.

However, in the 1830's it must have been clear to the true students of democracy — men like Thomas Carlyle in England and Ralph Waldo Emerson in America — that the world still had far to go in its march toward democracy.

But the Industrial Revolution changed conditions and made greater democracy inevitable

After 1800 the rising machine industry, the new international trade, and the ever swifter transportation and communication brought about conditions which increased the democratic character of government in the Western world. This was done in ways of which you have already learned. Let us summarize them.

First, millions of workers left rural cottages and herded in crowded city tenements near factories, mines, and stores. Intolerable working and living conditions in mills and mines, sweat shops, and slum tenements were created. Great bitterness and social unrest grew among the workers.

Second, by the crowding of people into cities and towns, by the invention of modern printing presses, and by better means of communication there was a great increase in the *discussion* of social, political, and economic conditions. The development of trade-unions and of other organizations of workingmen also promoted the exchange of ideas among the common people. Thus increasingly in the 1800's men of the working classes discussed their wrongs and the evils of their living and working conditions. As they did so their leaders instilled in them more and more the desire for a direct voice in the government.

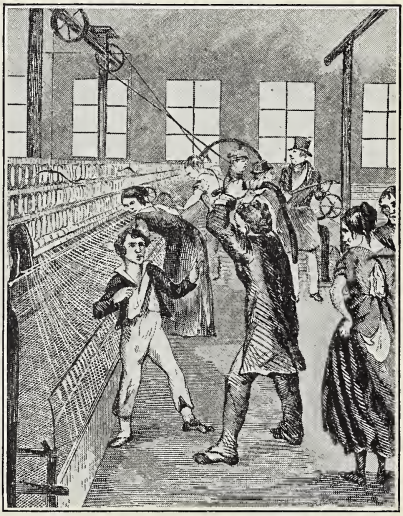

FIG. 91. How would industrial conditions such as this help to make "greater democracy inevitable"? (From Cobden's *White Slaves of England*, 1853)

Third, while the rising middle classes steadily received more education many children of the poor were also taught to read and write. Newspapers reporting current problems were read by a slowly growing educated class. The better educated among the well-to-do read the multiplying books of the social philosophers. Thus through the 1800's education and the Industrial Revolution advanced together.

Fourth, as conditions in industrial cities and towns became worse and worse, a growing body of social philosophers and philanthropists appeared. They denounced the inequalities of the existing régime and proposed new plans of government and community life. We discussed some of their ideas in the previous chapter.

The conditions which had been brought about and the development of discussion concerning them made the onward march toward more democratic government inevitable. Thus the period of the first half of the nineteenth century was that of the infancy of democracy in Europe.

Democracy opposed by the selfish upper classes of the Victorian Era (1837–1901)

Working against the growing demands of the people for better wages, healthier working and living conditions, and a larger share in government, was the selfish opposition of members of the two powerful upper classes — the wealthy dukes, marquises, earls, etc.; and the manufacturers, bankers, merchants, captains of industry, and their representatives in Parliament. Throughout the whole era of Queen Victoria's reign (1837–1901), nearly two thirds of a century long, the conservative wealthy classes were in control. They fought every proposal by the liberal leaders for improvements in the living conditions of the mass of the people and extension of the vote. This conservative attitude was reflected in the home life, the recreations, and the arts of the people. It was a time of conservatism in most aspects of life. "Keep things as they are. Don't change" was the slogan of those who controlled government. And this in the very period of the world's history in which industrial changes came about most swiftly!

The failure of the Chartists (1838–1848) to bring about reform

The agitation for more complete democracy continued because of the failure of Parliament to give all the people the suffrage and to make other reforms. Year after year liberal leaders reiterated their demands for more rights—for a charter of liberties for the common people. The upper classes, five in each 100 people, were now protected by written documents, but 95 per cent of the people were not. The Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights had helped in the main only the rich land barons and the older merchants. The Reform Bill of 1832 had aided only the owners of the new industries.

The demands of liberal leaders now consisted of six points:

1. All adult males should have the right to vote.
2. Voting for all offices should be secret.
3. Election districts should be represented strictly on a basis of the number of people in them.
4. To be a member of Parliament one should not have to own property.
5. Members of Parliament should be paid a salary.
6. Parliament should be elected each year.

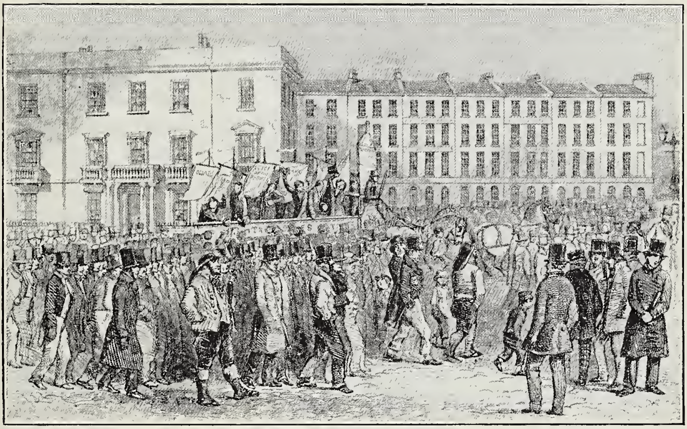

Fig. 92. A peaceful procession of the Chartists. Such processions as these were intended to show the strength of the movement and to gain supporters. (From the *Illustrated London News*, 1848)

These democratic ideas seized the imaginations of the workingmen. Beginning in 1838, the so-called Chartist movement spread rapidly through the large factory towns and cities, especially among the trade-unions. Mass meetings and conventions were held. Discussion spread from section to section.

In 1839, representatives of the laboring classes met in London in a Workingmen's Parliament. A petition demanding votes for all adult males was presented to Parliament, but was emphatically refused by that conservative body. Working conditions steadily became worse, and in 1842 another petition was presented. Again it was refused. In the next six years, in spite of disunion among the members of the Chartist movement themselves, agitation increased. Leaders went about preaching armed revolution if Parliament refused to give the people their rights. The climax came in 1848, when a giant petition with 2,000,000 names was prepared for presentation to Parliament. It was rumored that 500,000 men would present it and that some of them would be armed, ready to enforce their demands.

It looked as if revolution were going to be necessary in England to bring about changes in government. Parliament got ready for the coming struggle by enlisting the aid — as special constables — of the well-to-do people of London. Then suddenly the whole demonstration collapsed, and the Chartist agitation died down.

The Second Reform Bill (1867)

Thirty-five years passed after the Reform Bill of 1832, which gave the industrial capitalists their desired power, before another clear sign of advance in democracy was revealed. Then came the Second Reform Bill, which extended the vote to 1,000,000 more people, mostly factory workers in the cities.

During this period, agitation for reform had continued under liberal leaders. One of these, influential in the 1840's and 1850's, was John Bright (1811–1889). Bright, a Quaker nonconformist, was a popular leader of the masses. He worked for the restriction of hours of labor in the mines and factories. For years he gave himself without stint to bringing about the reform of Parliament. He also opposed capital punishment and urged further reforms of the criminal code and the prison system.

Furthermore, during these 35 years the Whig and Tory parties had definitely changed into the *Liberal* and *Conservative* parties. In this period also two famous political leaders rose to power and were important figures in the advance toward democracy. The leader of the Liberals was William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898). Gladstone was an aristocrat, the son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, and originally a Conservative. He became a Liberal after seeing the conditions under absolute government in Italy. In 1859 he became a member of the Liberal cabinet as chancellor of the exchequer. In that position he made a world reputation for himself as the leader of the free-traders; that is, those who would abolish import and export duties.

We need not rehearse the details of tariff history in England except to remind ourselves that before 1850 the heavy tax levied upon hundreds of articles manufactured in other countries and imported into England was removed. Thus sale prices of articles used by the common man were lowered. National plans were devised by which the expenses of government could be met by inheritance and income taxes, taxes on liquor sales, and the like. Finally, under the financial guidance of Gladstone, although income taxes were reduced several times, and although many additional articles were put on the free tariff list, England became more prosperous than she had ever been before.

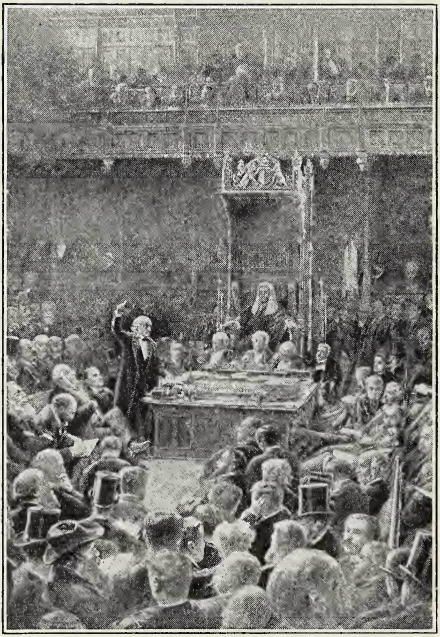

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FIG. 93. Gladstone addressing the House of Commons

Meanwhile the Conservative party gradually came under the leadership of a brilliant English Jew — Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), later Earl of Beaconsfield. He was a shrewd politician, a powerful public speaker, and a strong leader. He openly favored laws which would improve the working and living conditions of the masses and which would extend the right to vote to a much larger proportion of the population.

Although the leaders of the two parties represented very different political points of view, they both helped to advance the cause of democratic government in England. Because Disraeli and Gladstone both wanted to maintain their political power, they vied with one another in making concessions to the voters. In 1867, as a result of this competition to win votes, Parliament passed the famous Second Reform Bill. This extended the redistribution of the seats of Parliament which had been begun in 1832, giving to the growing manufacturing towns and cities 58 more seats in the House of Commons, formerly held by thinly populated rural districts.

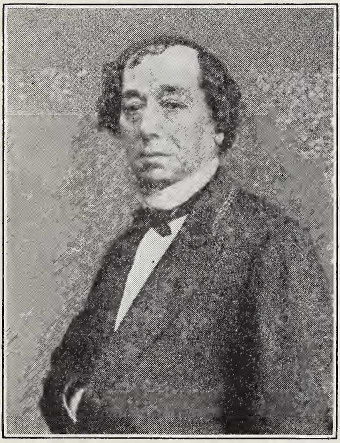

Fig. 94. Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881)

But, more important still, this act increased by over 1,000,000 the number of persons permitted to vote. In the cities the suffrage was given to every householder and renter of a separate dwelling, whether he owned property or not, and to every lodger who paid a rent equal to $50 annually. In the rural districts the vote was given to all tenants of property worth $60 a year.

At last democracy had really begun to march forward. Two and one-half million voters now had a voice in the government of Great Britain—2,500,000 out of a population of 32,000,000. Nevertheless government was still far from representative of all the people. Agricultural laborers — and there were many of them — were still unfranchised.

So the fight for more democracy went on under Gladstone's leadership. In 1872, in the *Ballot Act*, public voting, one of the worst evils of English politics, was done away with. The Australian ballot scheme (so called because it was first used by British colonists in the province of Victoria, in Australia) was adopted. Voting was thus made *secret*: a person could drop his vote in a ballot box without others' knowing how he voted. This made it impossible for persons of prominence in a community to intimidate others so that they would vote contrary to their convictions.

The Australian method is now used in the United States and in many other countries.

Twelve years later, in 1884, Gladstone brought about the passage of the first *Representation of the People Act*. This gave the vote to 2,000,000 agricultural laborers, increasing the number of those who could vote by 40 per cent. Other measures slowly increased the number of voters until at the outbreak of the World War it is estimated that about four out of every five adult males in England could vote. At that time approximately 8,000,000 men were eligible out of a total population of 45,000,000.

In 1885, under Gladstone, Parliament passed another bill, again redistributing the seats in the House of Commons. This bill provided that each member of the House of Commons should represent a definite number of people. Thus the British Parliament became still more representative of the masses.

One Important Obstacle to Democratic Government still remained — the Power of the House of Lords

All the reforms in Parliament which we have discussed applied only to the House of Commons. Throughout the centuries of steady march toward representative government, the House of Lords remained untouched.

Most of the 600 members of the House of Lords were "hereditary peers," and so entitled by birth to membership. Many of them rarely attended the meetings of Parliament — except when it was necessary for them to vote to protect their own interests. Many, indeed, showed no political ability whatsoever. The only reason for their position in the British government was the fact of their birth.

Although the House of Commons had long been the chief lawmaking body because of its control over finances, legislation had to be agreed to by the House of Lords. We have seen that the House of Lords frequently defeated progressive legislation which had been passed by the Liberal party in the House of Commons. Thus for nearly a century liberal leaders had recognized that as long as the House of Lords had the power of vetoing the legislation of the House of Commons, a tiny group comprising less than a fraction of 1 per cent of the population could prevent more than 99 per cent from expressing their real will.

Furthermore, Liberals wanted to shear the House of Lords of its powers because the presence in that body of the bishops of the Anglican Church gave the Established Church an unfair advantage over all other religious denominations of the kingdom.

Thus in the later 1800's the movement to restrict the power of the House of Lords steadily advanced. Matters came to a head in 1909, when the Lords broke their long-established custom of approving budget bills passed by the House of Commons and rejected the Finance Bill. This created such a storm of opposition from the Liberals that the ministry resigned and a general election was held. When the Liberals were overwhelmingly returned to office, they immediately made plans to pass legislation which would still further restrict the power of the House of Lords. Again they were blocked. Another election was held. Once more the Liberals were in the majority. This time the House of Lords submitted to the expressed will of the people, passing the Parliament Act in 1911. This act provided that financial bills passed by the House of Commons would become the law of the land one month after being sent to the House of Lords, whether or not they were approved by the Lords. All other bills would become law even if rejected by the Lords, provided they were passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, and provided also that two years had elapsed between the first proposal of the bill and its final passage. Thus the House of Commons was given complete charge over national finances and virtually over government. It left only one control still in the hands of the House of Lords, namely, that it could *postpone legislation for two years* by vetoing acts passed by the House of Commons.

British Women were Enfranchised, and All Property Restrictions to Suffrage were Removed

But in all these centuries what about the women? They were still without voting privileges — still without representation in Parliament. The agitation for "votes for women" started three quarters of a century ago both in America and in England. For many years it was met by ridicule and severe opposition. During the past twenty years, however, the woman's suffrage movement, led in England by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, became very militant. A great campaign was put on by the women leaders and their men sympathizers, with parades, conventions, pamphlets, and books. Hunger strikes were resorted to when women were thrown into prison. Steadily these methods attracted adherents, and gradually most men became convinced that women could use the power to vote as intelligently as they. Then the active and able work of women in the World War swung political leaders to their support all over the world. In 1918 the Equal Franchise Act was passed, giving the vote to every woman over 30 years of age; thus at one stroke millions more voters were enfranchised in England. Ten years later (1928) this age restriction was lowered, and today women over 21 are permitted to vote. About the same time another act gave women the right to hold seats in the House of Commons. However, even now they cannot sit in the House of Lords.

Fig. 95. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of the woman's suffrage movement in England

The Representation of the People Act of 1918 redistributed the seats of Parliament again and *abolished all property qualifications.* Today men and women 21 years of age and over have the privilege of the vote in England.

Summing up Great Britain's March toward Democracy

This must complete our brief outline of Great Britain's march toward democracy. She was first among the nations of Europe to experiment with representative government. A century before those in France and two centuries before those in Germany, the property-owners of Great Britain defied the authority of arrogant "divine right" kings to rule them absolutely. Thus the people of Great Britain had the beginnings of a democracy a century before the French or the Americans and more than two centuries before the Germans, the Russians, and most other European peoples.

What, then, have been the gains in democracy in Great Britain? To answer this question let us sum up the civil and political rights of the people:

1. *The gains in civil liberty.* Step by step, after King John signed the Magna Carta in 1215, the British people were guaranteed certain civil rights dear to all democratic peoples. Seven hundred years of struggle among the various classes achieved this, and to it we owe much of our own Constitution, including the Bill of Rights. Note that these civil liberties are essentially the ones that have been written into the Constitution of the United States.

a. The right of free speech — that is, the right to speak what one believes to be true.

b. The right of a free press — that is, the right to state one's thoughts, beliefs, or criticisms in writing.

c. The right of free assembly — that is, the right to meet with other persons in public places and to discuss matters of public or private interest.

d. The right to petition the government on any matter.

e. The right to religious freedom — to worship according to one's beliefs.

f. The right to a fair trial in court and to protection against illegal confinement.

2. *The gains in political liberty.* But, as we have learned in our earlier studies, civil liberty can be guaranteed to each citizen only by giving him political liberty — that is, the right to share in the government by voting and holding office.

In Great Britain this has been achieved in large measure by the steady evolution of the constitution. Dramatic events have passed before our eyes which illustrate the way in which this was done — for example, the signing of the Magna Carta

(1215); the acceptance of the Petition of Right (1628); the acceptance of the Bill of Rights (1689); the development of political parties; the rise of cabinet government under the leadership of a prime minister; the more adequate representation of the cities, towns, and other districts of England; the extension of the right to vote; the development of secret voting; the frequent election of Parliaments; and the control of the government by the people as represented in the House of Commons.

Note, therefore, the gains in political liberty:

a. Political liberty and religion. In earlier times only members of recognized churches could vote and hold offices. Now there are no religious restrictions.

b. Political liberty and the ownership of property. Formerly only persons owning a stated amount of property could vote and hold office. Now there are no such bars.

c. Political liberty with respect to sex. Formerly only men had the right of suffrage. Now women as well as men can vote.

In these great civil and political rights we see the long road that the British people have traveled in their experiment with representative government.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

MARSHALL, HENRIETTA E. An Island Story. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. A child's history of England.

ROSEBERY, EARL OF. Life of Pitt. The Macmillan Company, New York. Pitt and the political life of England during his time.

TAPPAN, EVA M. In the Days of Queen Victoria. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston.

TERRY, A. G. New Liberty (History Stories of Other Lands). Row, Peterson & Company, Evanston, Illinois.

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UNIT IV

THE MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

THE MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

We turn now to two more examples of the world's experiments in representative government, those of France and Germany. The story of the march toward democracy in each of these countries is very different from that in England. "Divine right" government continued in France long after it disappeared in England, and in Germany it lasted for more than a century after it had died out in France. The long story of the revolutionary overthrow of absolute monarchy in France will be told in Chapter XI.

In Chapter XII we shall then show democracy's difficult march under many changing governments from the French Revolution to the present day.

In Chapter XIII we shall trace the advance toward democracy in Germany. Here empire by divine right held on much longer than it did in the other leading European nations. Indeed, not until the end of the World War did the democratic movement triumph in Germany.

CHAPTER XI

FROM ABSOLUTISM TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité!

Emblazoned over the entrances to public buildings, carved on monuments, stamped on coins, chorused in national songs, — in fact, everywhere in France, — one finds this slogan of the French Revolution: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!

It was phrased first during the democratic uprising of the Parisian workers in the 1790's. Then it radiated swiftly over France, arousing the desire for freedom among the downtrodden peasants and artisans of distant provinces. Ten years passed, and Napoleon Bonaparte, that false "Son of the Revolution," led his armies, spreading the message of democracy north, south, and eastward over Europe.

Decade after decade the catchword stirred men who were oppressed and dulled by the new industrialism. By 1850 it had reached the workers in far-off Vienna and Budapest, the artisans in the growing cities of northern Italy and in the new manufacturing centers of Germany. In the meantime the flaming fire of the democratic idea had leaped even the broad Atlantic. In the Spanish colonies of America it stimulated peoples to throw off their oppressive rulers and to form a score of Latin-American republics.

Thus in the 1800's *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* became not merely the epitome of the hopes of the French common people: it became the clarion call of advancing democracy around the world. It became the cry of long-oppressed and harassed commoners. The leaders of the people were beginning to embody the scientific ideas of the philosopher John Locke in their demands for a share in the government. They were beginning to consider seriously the emotional denunciations of the scoffer Voltaire and the ringing message of the revolutionary Rousseau.

IN DEMOCRACY THE FRENCH PEOPLE HAD LAGGED FAR BEHIND THE BRITISH

In studying the rise of representative government in England it was necessary to trace its origin in earlier centuries. The story is one of long evolution, with various upper classes taking the control of government away from others who happened to be holding it. As we have seen, by 1700 the rulers had been shorn of much of their power, and the government was in the hands of a Parliament which represented the well-to-do property-owners.

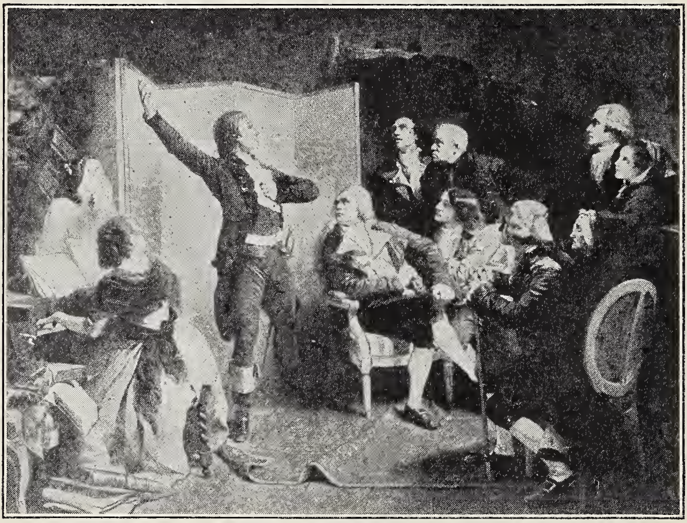

FIG. 96. Claude Rouget de Lisle singing his own composition, *La Marseillaise*. He filled the need of the French revolutionists for a stirring marching song. (From a painting by I. A. Pils)

That is not the story of France, however. There the one-man idea continued in force until almost 1800. There government was absolute, not by the consent of the governed. At the very moment that the British landowners were exacting from their kings written guaranties of civil rights and political liberties, the cardinals of the Church in France were building up for their sovereign the most autocratic kingly government in Europe.

It was Cardinal Richelieu, especially, who made himself the true ruler of France as the chief minister of Louis XIII. A bishop of the Catholic Church at the age of 21, a cardinal when he was 37, this suave master of political intrigue had, before his death in 1642, built up the absolute power of the king. Ignoring the nobles, Richelieu made a small royal council of favorites the lawmaking and executive body of France. He centralized the machinery of the French government, taking away from the nobles and clergy the right to levy taxes. He transferred the powers of local provincial governments to tyrannical royal officials who policed their districts and forced amazingly large taxes out of the peasants and artisans.

Richelieu also knew the principle that he who controls the army controls the government. So he built up a large standing army which, being paid directly from the royal treasury, was loyal only to the king. By clever intrigue at home he pitted one noble courtier against another, and at the same time he conspired in foreign politics by setting one ruling house of Europe against another. Thus through his diplomacy and intrigue Richelieu not only made the king of France an absolute monarch among his people, but also laid the foundation upon which France soon became the leading government of all Europe.

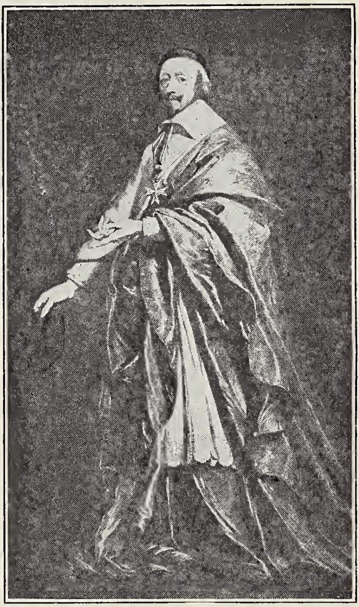

Fig. 97. Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642). (From a painting by Philippe de Champagne)

Louis XIII died in 1643, and upon the accession of the five-year-old boy king, Louis XIV, another cardinal, Mazarin, became the chief minister until 1661. Mazarin continued Richelieu's policies. He schemed and planned, put down all revolts with a harsh hand, and ruled directly from Versailles as Richelieu had done. In 1661, at his death, he passed on to Louis XIV an unexcelled position as absolute ruler of France. There were no visible signs of democracy. The Estates-General, which was a consultative and advisory body, had not met since 1614. There were no elections, no local government. All was done from the royal center near Paris.

As you can readily understand, in the building of this absolute centralized government grave abuses had developed. We can best understand the revolution that shook first France and then the entire Western world after 1789 if we first study some of the abuses which brought it about. It was during the reigns of Louis XIV and his successors, Louis XV and Louis XVI, that these abuses became so conspicuous as to cause the complete destruction of this autocratic society.

Louis XIV, the Perfect Example of the "Divine Right" King

Of the four Louis who ruled over France during the 1600's and the 1700's, only the second, Louis XIV, can really be credited with a capacity for hard work. He rose early in the morning and delved deeply into the problems of state. He actually *worked* at his job of king, which to him was a real trade. "One reigns by work and for work," he told his great-grandson, who reigned after him as Louis XV. And he practiced what he preached, keeping in direct touch with his provincial officers as well as his personal ministers, watching every detail of the administration of his realm.

Louis XIV applied his ideas to his personal life and the development of his court as well as to the management of government affairs. He was a handsome man, a regal and elegant courtier and diplomat. It was said of him that even while playing billiards "he retained an air of world master." In him we see the Grand Monarch, the perfect example of the "divine right" king. Thus about a century after James I had pronounced the doctrine of divine right in England, Louis XIV of France carried it to its highest point.

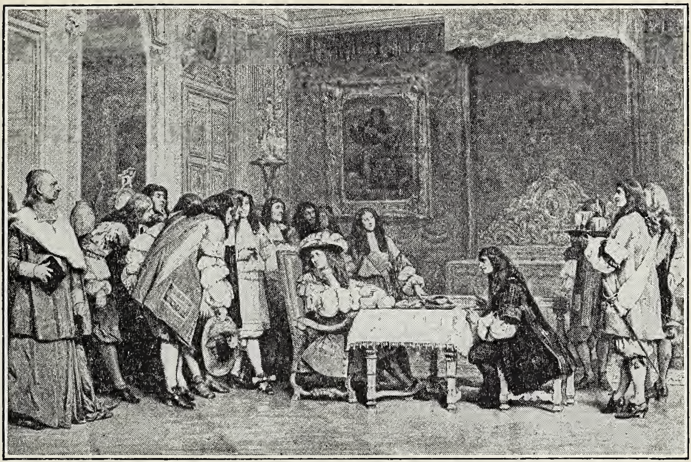

Fig. 98. At the dinner table are Louis XIV (left) and Molière. Even for such an ordinary occurrence Louis XIV surrounded himself with pomp and ceremony. Cardinal Mazarin and a group of courtiers attend the king. (Painting by J. L. Gérôme)

"I am the State" fittingly described the attitude of this "enlightened despot," this paternal king. Louis maintained that he was the representative of God on earth and that attacks upon him and his sacred image were blasphemy and sacrilege.

From the billions of francs exacted from the poor peasants Louis built a magnificent court, a center of pleasure

Europe had seen fine royal palaces before, but never of such inspiring magnificence as was revealed in those which Louis XIV built. Twelve miles out from Paris was the palace of Versailles, a collection of massive, spreading structures with a town surrounding them. For more than 100 years after its construction Versailles supplanted Paris as the center of French government.

Versailles still stands, with much of its later furnishings and equipment preserved for sight-seers. One can walk in imagination with elegantly costumed nobles and ladies of Louis's court through miles of broad corridors, acres of great rooms. In imagination, in richly draped banquet halls, seated at tables laden with deliciously prepared viands and the most delicate wines and liqueurs, one can toast again the glories of Louis XIV. From winding stairways above broad courtyards or from heavily draped windows one can look out upon rich, green terraces.

To this palace were brought furnishings from the handicraft centers of the entire world. Walls were covered with rich tapestries; furniture was hand-carved in styles which are still models of excellence. And surrounding the buildings were vast, well-kept forest preserves and parks and beautifully sculptured fountains. This was, indeed, a palace appropriate for the Grand Monarch.

Here a great pleasure center developed during the long reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715). By far the most dazzling court of all Europe, it was heralded far and wide, attracting the luxury-loving nobles of France and a constant flow of visitors from other countries. Here, in these great suites of apartments, Louis's courtiers lived with him. Eagerly they waited upon the monarch, quick to serve his slightest wish. From the very moment of his awakening in the morning until the time for bed at night they attended him. Only a noble could comb the king's hair or attend him at the bath. Never did a king have such lordly servants.

Louis XIV's court became a world center of art and letters

There was perhaps one redeeming feature in this extravagant use of money wrung from the peasants and artisans of France. Not all the money was wasted, for some of it was used to foster the arts. Under Louis XIV, Versailles became a great center of writing, art, science, and handicraft. He gathered around him a group of brilliant writers, dramatists, artists, craftsmen, and scholars, some of whom became internationally famous.

Especially in the drama and in letters did these French creative writers of Louis XIV's era excel. The great "father of French tragedy," Corneille (1606–1684), lived his most mature years in Louis's reign. One of his plays, *Le Cid*, has achieved a secure place in the history of drama. Like his other plays, it is a portrayal, in heroic proportions and style, of the conflict between impulse and duty; it depicts, with oratorical eloquence, men as they ought to be.

Of equal rank with Corneille stands Molière, the creator of

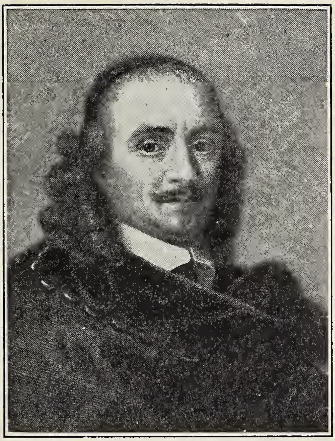

Fig. 99. Pierre Corneille (1606–1684). (After a painting by Le Brun)

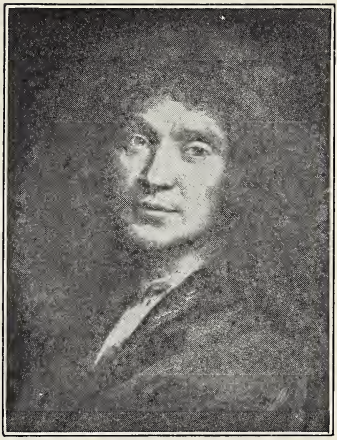

Fig. 100. Molière (1622–1673). (From a painting by Mignard)

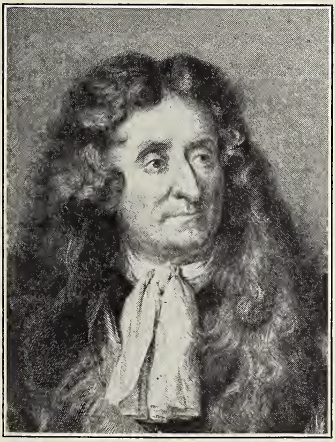

Fig. 101. Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695)

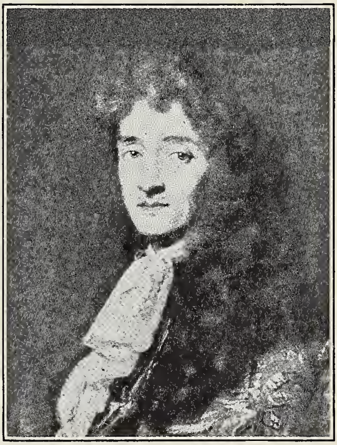

Fig. 102. Jean Racine (1639–1699)

comedy in France. His keen eye for sham in all walks of life, his passion for sanity and balance, are attested by such plays among the long list of his masterpieces as *L'École des Femmes, Tartuffe, Le Misanthrope, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.* Without malice and without bitterness he challenges in these plays the intolerances and the humbuggery of his contemporaries.

At the same time Jean Racine, a brilliant young dramatist, was coming into prominence. At first he showed, as was natural, the influence of the great Corneille, but soon his insistence on simplicity of action and his interest in the passions of the human heart led him into original fields. His *Andromaque*, *Phèdre*, *Britannicus*, and *Athalie* are masterpieces of classical tragedy. They depict men as they are. Not only was Racine a great dramatist: he is also in the first rank of French poets.

From these dramatists came an influence which spread far and wide in Europe. Steadily it affected the stage in other countries as well as in France. Here was a new style, which served as an inspiring model for later writers.

The literary minds of the court of Louis XIV are also remembered for other types of writing than the drama. La Fontaine (1621–1695) was the author of gay, graceful fables. Saint-Simon (1675–1755) was a courtier at Versailles and had ample opportunity to observe the inner workings of Louis's brilliant court, which he analyzed toward the end of his life in his famous *Mémoires*. In spite of the fact that the *Mémoires* contain errors of judgment and fact, as well as distortions due to prejudices, nevertheless they are remarkable for their keen observation and vivid portraiture and are of great historical value. Mme. de Sévigné (1626–1696) wrote with more fairness than did Saint-Simon, but her canvas was smaller. Her letters from Paris to her daughter in Provence — published after her death — touched intimately on every topic of the times. Brilliantly, simply, and frankly she wrote her estimate of contemporary social and literary manners, and the wit and intelligence of her letters have put her among the world's most distinguished letter-writers.

Not only was some of Louis's enormous wealth used for letters and art: science and scholarship were also supported. The scientific magazine *Journal des Savants* was established and has been in existence almost continuously to the present day. Louis built libraries and astronomical observatories, his own royal library being regarded as one of the most important in the world. He stimulated many nobles to build scientific laboratories on their own estates. In fact, it was in one of these that Voltaire spent much of his time, dabbling with science. Cardinal Richelieu had founded the French Academy, an organization including men of unusual talent in science, politics, letters, and art. The Academy still carries on today — a limited little group of 40 men who have the approval and patronage of the French government. Louis XIV encouraged this organization during his reign.

The interest in handicrafts paralleled the brilliant development of the arts. Never before had Europe seen the art of weaving fine fabrics, of furniture-making, and of costume-designing carried to such a high point. Working with metal and leather, paper-making, book-printing and bookbinding, wood-carving, gilt ornamentation, and alabaster sculpture were encouraged. This was the period, too, in which elegant Chinese lacquer ware, tapestries, rugs, and other interior decorations were imported, setting a new standard of beauty and costliness for the courts of Europe.

Versailles became the model for other courts. Lesser kings, as well as dukes, counts, and petty nobles, had to have their centers of pleasure and culture patterned on the lines of the palaces of the Grand Monarch himself. That there were some splendid results in the development of a higher level of culture cannot be denied. This autocratic government had, indeed, produced new standards of excellence in architecture, had improved the French language and literature, and had stimulated the development of science and the pursuit of fine handicrafts.

The Ambitious and Greedy Louis nearly Ruined France by his Wars of Aggression

But Louis XIV was not satisfied to be merely the absolute ruler of his own realm. He was ambitious to extend the territory of France and to put his relatives into positions of power in other parts of Europe. In this respect, of course, he was but doing what every other strong ruler had done and was trying to do. Apparently each was consumed by a driving ambition to accumulate more wealth, more territory, and to bring an ever-larger number of human beings under his absolute power.

This greed for wealth and power was illustrated in the lives of the earlier English kings and of the dukes and other petty monarchs who developed the various national states prior to 1500. It was present as well in all earlier empires built on conquest — those of the Roman emperors, of the Mohammedan conquerors, of Genghis Khan and other Mongol chieftains. The desire for wealth and power has driven every strong leader on to ever-greater conquest.

The inevitable outcome in each case was devastating wars of aggression — the killing and enslaving of peaceful human beings, the destruction of the results of civilization. Nothing can condone these wars of aggression, which have torn mankind since the earliest days of recorded history.

Throughout the later 1600's Louis XIV launched one aggressive war after another, keeping the leading nations of Europe constantly in turmoil. French rulers had long believed that there were certain "natural boundaries" for France. These were the Rhine on the north and east, the Pyrenees Mountains and the Mediterranean on the south, and the Atlantic on the west. So for half a century Louis's armies tried to satisfy his ambitions.

We must not use valuable space to rehearse the details of these personal conquests of an arrogant, selfish king. If the military details are desired they can be read in books devoted to military history. They form a very unimportant part of the great march of the world toward democracy. Let it suffice merely to enumerate examples of the destructive effect of absolute government on a continent.

There were, to name outstanding examples, (1) the War of Devolution (1667–1668), in which Louis tried to conquer the Belgian Netherlands; (2) the Dutch War (1672–1678), in which he extended the frontier of France a little nearer the Rhine; (3) the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), in which the rulers of England, Spain, Sweden, and several German states fought for nine years to keep Louis out of the Holy Roman Empire; (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713), which resulted from Louis's conspiracies to put his grandson Philip on the throne of Spain and which involved most of the nations of Europe. For twelve years the armies fought over this attempt of a king at further aggrandizement. Louis was defeated on every hand, and at the settlement after the slaughter he had lost all his conquered gains.[1]

As you can see, Louis XIV's ambitions kept the French nation almost continuously at war. Millions of francs were needed to feed, clothe, and equip the thousands of soldiers sent off each year to fight Louis's battles. Millions more were needed to build and keep up his extravagant palaces. Year after year the tax collectors came and took away most of the meager income of the peasants and artisans. Thus the hard-earned income of the people was wasted in useless destruction and in the gay living of their masters. Steadily the national treasury approached bankruptcy. That it did not actually become bankrupt was owing in part to the clever schemes of Louis's ministers of finance. It was also owing to the ability of the people to give ever-larger sums in response to the increasing demands of the tyrannical officials.

In the Meantime what was the Attitude of Peasants and Workers?

Was there enthusiasm in France for these imperial conquests of Louis XIV? No, indeed. The great mass of humanity throughout Europe was relatively unconcerned with these wars which its absolute rulers waged with one another. In fact, until the 1800's political history was little more than the story of conflict among a few ruthless rulers. The common people provided the money, but had not the slightest knowledge of why their respective armies were at war.

During the time of Louis XIV, for example, except for those who lived near international frontiers the common people of one nation knew little about the common people of another. There were no newspapers, telegraphs, telephones, or radios. There were no macadam highways and swiftly speeding automobiles. There was little or no understanding of the ways of living among other peoples. Nor did the common people of France hate the common people of England, Germany, Holland, and other countries of which they were supposed to be enemies. It was only the kings and their courtiers and generals who hated, and they hated in little more than the economic sense; that is, they wanted the wealth and the power that their opponents possessed.

---

[1] Louis died in 1715, but his successors kept up the aggressive wars with other ambitious, grasping rulers of Europe. Hence there followed the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The latter, you will remember, finally drove France out of America and left Great Britain master of most of the colonial settlements in North America.

In France the condition of the people was perhaps a little better than elsewhere on the Continent. By the middle of the 1700's, for example, English and American travelers reported that French peasants seemed to have food enough to keep body and soul together, although in some districts they were in actual destitution. But in spite of the poverty of the 19,000,000 common people and the luxury of 200,000 nobles, there was no open rebellion.

Several factors contributed, no doubt, to this attitude of submissiveness to their condition, among which two deserve mention here: (1) owing to the increase in trade with other parts of the world, the rise of handicrafts, the discovery of new methods of agriculture, and the like, most of the peasants did not face actual starvation; (2) the common people lacked education. There were few schools — indeed, almost none — for the common people, and a total lack, for them, of such means of communication as newspapers, magazines, and books. The ruling classes organized the universities, the royal societies, and the academies. With splendid buildings, academic pomp and ceremonial, education merely helped to make the ruling classes seem more powerful and more wonderful. Scholars and artists lived on royal pensions, and few of them dared risk offending the rulers by appeals for the common people.

Did the common people gain any rights in the reign of Louis XIV?

From what has been said, it is clear that many of the rights which the Englishmen across the Channel had acquired were denied the French. They had no *political rights*. Nobody could hold office except by appointment from the king. Government was absolute. There was no voting by the people.

Did the French have *civil rights* — freedom of worship, speech, and the press, the right of petitioning the government and of protection from unfair punishment? No, indeed. All these civil rights were lacking in the France of 1700. Anyone who dared to criticize the king or his officials could be thrown into prison without trial. Against such independent-minded people the king issued *lettres de cachet* ("sealed letters"). Armed with these letters, police officials arrested thousands of lovers of liberty and threw them into prison without trial. Many died miserable deaths, forgotten even by the people who had put them there. Such warrants were actually issued to government officials in blank form, with authority to fill in the names of any individuals who in their judgment ought to be disposed of. Thus there was no right of trial by jury, no habeas corpus, no right of petition.

There was, furthermore, the greatest religious intolerance. Freedom of worship was totally lacking. It was the day of strife between Catholics and Protestants, and quite generally throughout Europe whichever of the two religious groups was in power persecuted the other. France was officially a Catholic nation, and yet, at this time, in a total population of about 19,000,000, there were not less than 1,000,000 Protestants. Most of these Protestants were called Huguenots. They were a thrifty people, skilled in manufacturing and trading. In spite of continued oppression they had become the most prosperous single group in France. A common saying of the times illustrated this fact: "He is as rich as a Huguenot."

In the reign of Louis XIV these Huguenots were subjected to the most brutal persecution. Their own churches were destroyed, and they were required to attend the official church and to take part in its service. Parents were compelled to teach their little children a faith which they did not believe. At the same time their business enterprises were restricted. They were compelled to take the dragoons — the mounted soldiers of the king's army — into their homes to live. Inevitably, as a result of generations of this sort of treatment, many French people, although outwardly conforming to the requirements of the Catholic Church, became unbelievers, skeptics, and inwardly sneered at the dishonest practices which they saw about them.

Can you see how little democracy there was in France in 1700?

Under the Incompetent Louis XV the Old Aristocratic Régime neared its End

Louis XIV died in 1715 at the age of 77. In the meantime his son and his grandson had died, and now his five-year-old great-grandson became Louis XV, king of France. For 59 years longer, absolute government was to continue in France under this new king. But it was a depleted and almost ruined France, very different from the conquering nation of Louis XIV's earlier years.

Louis XV was an "incompetent imitator" of his great-grandfather. During his reign more destructive wars were fought. Whole provinces were ruined. Tens of thousands of French people were killed. Increasingly larger sums of money were taken from the artisans and peasants of France to keep up the luxuries of the courts. The search for pleasure dominated the nobles. The courts of Europe combined to plot against one another as they had in reigns gone by.

In this way government went on under the absolute rule of despotic kings well through the 1700's. Men were imprisoned without trial, and the population was taxed without being represented in the government. Serfdom still existed. Freedom of worship was not permitted. No political or civil liberties were gained by the people.

Louis XVI; the End of "Divine Right" Monarchy

But the end of absolute monarchy and wasteful aristocracy was close at hand when Louis XVI, the grandson of Louis XV, came to the throne. He was a well-meaning but unintelligent prince, utterly lacking in administrative ability. He was also an idler, spending his time pottering with locks in his workshop or lolling at the palace windows or shooting the deer in his forest preserves. From time to time he did his best to put his mind to the problems of government, but he was the tool both of shrewd ministers and of his silly young wife, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria. This thoughtless young woman surrounded herself with the gayest and most brilliant of lords and ladies in Europe. She was little more than an overgrown child, acting always upon whim and demanding that her every desire for pleasure be satisfied.

And the extravagances continued to mount. It has been estimated that in the 1770's the households maintained by the King, the Queen, and the other members of the royal family cost not less than $12,000,000 a year. Another equally great sum was consumed each year in the reckless grants and pensions which the King made to his favorites.

Desperate Attempts to save the Government by Financial Reforms

In the meantime several ministers in turn tried to adjust the finances of the nation. One of these was Turgot, a friend of Voltaire and Diderot, and an intelligent, experienced student of government. He tried to effect economies and arrange the finances on a sound basis. He tried to lighten the tax burden on the peasants and artisans and to increase the burden on the nobles, the clergy, and the King's favorites. He abolished taxes on food and salt and did away with monopolies. He punished scoundrels who were robbing the people.

But these reforms were exactly what the privileged classes did not want, and at every turn Turgot encountered crafty opponents who whispered against him to the King. Within two years he was dismissed.

Jacques Necker, the minister who succeeded Turgot, was a banker. At first he was popular with the court, for he borrowed hundreds of millions of francs, piling one new loan upon another. It is interesting to know that some of this money was given to the struggling colonies in America to aid them in their revolution against England, Louis XVI's enemy.

Necker did one thing which hastened the end of this period. He published a financial report in 1781 which laid bare to the bankers of the world the bankrupt condition of the royal French treasury. As a result, too, he incurred the enmity of the selfish nobles and of Marie Antoinette. They demanded his dismissal, and Louis, the willing and complacent husband of a spendthrift queen, yielded to their demand and dismissed him.

Then followed Calonne, another controller-general, and more reckless borrowings. Higher and higher mounted the deficit in the national treasury. In spite of the danger Marie Antoinette and her friends continued to dazzle the courtiers of Europe with masked balls at which millions were spent on jewels, silks, satins, and expensive food. By 1786 the national debt amounted to $600,000,000, and it was increasing at the rate of $25,000,000 a year. Now the bankers were shaking their heads. No more loans to a bankrupt government! A crisis was imminent.

In August, 1786, the controller-general informed his king and queen, to their astonishment, that they confronted a national emergency. The government must be completely changed to save it from absolute ruin. "Everything vicious in the state" must be reformed — taxes, customs, financial expenditures, administration of government — or revolution would come.

What could be done? First, assemble the Notables and have a conference about the whole problem.

The Real Beginning of the French Revolution: the Assembly of the Notables in 1787

A hundred and forty-five bishops, dukes, judges, and other government officials met in conference with Calonne and the central government. In no sense did this assembly represent the people of France. Of the 25,000,000 people in France the conference probably represented a small fraction of 1 per cent of all the people.

Calonne told the Assembly of the Notables frankly that to raise the necessary revenue for the government nothing would satisfy but the elimination of the "abuses." These abuses were the special privileges which were enjoyed by the nobles and the clergy. Among them the exemption from taxation was perhaps the most significant. It was this abuse especially which Calonne was attacking.

"Yes, gentlemen," he exclaimed, "the abuses offer a source of wealth which the state should appropriate . . . the abuses must now be destroyed for the welfare of the people."

But the Assembly of the Notables would not listen to such attacks upon their privileges. After voting for a few minor reforms which would not affect them, they asked and secured from the King the dismissal of Calonne.

A new minister was appointed, and plans for a new loan were made. This time the *parlement* of Paris refused to register the act.[1] Instead it drew up a truly revolutionary declaration of rights. Then it made what was to be a historic pronouncement:

> Only the nation assembled in the Estates General can give the consent necessary to the establishment of a permanent tax. Only the nation after it has learned the true state of the finances can destroy the great evils and open up important resources.

Here was rebellion — a call for the assembling of the Estates General. The Estates General had not met since 1614 — 173 years before. Rebellion, indeed, thought the King and his courtiers, and Louis dismissed the *parlement.*

But now Paris and the other cities of France seethed with rebellious mobs. Orators played upon the emotions of the crowds. Indignant protests arose all over France. The King ordered his troops to arrest the rebellious officials. The soldiers refused. At last Louis, thoroughly frightened, decided to call the Estates General together.

So little was known about this ancient lawmaking body that scholars had to conduct researches to discover how the members were chosen and what the powers and duties were. A growing interest spread over France as to the best form of organization for the Estates General. A plan was drawn up giving the third estate — that is, the middle classes — as many deputies as the nobles and clergy together.

In August, 1788, the plan was finished. Louis XVI, no longer able to govern alone, sent a summons far and wide over his kingdom, calling for the election of representatives to the Estates General. In preparing for the meeting, a real expression of public opinion was obtained. Statements of grievances and plans of reform were submitted from many villages and towns. The people demanded a "really national constitution, which shall define the rights of all and provide the laws to maintain them." Note that they did not ask for the establishment of a republic. There was no request that the office of king be abolished. What they wanted was a limited, or constitutional, monarchy, perhaps a "crowned republic," a parliamentary government like that of England across the Channel.

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[1] The *parlement* of Paris, unlike the English Parliament, was a judicial body. Before a new law could be enforced it had to be recorded or registered in the statute books of this court. On frequent occasions before this the *parlement* had refused to register laws which it regarded as unenforceable.

At last we are to see the influence of 200 years of using more scientific ways of thinking. Now are to appear the results of the work of the political economists, of the sentimental Rousseau, of the novelists, of the destructive Voltaire, of the scholarly Diderot and the Encyclopedists.

The Peaceful Revolution continues: the Work of the Estates General, 1789

On May 5, 1789, the Estates General assembled in Versailles. It was not much like its predecessor, the Assembly of the Notables, or its ancient forerunner, the Estates General of 1614. The Estates General of 1789 was predominantly an assembly of representatives of the middle classes, consisting of small and large property-owners.

From the beginning this middle-class group took charge of affairs. The nobles and the clergy refused to sit with them to form a truly national lawmaking body. The middle-class deputies refused to meet separately. After six weeks of delay the latter declared themselves a "National Assembly." Rebellion, indeed!

The National Assembly claimed to represent the peasants and workers of the towns as well as their own middle-class group. "We represent," they said, "more than 95 per cent of the French people." This step indicated that the members of the third estate were determined *to take into their own hands the task of reforming the government.*

A short time afterwards the "commons," who had been locked out of their usual place of meeting by the other two estates, assembled in a building called the Tennis Court and there took the *Tennis Court Oath,* in which they declared that they would never separate "until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established."

One dramatic event followed another. The King threatened armed force; but the deputies, firm under the leadership of the distinguished Mirabeau and the Abbé Sieyès, refused to be dismissed. At last the nobles and clergy were ordered by the King to join the third estate in a real National Assembly.

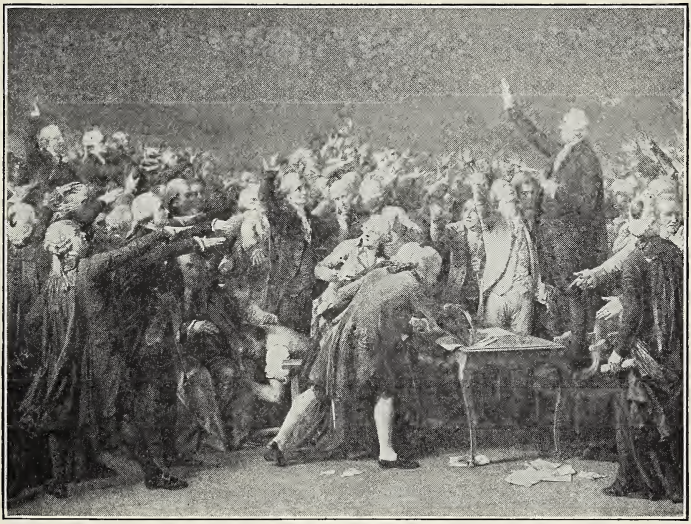

FIG. 103. Members of the National Assembly taking the oath in the Tennis Court. (From a painting by Couder)

THE WORKERS OF PARIS RISE AGAINST THEIR MASTERS

Two striking events in the summer and autumn of 1789 showed clearly that the end of the old régime was near. On July 11 the suffering hordes of commoners in Paris, led by Camille Desmoulins (1760–1794) and other emotional orators, armed themselves with whatever implements were at hand. Within three days they had taken the great city into their own power. Stores and warehouses were looted; government offices were seized; and on the fourth day, July 14, 1789, the royal prison known as the Bastille was destroyed. The slumbering hatreds of centuries had burst into armed violence.

In the meantime leading citizens had elected representatives from the various districts of Paris and formed a new city government called the *commune*. The capital of France now had popular government. Knowing the need of armed force, this new people's government organized its own volunteer troops, 48,000 strong.

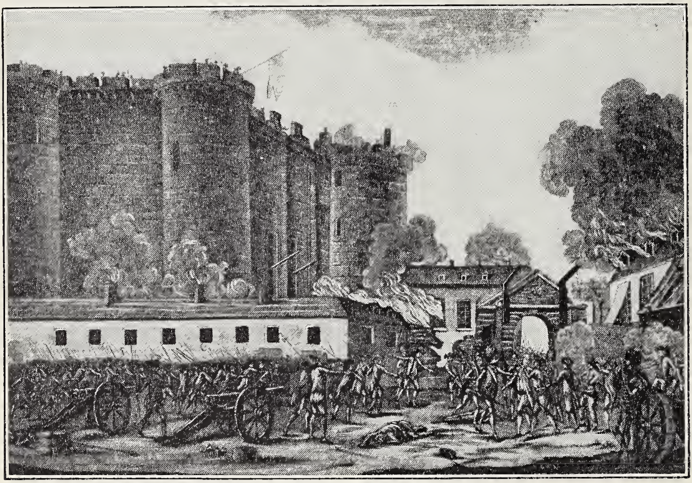

Fig. 104. The revolutionists storming the Bastille. In a few hours the fortress-prison which had stood for over 400 years yielded, and its prisoners were freed

During this interval the bewildered King and the disdainful Queen were continuing their luxurious living at Versailles, only twelve miles from the turmoil and suffering of the capital. Either from stupidity or indifference the Queen regarded the whole matter as an awful bore. It is reported that when one of the more humane nobles said to her that the people were starving for lack of bread, she replied with an air of astonishment, "Then why don't they eat cake?"

So the summer passed, and the cold of autumn came. Conditions in the city grew worse. While banquets for richly gowned lords and ladies were held in Versailles, hordes of starving and shivering people muttered together in Paris.

Then came the historic March of the Women on Versailles. Angered beyond endurance by the reports of the feasts and parties of the care-free nobles at the court and by a rumor that the King was about to dismiss the Assembly, a horde of poverty-stricken, starving women began the long twelve-mile tramp from Paris to Versailles. They believed that great stores of food were secreted at the palace, and they still retained a childlike confidence in their King, regardless of what they might think of his advisers. The King would hear them and feed them.

What a picture that was! Hundreds of ragged women tramping through a drizzling rain to ask bread from their king!

When they finally crowded before the great gates of the palace the royal guard faced them from within. What would happen? The members of the mob (men had joined the women by now) were either unarmed or armed with the crudest sort of weapons. The guard was half in sympathy. The rain was pouring down by now. What did they want? "Bread and speech with the King," they shouted. Nothing else would suffice. They gained the courtyard. They insisted on seeing the King and the Queen. They demanded food. Finally the rulers yielded and showed themselves on a balcony, and the King promised to do all in his power to find food for "his children."

After a night of rioting, when only the presence of Lafayette and his soldiers saved the palace from utter ruin and the Queen from bodily harm, the mob, believing that the mere presence of the King in Paris would assure them of prosperity, demanded that he, the Queen, and their small son return to the capital.

So in the midst of a shouting, milling mob Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and the little Prince Louis returned to Paris.

But the news of the taking of the Bastille and the March of the Women showed clearly that a real crisis had been reached.

Rebellion spread throughout France

Swiftly word spread throughout the provinces that Paris was in the hands of the people. Rebellion began to break out in one center after another. In the towns and cities royal officers were dismissed, new popular governments were elected, and National Guards were recruited.

The contagion spread to the rural districts. Peasants, armed with clubs and whatever other weapons they could find, drove nobles out of their castles, burned their buildings, and took possession of their other property. In many places they took great care to secure and destroy the legal documents which gave the nobles title by inheritance to these vast estates.

By the autumn of 1789 the worst of the old aristocratic régime was ended forever in France.

THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1789–1791

While these dramatic events were taking place, legislative changes were being brought about that have resounded in history even to the present time. The Estates General had been transformed into the National Assembly. Within two years, from August, 1789, to September, 1791, this body of men, more representative of the people of France than any previous assembly, laid the foundations for popular government.

First and foremost, they destroyed all the vestiges of feudalism and serfdom. They abolished the old courts of the manors, the game laws, the tithes paid to the clergy, and the right to obtain offices by purchase. When the work was over, the entire French feudal system, which had outlived its English counterpart by 200 years, was gone.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: the Declaration of the Rights of Man

Then the National Assembly drew up a historic statement of rights for the masses called the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This document was based in part upon

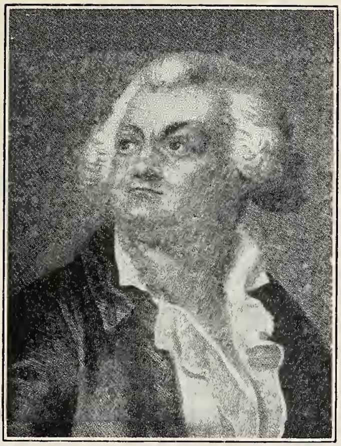

Fig. 105. Honoré Gabriel Victor Riquetti, Count Mirabeau (1749–1791)

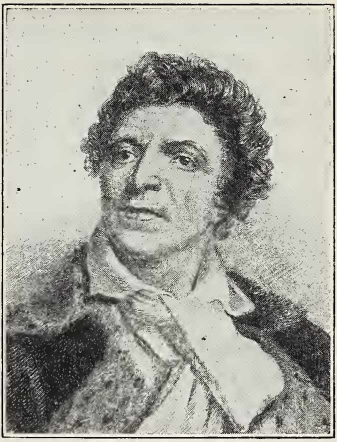

Fig. 106. Jean Paul Marat (1744–1793)

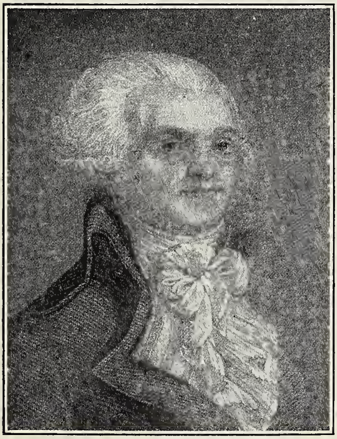

Fig. 107. Maximilien François Marie Isidore de Robespierre (1758–1794)

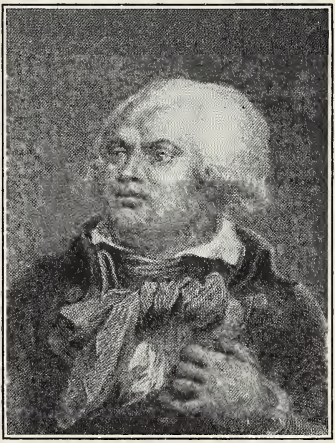

Fig. 108. Georges Jacques Danton (1759–1794)

Four Leaders of the French Revolution

the phrasings of the English Bill of Rights, but for the most part it incorporated the ideas of Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and other frontier thinkers.

In fact, the influence of Rousseau was revealed very clearly in many of the revolutionary acts of that period. Such books as the *Social Contract* put phrases into the mouths of the French leaders. Note how the demand for political and civil rights was phrased:

> Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.
>
> Law is the expression of the general will.
>
> No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law.

But *there was no suggestion of abolishing the ownership of private property.* On the contrary the right to property was definitely recognized as one of the rights of man, along with freedom of speech, of the press, and of worship.

Thus the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen became another historic charter of liberties. Thus also democracy marched on, this time on the mainland of Europe. The groundwork was being laid for the overthrow of absolute government everywhere.

For a year France went on as a constitutional monarchy

Space is lacking to describe all the other remarkable acts of this National Assembly. For example, it brought order out of chaos in local and provincial administration. The old abuses were wiped out. France was divided into 83 departments and subdivided into districts and local divisions. Government and the administration of law was made subject to *popular election of the people in each local district.*

The National Assembly also confiscated the property of the Church, the institution which then owned between a fifth and a fourth of all the land of the country. With this newly acquired wealth the government was able to issue a new kind of paper currency with which to carry on its affairs. In this way the financial administration of the nation was straightened out.

Finally, a systematic, written constitution was prepared. This was based in part upon the ideas of the theorists whom we have studied in previous chapters, especially upon those of Montesquieu. It was also based in part upon the English and American constitutions. Since this constitution was but the first of nearly a dozen that were to be made within the next few decades, we shall not study its details at this time. Suffice it to say that the French government, under this new constitution, became essentially a republic. For the first time in the history of France government represented the mass of the people. In the meantime the king had lost all his power. France was, for the time being, a constitutional monarchy.

The First Republic, 1792–1795

But conditions were such that France could not long remain a constitutional monarchy. You can readily understand that the rulers of Europe were opposed to the revolutionary movement in France. Every king, duke, and count, every petty autocrat in Europe, was swayed by one thought as he witnessed the terrifying developments south and west of the Rhine: "How long will it be before my power will be taken away as has that of Louis XVI?" For a time the rulers forgot their selfish quarrels and joined their armies together against the common enemy, the armed force of the rising spirit of democracy that was spreading among the peoples of Europe.

At the same time the treacherous Marie Antoinette and her weak husband were conspiring with the nobles who had fled from France. This group was concentrated near Coblenz, on the border between France and Germany, conspiring with the rulers of Europe. Marie Antoinette had urged her brother, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, to intervene in French affairs.

Then on a dark night in June, 1791, the King and Queen, disguised as common citizens, slipped out of their Paris palace and drove quietly through the city. Once beyond its walls, they turned their horses toward the royal armies on the Rhine. They had almost arrived; but at Varennes, near the frontier, a too-curious guard looked into their carriage and recognized the royal pair. The guard arrested them and took them back to their palace. From that day they were kept as prisoners.

Then it was that the Austrian emperor and the Prussian king joined hands against the French popular government. With the exception of one party the National Assembly (the legislature which had now come into operation) was enthusiastically in favor of a foreign war as a means of consolidating national sentiment behind the new government. War was declared in April, 1792. At the very beginning the leader of the Austro-Prussian allies openly proclaimed that the war was to end the anarchy in France. Its purpose, he said, was "to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to establish the legal power, and to restore to the King the security and liberty of which he is now deprived."

More than any other fact, this showed the popular leaders of the French Revolution what they must do. They must not only fight against the rest of Europe to maintain their independence, but put an end at once to the monarchy. In the meantime the commune, which had begun as a workers' group, was being controlled by the semi-aristocratic business class. They must abolish this also, thought the leaders.

On August 9 and 10, 1792, the workers of Paris, under the leadership of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre (see figures 106, 107, and 108), seized control of the city government and organized a mob attack upon the Tuileries, the royal palace. The King and the royal family took refuge in the Hall of the Assembly, where they were protected against physical violence. But the Assembly, intimidated by the threats of the mob, voted to suspend the King, to dismiss the ministers, and to summon a new national convention which should determine the future form of the national government. Representatives to this convention were to be chosen by "universal manhood suffrage." Every man was to have the right to vote. Thus the French leaders proposed to establish completely representative government at one blow. Democracy seemed, indeed, to be marching on.

In the meantime tens of thousands of loyal French youth had responded with great enthusiasm to the defense of their country. Nationality became a living thing to the people of France. Men went to war singing the new national hymn, the "Marseillaise" (named from Marseille, where it was composed and first sung).

Surprisingly enough, these gallant, untrained youths held back the Prussian and Austrian armies at Valmy, in northeastern France.

In September, 1792, the National Convention[1] abolished all royal forms of government. Three months later it placed Louis XVI on trial for treason and condemned him to death. The death vote was passed by a slight majority of the Convention. A month later, January, 1793, the guillotine[2] received the King of France as its most noted victim. Danton roared to the crowd as the head fell: "The kings of Europe would challenge us? We throw them the head of a king!" A few months later the Queen, Marie Antoinette, followed him to the same death.

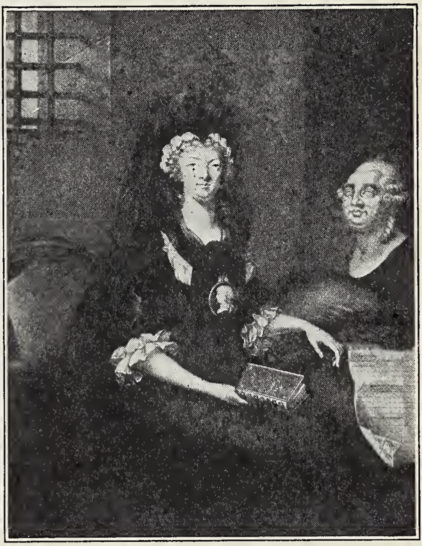

Fig. 109. The widowed and imprisoned queen of France — Marie Antoinette

Then came dictators and the Terror

The new National Convention consisted of almost 700 members. It was soon recognized that this number was too large to administer the affairs of state efficiently. So a Committee of Public Safety, composed of nine members, was appointed. It was this committee, led by such persons as Danton and Robespierre, that for the time being turned the Republic into an absolute dictatorship ruled by terror. For almost a year following the summer of 1793, France was governed by fear — fear of the guillotine. It is estimated that not less than 2500 persons were guillotined in Paris alone. The Convention decreed that every noble, every office-holder of the earlier governments, every person who did not have written evidence of his loyalty, was to be placed under suspicion.

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[1] The earlier National Assembly became the Legislative Assembly, which in turn had now become the National Convention.

[2] Named for Dr. Guillotin, who suggested the instrument as a more humane way of execution than that of beheading with an ax. The guillotine consists of a wooden frame containing upright posts between which falls a huge knife which cuts off instantly the head of the person held beneath it on a board.

The Terror was more than local; it was national. In every center of any size the local Revolutionary Tribunal arrested, convicted, and guillotined its suspected enemies. The entire number thus disposed of is unknown, but it is believed to have been more than 10,000.

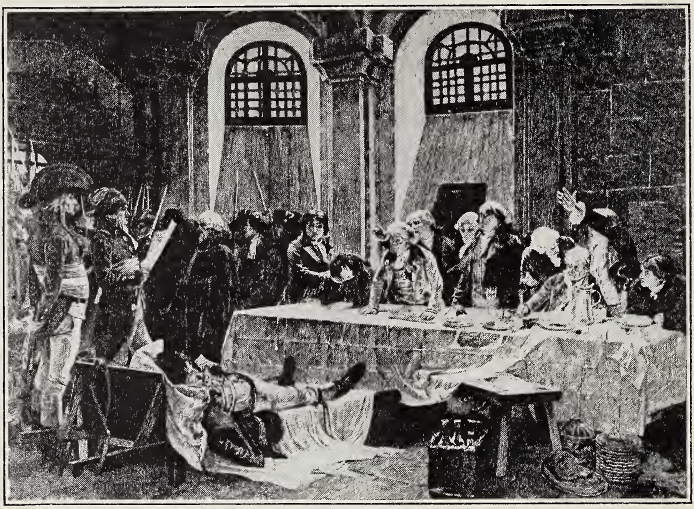

Fig. 110. Robespierre, one of the most extreme of the revolutionaries, lies wounded on a stretcher. He has been brought before the Tribunal, where, after being identified, he was ordered to be executed without further trial. (After a painting by François Flameng)

As the hysteria of blood mounted higher and higher, suspicion spread even to the revolutionaries themselves. When Danton advised them to be more moderate, he himself was accused of disloyalty to the Revolution, taken to the guillotine, and beheaded. Marat was murdered in his bath by Charlotte Corday, a young woman of an opposite faction. Finally Robespierre himself, the most extreme of the leaders, was beheaded, and the Reign of Terror was over.

For a very short time France became a socialistic state

While the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety were spilling the blood of their enemies, the National Convention was instituting what amounted to a really socialistic régime. It set prices for farm products; it confiscated the property of all the Royalists who had fled from France. The great estates of the nobles and clergy were divided and sold on easy payments to the peasants. Note, however, that even the National Convention did not adopt the public ownership of property: they merely took property from one group and gave it to another.

Other important changes were made by this body. An improved system of weights and measures was established. This was the metric system, which has now come into use in nearly every country of Europe.[1]

An elaborate system of education at the expense of the state was created. This became the very foundation of the modern system which is now in force. A beginning was made at recodifying and simplifying the laws of the country.

These revolutionaries were so determined to wipe out everything which pertained to royalty that they went to ridiculous extremes. In place of the title *Monsieur* (Mr.) every person was to be called Citizen or Citizeness. (Louis XVI was referred to as Citizen Capet.) Almost no one would permit himself to wear the knee breeches and silk stockings which were conspicuous parts of the dress of the upper classes.

Then came the Directory, 1795–1799

Smaller and smaller became the group that ruled France in these revolutionary days. Slowly the bloody extremists passed out of power, and upper-middle-class business men increased their hold over the government.

In 1795 still another constitution went into effect. In the new legislative body which was created, it was discovered that the middle-class property-owners had secured control. The central administration was now turned over to a board of five Directors — the Little Directory, as it was called.

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[1] In this respect the United States and England are regarded as backward countries, for they still continue to use the pound-foot system of measuring weight and length. This is done in spite of the attempts of engineers in both countries for nearly a century to bring about a change.

Then followed conspiracies and counter-conspiracies. Royalists were quietly coming back into France. Some were elected to the assemblies. These conspired constantly to take back the control over local and national government.

At the same time, leaders of the city workers saw the government slipping back into the hands of the new well-to-do class and tried to keep it for the masses. One leader, named Babeuf (1760–1797), said of the miserable condition of the city workers of Paris:

> When I see the poor without the clothing and shoes which they themselves are engaged in making, and contemplate the small minority who do not work and yet want for nothing, I am convinced that government is still the old conspiracy of the few against the many, only it has taken a new form.

Under the leadership of Babeuf the workers rose in rebellion against the *bourgeois* Directors. They were a badly equipped and unorganized band, however, and their rebellion was soon put down. Babeuf, their humanitarian leader, was executed.

Other difficulties arose. In handling the huge finances of the nation the Directors began to take some of the money for themselves. Quarrels and plots continued. At the very moment that the people of Paris were starving for want of food, the Directors were secretly seizing larger and larger amounts of gold. Furthermore, they were running the new government by issuing huge amounts of paper money. The very thing happened that has happened in the history of the United States and of other countries. Faster and faster the printing presses moved, and lower and lower went the value of French money. By 1798 it was clear that the new government faced bankruptcy, unable to extricate itself from its financial difficulties.

So in 1799 the Time was Favorable for the Rise of a Powerful Military Dictator

In the short space of ten years France had swayed first in one direction, then in another. How totally unlike England's slow but sure onward march to representative government!

Then came one of the most astonishing turns in the fortunes of France. A successful young military leader arose unexpectedly, won the loyalty of "young France," seized control, and soon made himself dictator. To the story of this unknown youth's astonishing rise to world power, his unwitting scattering of revolution throughout all Europe, and the frequent changes of government in France for another century, we turn in the next chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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CHAPTER XII

DEMOCRACY'S DIFFICULT MARCH UNDER CHANGING GOVERNMENTS IN FRANCE, 1800–1914

The changeable government of France

For nearly a century, 1789–1870, the political fortunes of France swung from one extreme to another. From absolute monarchy to Republic . . . from Republic to dictatorship and Terror . . . from dictatorship and Terror to the absolutism of Empire . . . from Empire to constitutional monarchy. Then more swings of the political pendulum: from middle-class monarchy to short-lived Republic again . . . back again to Empire . . . then the final reëstablishment of the present Republic.

"How changeable!" perhaps you exclaim. How unlike England and America, which, once started on their experiments with representative democracy, went slowly and steadily on their way. Yes, different indeed. But through all the shifts, through all the changes in masters, the French common people established more and more securely the civil rights for which they had overthrown the "divine right" government. And, as we shall see, they, like their English and American brothers, were finally guaranteed these in the more fundamental political rights of voting and sharing in the government.

To tell fully even the major events of this century of swift political changes would require a whole volume. At best our account can be but an outline.

I. 1799–1814: Dictatorship, Napoleon I, and the First Empire
II. 1814–1830: France a constitutional monarchy
III. 1830–1848: Revolution — France a middle-class monarchy
IV. 1848–1852: Revolution — the Second Republic
V. 1852–1870: Napoleon III and the Second Empire
VI. 1871 to the present: Revolution — the Third Republic; the business men in power

I. Napoleon Bonaparte and Imperial France, 1799–1814

In Paris, in 1797, the five dictators of the Directory were quarreling among themselves, each striving to gain what he could for himself. The guillotine had stopped cutting off heads, and France was outwardly quiet. Inwardly the people were bewildered by the sharp turns of events. Nobody saw clearly what should be done to establish orderly and democratic government.

The country needed one thing — a leader! The people needed someone to follow enthusiastically, someone who would bind them together in a great national program, someone to create the spirit of patriotism expressed in the slogan "Fraternity," a leader to work out the governing machinery which would make real the other two great ideas of the Revolution — Equality and Liberty.

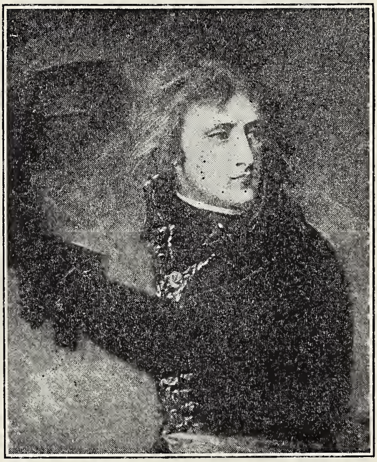

Fig. 111. General Bonaparte during the Italian campaign at Arcola, where he defeated an army almost twice the size of his own. (From a painting by Gros)

In the lull of this situation came startling news — General Napoleon Bonaparte had defeated five Austrian armies in Italy, and France had gained great territories and great glory. Every important military post in Italy was in French hands.

Here, then, was the long-awaited leader — Napoleon Bonaparte. What mattered it if he was a Corsican whose family was of Italian origin? Wasn't Corsica a French territory? Had he not been brought up in France? Had he not fought in the Revolution, been a Jacobin — indeed, been almost guillotined under the suspicion that he had disclosed some government secrets? Was he not "a son of the Revolution," as he had already announced? The Directory knew him well. Had he not helped to keep them in office with his artillery? And they had given him command of the French armies in Italy.

With the success of his army General Bonaparte became the most-talked-of man in France. The Directory praised and flattered him, really afraid to do otherwise. The people generally adored him. From his Italian headquarters went "generals, officials, purveyors, as well as the highest nobility and most distinguished men of Italy, who had come to solicit the favor of a glance or a moment's conversation."

Bonaparte, a man of enormous conceit, believed himself that he was "the Man of Destiny." He had a vision of a victorious empire of France leading the whole world. Although he repeated glibly enough the slogans of the Republic, he had no idea of helping France to establish one. Witness the statement that he made in Italy at the very beginning of his success:

> Do you think either that my object is to establish a republic? What a notion! . . . What the French want is glory and the satisfaction of their vanity . . . The nation must have a head [himself, of course], a head who is rendered illustrious by glory and not by theories of government, fine phrases, or the talk of idealists.

Was this not a clear enough statement of a practical man who proposed to take charge of things in France? And he took charge of them in the most spectacular career of modern times.

He waited two years. In the meantime he led an ill-fated expedition to Egypt with the idea of making that country a stepping-stone for an attack upon Great Britain's Indian possessions. We cannot pause to tell of the disastrous Egyptian campaign. Suffice it to say that in the summer of 1799 he deserted his army in Egypt and had the good fortune to reach the coast of France in October without the French people's learning of his losses.

General Bonaparte returned to Paris to find that the Directory had practically destroyed orderly government. The people were in a ferment of excitement, demanding that the Directors be ousted. Furthermore, foreign armies had won back all that Bonaparte had captured and were about to invade France on every side.

It was a moment for a daring adventurer. Bonaparte seized it. Conspiring with a few leaders to overthrow the Directory, he led troops into the Assembly on November 9, 1799, and forcibly expelled the members who refused to accept him as leader. This unexpected political move, or *coup d'état,* as it is called, established Bonaparte as military dictator of France.

Napoleon and his fellow conspirators, the most prominent of whom was Abbé Sieyès, now proceeded to draw up a new constitution. They placed the government of France under three consuls, of whom Bonaparte was to be First Consul. In taking this title, Napoleon was putting into practice his dream of reviving the Roman imperial government.

As First Consul, 1799–1804, Bonaparte brings administrative order and military success

We see, then, this astonishing situation — a nation of nearly 28,000,000 people, including noble families, business men of wealth and influence, and millions of hard-working peasants and artisans, acclaiming a little man of 30 years as "the Man of Destiny." Napoleon, selfish and conceited, accepted their plaudits as his due. He saw himself as another Cæsar, mastering all Europe. In this quest of power he was aided by his lack of scruples, always playing with the group that offered him most at the moment. And with these traits he had the remarkable ability to act quickly and directly. He moved swiftly, putting his plans into action while his opponents were deliberating. He was a "direct actionist" — in no sense a deep thinker.

It was especially this last trait that led to two outstanding achievements in the five years from 1799 to 1804. The first was an efficient internal reconstruction of his country; the second was the complete defeat of all her enemies in battle.

As First Consul, Bonaparte announced a new constitution which gave him virtually a dictatorship over France. This constitution was submitted to the vote of the people. The result was 3,000,000 for acceptance and 1500 against. We must remember that such a vote represented really the willingness of the French people to follow and be ruled by any leader who seemed to guarantee them peace and prosperity. Witness what a foreign diplomat in Paris wrote at the time:

> The people are so sick and weary of revolutionary horrors and folly that they believe any change cannot fail to be for the better. . . . [They] prefer to see a single man of talent possess himself of the power than a club of intriguers.

So Bonaparte got the power of a dictator and set about reorganizing the national and local governments. He created a centralized scheme of major and minor officials called prefects and subprefects to govern the departments and smaller districts. As First Consul all were appointed by him, worked under his direction, and reported to him. These officials in turn appointed the mayors of the communes. There were locally elected bodies chosen by the voters of the communes, but they had merely advisory power. Thus government was as autocratic as under the absolute monarch Louis XIV. Republic, indeed! Bonaparte's plans for imperial personal power were being realized.

Then the finances of the nation were put in order. Bonaparte reorganized the system of taxation so that increased amounts of money were available for his government. He set up an efficient and economical administration which saved large sums of money. He confirmed the earlier confiscation of the lands of the Church, making the clergy salaried employees of the state. He established a central bank, called the Bank of France, which from the date of its founding in 1800 has had an enviable reputation for maintaining the financial security of the country.

He appointed legal experts to simplify and codify the laws of the country. The laws were assembled under the name *Code Napoléon*, and this code, because of the great improvement it effected in judicial practice in France, brought to Bonaparte great personal renown.

In public works he accomplished important improvements also. He built not less than 200 well-paved roads with great trunk highways leading from every direction to Paris as the center. In this way his armies could be moved swiftly from one part of the land to another, meeting invaders on every side. He built bridges, dredged rivers, and improved harbors.

Bonaparte also restored and improved the ancient palaces, built and endowed art museums and libraries, and provided for the establishment of a national system of schools. This school system was to include an elementary school in every commune of the country, *lycées* (high schools) in the larger towns, and hundreds of technical, engineering, and military schools. The system was completed by a central normal school, in which teachers were to be trained.

Thus, for a time, through Bonaparte's energetic efforts life in France became quieter than it had been for many years. The turmoil of Revolution and Terror gave way to a degree of security which the people had not felt for a long time. And government went on with an efficiency in administration hitherto unknown.

In the meantime the First Consul and his generals had saved France from foreign armies. Early in 1800 Great Britain, Austria, and Russia had joined together and threatened France on every frontier. Acting with his accustomed swiftness, Bonaparte himself led an army over the Alps and in June, 1800, smashed the Austrians at Marengo, in the valley of the river Po. Almost at the same time another French army defeated other Austrian troops in southern Germany.

Against her maritime enemies, the British, France was not so successful. By the beginning of 1802 both France and England were weary of war, and in March the representatives of the two governments signed a treaty of peace at Amiens.

Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, 1804–1814

It is little wonder, therefore, that in 1802 Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France, had so bound the people to him that they authorized his election as consul for life. In addition they gave him the power to appoint his successor. Democracy had indeed marched backward in France! Government had become a hereditary dictatorship. Once more it had become absolute, — as absolute as that of the "divine right" kings.

Bonaparte now had everything but the title that symbolizes imperial power. And in 1804 he determined to add that to his name. In the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris he was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon I. To bless the coronation and give it the approval of the Church of Rome, the Pope (Pius VII) had been brought from Rome to Paris. As Pius was about to place the crown upon his head, Napoleon "seized the crown, waved the Pope aside, and crowned himself."

From this point on, Napoleon's imperial ambitions knew no bounds. He saw himself as the head of a family of ruling monarchs, governing the entire Western world. Not merely France but all Europe was to be the scene of his exploits and his dictatorship. To further his plans he put his brothers on various thrones. In 1806 his brother Louis became king of Holland, and his brother Joseph, king of Naples (later he became king of Spain). Napoleon himself ruled the so-called Kingdom of Italy, and his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, was viceroy over these partially unified Italian states. Another brother, Jerome, was made king of Westphalia, which was formed by joining together various little states of western German territory.

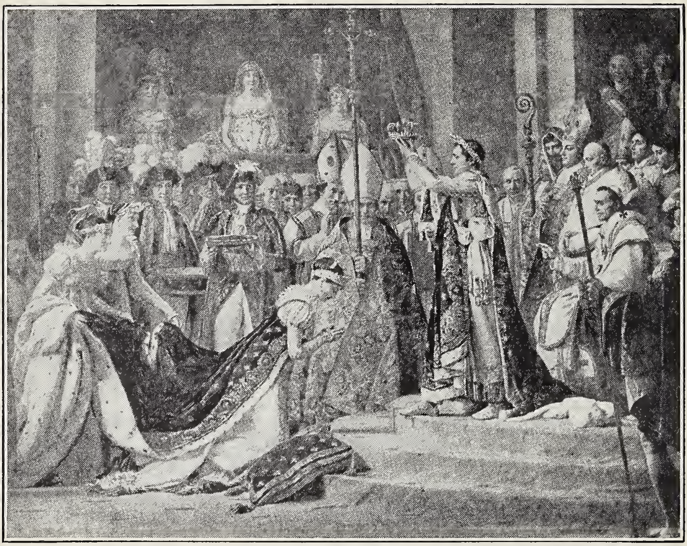

FIG. 112. The coronation of Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. Napoleon is about to place the crown upon his head. (From a painting by David)

Furthermore, the *form* of empire came into French life again. Titles of the old nobility came back. *Monsieur* began to be heard again in place of the revolutionary *citoyen.* Silks and satins marked once more the new aristocracy. In fact, most of the old monarchical forms came back.

Pretending to be "a son of the Revolution," Napoleon spread democracy over Europe by military conquest

We must note one important fact, however. Throughout his career Napoleon, always behaving as an autocrat, talked the language of democracy. He called himself "a son of the Revolution," and wherever he went he proclaimed the magic catchwords *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.* With respect to the second and third words he was probably sincere. He tried in various ways to provide for a certain degree of equality, and he certainly exemplified the idea of fraternity, the brotherhood of Frenchmen. Under Napoleon national patriotism grew as it never had before. But liberty he did not give the French people. As we have seen, he set up a completely centralized government in which popular sovereignty was totally lacking. He said disdainfully, "What the French people want is glory, not liberty."

Without knowing that he was doing so, Napoleon paved the way for revolution which 50 years later spread throughout the industrial centers of Europe. From Italy to Hungary, from Vienna to Berlin, he laid the foundation for this new movement in four years of military success. In October, 1805, he defeated the Austrians at Ulm, in Württemberg, and, in December, both the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. As a result he took vast territories from his enemies and carved more kingdoms for his relatives. In 1806 he invaded Prussia and routed an army of more than 100,000 men at the battle of Jena. Napoleon then marched into Berlin, the victorious master of most of Prussia. Following that he arranged a remarkable treaty with the Czar of Russia, securing the latter's help against Great Britain and the northern kingdoms of Europe. But we shall see later how this very conquest spread the ideas of democracy throughout the regions which were conquered.

But Napoleon Overreached himself and Destroyed his Own Empire

By 1808 this young man of 39 had most of Europe at his feet. A Charlemagne indeed! Emperor of the French, king of Italy, and lord to whom the kings of Europe paid respectful homage.

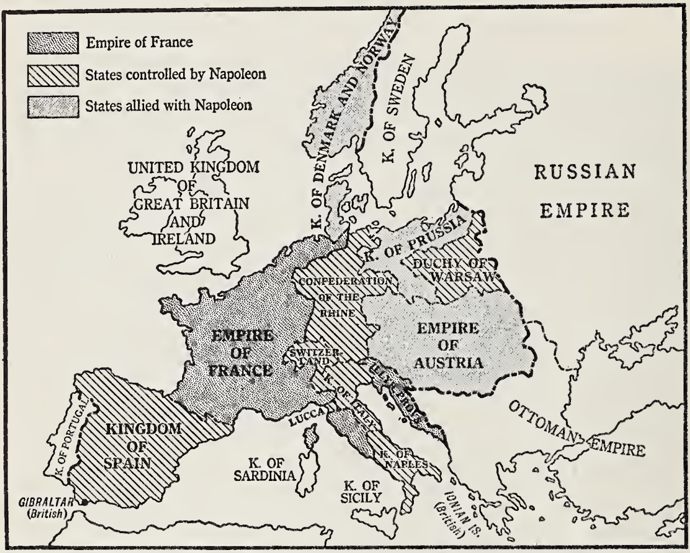
Empire of France
States controlled by Napoleon
States allied with Napoleon
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
K. OF DENMARK AND NORWAY
K. OF SWEDEN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
K. OF PRUSSIA
DUCHY OF WARSAW
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
EMPIRE OF FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
ILLYRIA
K. OF ITALY
LUCCA
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
K. OF PORTUGAL
GIBRALTAR (British)
K. OF SARDINIA
K. OF SICILY
K. OF NAPLES
IONIAN IS. (British)
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Fig. 113. Europe in 1808. Either by conquest or through alliance Napoleon controlled most of the Continent, as the map indicates

For nine years (1799–1808) the world had seen the most daring and able adventurer in modern history rise to imperial power. Had Napoleon Bonaparte been a truly great man he could have helped the world's march to democracy more than any man before him. He could have brought peace and order to Europe. He could have given real significance to the words *Liberty*, *Equality*, and *Fraternity* that he spoke so glibly.

But at the height of his position, in 1808, Napoleon's greed for power was still not satisfied. One great rival, Great Britain, had not been humbled. Although Napoleon was master of the lands of Europe, England was still mistress of the seas. With her remarkable navy and her growing merchant marine, Great Britain was developing an enormous trade with Asia and America and was becoming a rich world empire.

To destroy England's trade, Napoleon tried to establish the "Continental System"

It was in the attempt to defeat his one powerful rival that Napoleon lost all. Within six years he had toppled from his position as the leading emperor of the world and become an exile on a rocky island off the southwest coast of Africa.

To more than any other single factor, Napoleon's fall can be ascribed to the failure of his plan to unite all Europe against Great Britain. The plan itself was a simple one. The governments of the Continent were to be leagued together in a rigid boycott of England's goods. This plan was called the Continental System.

"Let us refuse to buy from Great Britain," said Napoleon to the Czar of Russia and the kings of the other states of Europe. "Close your ports to every British merchantman. Then England will sue for peace." What he really meant was that if England's trade were ruined she would humble herself before him — Napoleon the Great; for if England's trade were ruined, what would it profit this "nation of shopkeepers" if it did have the world's greatest navy?

The economic war had already been begun in 1806 with Napoleon's declaration that a state of blockade existed around the British Isles. In a series of decrees he announced that all ports of France and of every country allied with her would refuse to receive British merchantmen. Even neutral vessels, if they sailed from British ports, would be seized by France.

In 1807 Great Britain retaliated with similar decrees. All ships bound for the ports of France were to be seized and the goods confiscated. The influence of these proclamations was immediately felt in all neutral countries, including America. Do you recall the depression and unrest in the United States occasioned by President Jefferson's Embargo Act? The merchants and manufacturers of the Northern states vigorously opposed this limitation on trade with France and England. In fact, the ill feeling that developed between the United States and England led, only a few years later, to the War of 1812.

With this plan, however, Napoleon had overstepped his bounds. He was unable either to compel or persuade the trading countries of Europe to close their ports to British merchantmen. Even his own brother Louis, king of Holland, refused to do so. In Spain and Portugal also Napoleon met with defiance. Hitherto he had interfered little in the affairs of those countries, but now he sent armies against them in the attempt to prevent trade with Great Britain. For a short time he was successful, but not for long. The British landed troops in Portugal and steadily drove the French back.

At the same time the Spanish patriots took part in the fighting. By 1812, with the aid of the British armies, they had forced the French as far north as Valencia. Napoleon's brother Joseph, who occupied the throne, was driven out. Then the patriots drafted their own new constitution, based in part upon those of the French and the Americans and definitely reflecting the spirit of the French Revolution. Thus we see imperial conquests unexpectedly providing the conditions for democracy.

The disastrous Russian campaign of 1812, however, was a deathblow to Napoleon's empire. Until that time Napoleon and the Czar Alexander had conspired together to divide the Western world between them. Alexander had said to Napoleon at one of their meetings, "We are the world!" — a statement not unlike the reported declaration of Louis XIV, "I am the State." But the Czar had no desire to play a secondary part to Europe's new Charlemagne. He saw what it would mean to Russia to boycott Great Britain's trade. Russia, as a farming country, depended on Great Britain and other manufacturing countries for many goods. To cut off these goods would harm his merchants and himself. So Alexander, Czar of all the Russias, broke his relations with Napoleon.

It became clear to Napoleon that Russia would not help to maintain the Continental System against Great Britain. Consequently in June, 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia at the head of a Grand Army of nearly 500,000 men. We have no space for the details of this historic and disastrous campaign. Suffice it to say that the retreat of the Russian armies drew Napoleon farther and farther across the vast plains of Russia, farther and farther away from the food supplies which his army so sadly needed. Finally Napoleon entered Moscow, only to have it burst into flames two days later under his very eyes. From the middle of September until October 19 Napoleon, hoping that the Czar would sign a new treaty, remained in the half-ruined city.

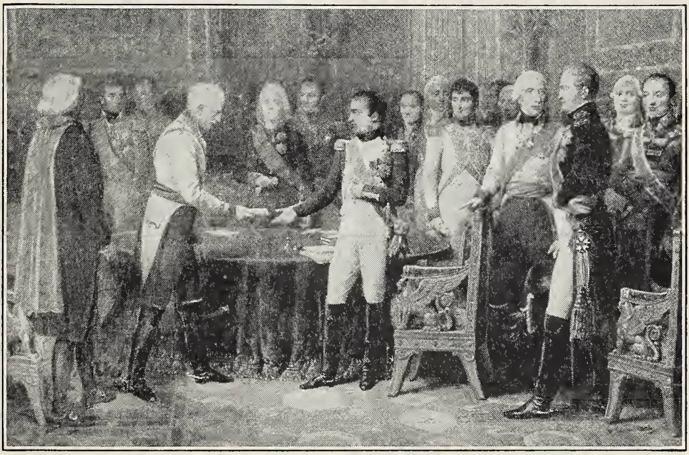

Fig. 114. A meeting of Alexander I and Napoleon I in 1808, which resulted in a short-lived treaty between Russia and France. (From a painting by N. L. Gosse)

Then, after the first frosts of winter had already set in, he began his retreat westward. Under the most horrible conditions an army ever experienced, the retreat became a historic disaster. In the cold of early December a mere fragment of the Grand Army, perhaps 20,000 men, succeeded in getting back to Poland. Indeed, it was only by using many horse-drawn sleighs in swift relays that Napoleon himself returned to Paris.

From that moment the leading rulers of Europe — Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden — knew that Napoleon was near the end of his power. They joined hands to destroy him and his empire completely. In one battle after another they fought their way, the Prussian armies reëstablishing their ancient military glory. But despite rumbles of discontent from the people, Napoleon conscripted more of the youth of France. By October, 1813, he was again in command of a great army of 400,000 men. For a time he won a few minor and spectacular victories. But the end of all was foreshadowed in the three-day battle of Leipzig, known in history as "the Battle of the Nations." There, on October 19, 1813, Napoleon was completely defeated. He crossed the Rhine and returned to Paris.

From that time the empire dwindled quickly. One by one Napoleon's brothers, whom he had seated on various thrones, were ousted. On March 31, 1814, in spite of all that Napoleon was able to do, he was forced to surrender Paris to the armies of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Then he abdicated his throne and was given the little island of Elba, in the Mediterranean Sea, just east of Corsica, to govern. There he remained for ten months, his tiny "empire" in sharp contrast to the pan-European empire to which he had aspired.

Suddenly, on the night of February 26, 1815, Napoleon escaped from Elba at the head of a small body of troops. After landing on the Mediterranean coast of France, he marched northward, gathering a growing army as he went. Even the troops sent to arrest him responded to the magnetic personality of the man and began to march back under his banner. On March 20, 1815, Napoleon entered Paris, claimed again the throne of France, and issued a proclamation that he had returned to save the country from her oppressors.

For 100 days he played his last scene in the drama of European politics and war. Then in June, 1815, all was over. Facing him were the combined armies of the British under the Duke of Wellington, the Prussians under Blücher, the Austrians under Schwarzenberg — 300,000 soldiers. There, on the field of Waterloo, in Belgium, June 18, 1815, he fought his last battle. The allies won decisively; and since that day, in speaking of someone's downfall, the world has made frequent use of the phrase "He met his Waterloo."

Soon afterwards Napoleon again was forced to abdicate the throne of France and on July 15, 1815, sailed away to begin his last exile, a prisoner of the British on the rocky island of St. Helena, in the Atlantic Ocean, off the west coast of Africa. There he lived for five and a half years, writing his memoirs, in which he tried to explain and defend to posterity his meteoric and destructive career.

WHAT HAD NAPOLEON CONTRIBUTED TO THE MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY?

The period of Napoleon's career, which covered the fifteen years from 1799 to 1814, is one of the most dramatic in all history. Was it important in the world's march toward democracy?

Undoubtedly, it was — very important. Not that Napoleon himself was a sincere democrat or a devout defender of liberty. As we have seen, he crushed liberty, seizing upon the loyalty to the idea of fraternity, the brotherhood of Frenchmen, to secure power for himself.

1. Napoleon's influence in developing national patriotism in Europe

But his conquests, both in France and in the other countries of Europe, helped democrats everywhere to spread the idea of liberty, as well as the ideas of equality and fraternity. It happened in this way. Central and eastern Europe were divided into some 300 small states. In many cases small provinces, cities, and bishoprics were states, with counts, dukes, or bishops ruling the small territories. Most of these states quarreled among themselves, each in turn wishing for more power.

As Napoleon conquered the territory he unified many of these states under one government and himself appointed a ruler.

In 1803 the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire abolished nearly 200 tiny independent free states, free cities, and the like. Out of these little states a few large ones were formed, such as Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden. Three years later (1806), under the demands of Napoleon, the rulers of these states, together with those of a dozen other smaller ones, broke up the Holy Roman Empire and established a new union — the Confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as Protector. The Hapsburg emperor

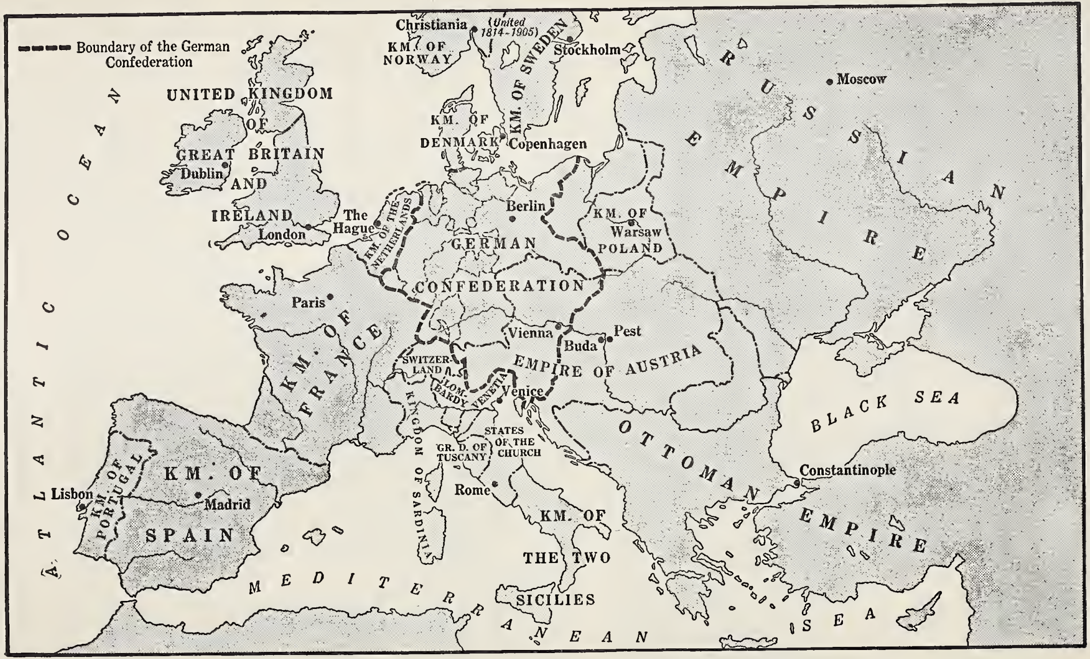
Boundary of the German Confederation
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Dublin
London
Christiania
KM. OF NORWAY
(United 1814-1905)
KM. OF SWEDEN
Stockholm
KM. OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Moscow
The Hague
KM. OF THE NETHERLANDS
Berlin
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
KM. OF POLAND
Warsaw
Paris
KM. OF FRANCE
Vienna
Buda
Pest
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
Venice
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
STATES OF THE CHURCH
GR. D. OF TUSCANY
Rome
KM. OF THE TWO SICILIES
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
KM. OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
KM. OF SPAIN
Madrid
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Fig. 115. Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815). Note particularly the German Confederation and the two new kingdoms of Poland and the Netherlands

gave up his title of "Holy Roman Emperor" and contented himself with being Francis I, "Emperor of Austria."

This unification into larger districts helped to create in the various peoples feelings of *national loyalty*. This patriotism was aided and increased by the reforms brought about by Baron vom Stein and Chancellor von Hardenberg. In 1807 the former secured in Prussia the formal abolition of feudal serfdom, giving peasants the right to own land. Under the latter, in 1811, other reforms were made; for example, towns and cities were granted self-government. Thus, although Napoleon himself actually opposed some of these reforms, his very conquests helped to bring them about.

In Italy similar events took place. For nearly 1500 years the peninsula had been broken up into many city states, Papal States, and the like. For centuries they had been torn by rivalries and wars of conquest. At one time various northern states were under Austrian control. Rome and the land around it was controlled by the Pope. The people of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and other small territories, although of similar stock and speaking similar languages, had never felt a national patriotism. Under Napoleon, however, who ruled the territory as king of Italy, the various parts were somewhat unified, and a definitely national spirit began to grow. We shall see later that by 1870 this was to result in a genuine unification of all Italy into a nation.

Similar national loyalties arose at this time on the north, in Holland and Belgium, and on the east, in Austria, Hungary, and Poland. It is clear, therefore, that Napoleon's activities had brought about a marked advance in nationalistic feeling.

2. Napoleon's influence in advancing the civil rights of the people

Although political liberty was denied the common people of Europe during this era, marked advances were made toward guaranteeing them civil rights. First and foremost a radical transformation was made in the ownership of land in Europe. Remember that until the French Revolution millions of peasants did not own their land. They were still serfs in the feudal sense.

Most European farm land was owned in great estates, and the people were rigidly bound to the land as in earlier feudal days.

Under the influence of the French Revolution and of Napoleon's conquests serfdom was abolished from the Atlantic Ocean to the Russian border (not in Russia, however). Huge estates owned by the nobles and the clergy were confiscated, divided into small holdings and sold to peasant owners. Thus the principles of (1) private ownership of land and (2) inheritance of land were extended to the common people of most of western Europe. In that sense it could be fairly said that Napoleon exerted an influence in helping to establish equality among men.

As you can see, although political liberty was denied people generally, civil liberties were somewhat better protected. To this extent democracy did march on in Europe.

II. France again a Constitutional Monarchy, 1814–1830

Louis XVIII (reigned from 1814 to 1824). Less than a month after the battle of Waterloo, Louis XVIII,[1] a brother of Louis XVI, began again (after the interruption occasioned by Napoleon's return from Elba) his reign as king of France. To be sure, he was not a "divine right" monarch; on the contrary he was a constitutional monarch, definitely limited in his powers.

During the first year of his reign still another constitution was announced to the French. This one created a parliament, the upper house consisting of lords named by the king, the lower house (Chamber of Deputies) being composed of representatives of property-owners. Only those could vote who paid at least 1000 francs (about $200) in taxes each year. Since only the well-to-do paid as much as $200 a year, even the lower house represented but a small proportion of the French people. Nevertheless a beginning had been made in granting suffrage to the people.

The constitution provided for other important changes. For example, it restricted the lawmaking power of the king. The French parliament was not permitted to pass laws, but neither could the king and his ministers do so without its consent. In addition various civil rights which had been established by the Revolution were confirmed. Among these were the right to own land, freedom to worship according to one's beliefs, and freedom of speech.

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[1] After the death of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette their son was looked upon by the Royalists as Louis XVII. He was imprisoned with his parents and is believed to have died from the effects of ill-treatment at the hands of his jailers. Although he takes his place in the line of the French kings, Louis XVII never reigned.

Not for long, however, was this liberalism practiced. There was a short and bloody White Terror, in which radicals were executed, imprisoned, and exiled. At this time extreme monarchists got control of the legislature and in 1820 wiped out the gains in civil liberty that had been made. They censored speech and the press. They passed new laws which prevented any but the very well-to-do from holding office.

Charles X (reigned from 1824 to 1830). Louis XVIII died in 1824, and a second brother of Louis XVI ruled for six short years as Charles X. These years also marked the continuation of a conservative monarchist rule. The Catholic Church reassumed much of its influence in government, and the old aristocratic society of privileged nobles came back and reëstablished itself.

THE *BOURGEOIS* CAPITALISTS NOW BEGAN TO ASSERT THEIR POWER IN FRANCE

It was at this point that the Industrial Revolution began to take hold in France. In 1825 England repealed a ban it had laid upon the export of new machines. With Napoleon finally disposed of and a semblance of order established in Europe, the new power-driven machinery was introduced into the northern cities of France, into the manufacturing districts of western Germany, even into the factories of Vienna, Budapest, Warsaw, and other European cities. Thus in the 1820's and the 1830's France's Industrial Revolution got under way, 40 years behind England's, which had been unhampered by revolution and Napoleon.

Note the startling advance in both manufacturing and farming after 1789, as shown in Tables V to IX.

These figures reveal, among other things, that, as manufacturing and trade increased, thousands of capitalists were made wealthy. As time went on, this new *bourgeois* class demanded and obtained a larger and larger share of the control of the French government. In the 1820's it was they who coöperated with the workingmen in the demand for a liberalizing of the government. It was they who resented most the return to France of the aristocratic group under Louis XVIII and Charles X. Many of the new manufacturers and merchants were Protestants, and they were much disturbed by the return of the Catholics to power. Especially were they discontented with the action of the monarchist government in paying indemnities to the returned Royalists to reimburse them for the confiscation of their property during the Revolution. These indemnities, which totaled 1,000,000,000 francs, were paid largely out of a refunding of the national debt and took from the *bourgeois* bondholders a large share of their income. No wonder that they disapproved!

TABLE V

Production of Wheat and Potatoes in 1789 and 1848

Year	Million Bushels of Wheat Grown	Million Bushels of Potatoes Grown
1789	93	5
1848	152	275

TABLE VI

Value of Woolen Goods exported from France in 1788 and 1838

Year	Value
1788	24,000,000 francs
1838	80,000,000 francs

In France, therefore, we are now to witness a duplication of the struggle between the town and city capitalists and the monarch and his favorites that had been enacted in England a century and a half before. Matters came to a head in the spring and summer of 1830. In the June and July elections the Liberals defeated the Monarchists for control of the Chamber. In retaliation the king established a rigid censorship of the press, took the right to vote away from the majority of the people who had been entitled to vote, and dissolved the parliament. In this way Charles X attempted to reëstablish "divine right" monarchy.

TABLE VII

Silk Production in 1822 and 1847

Year	Value
1822	99,000,000 francs
1847	165,000,000 francs

But the seeds of liberty had by this time sprouted strong democratic roots. In July, 1830, the Parisian workingmen, led by journalists and other publicists, rose in revolt, defeated the royal troops, and seized control of the city. Charles X thereupon abdicated the throne.

TABLE VIII

Production of Pig and Bar Iron, 1789, 1830, and 1850	
Year	Number of Tons of Pig and Bar Iron
1789	69,000
1830	266,000
1850	416,000

In his place Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, and a member of the younger branch of the Bourbon family, which had occupied the throne for over 200 years, was invited by the Chamber of Deputies to become "King of the French." His selection was a victory for the rising capitalists, the merchants and manufacturers of the towns and cities. As we have seen, from the time of the French Revolution they had steadily intrenched themselves in the government. As new constitutions were made in successive overturns of government, the provision was almost always inserted that to vote one must pay a stated amount of taxes; that is, one must own property. And it was the *bourgeoisie* who owned property. So it came about that they secured a growing representation in the government. Furthermore, as their wealth increased, governing officials became more subservient to them. We shall see later that this was exactly what happened in each of the other countries of the world that were becoming industrialized.

TABLE IX

Coal Production in 1789, 1830, and 1860	
Year	Tons of Coal Mined
1789	250,000
1830	1,800,000
1860	8,000,000

The Parisian revolt of 1830 furthered rebellion in other countries

The change of government in France almost immediately affected other centers in Europe. No sooner had the Parisians risen than the Belgians did the same thing, rebelling against the Dutch king, William I, and proclaiming their independence in October, 1830.

Popular uprisings on a smaller scale developed in Hanover, Saxony, and other German states. Governments were not actually overthrown, but the insurrectionists in each instance secured promises that they would be given more liberal constitutions — greater civil and political liberty.

In Italy also the idea of rebellion spread. Certain radicals in the central part of the peninsula rose against their foreign rulers; but Austrian troops were hurried to the scene of conflict, and by this means open rebellion was crushed for some years.

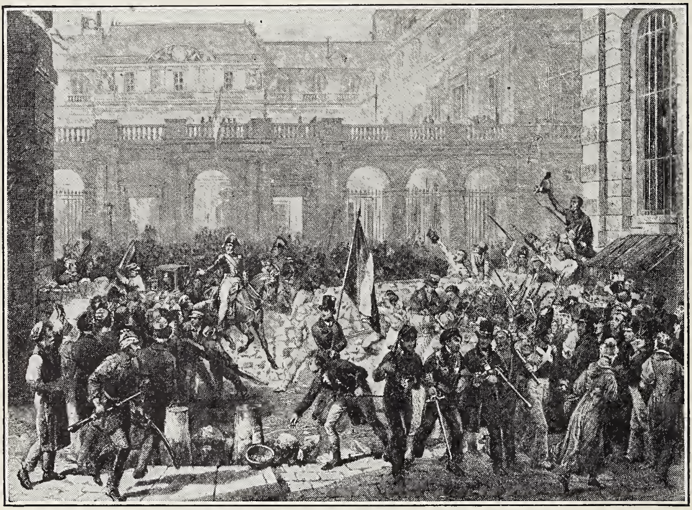

Fig. 116. Louis Philippe welcomed by the citizens of Paris after the three-day revolution of July, 1830. By August 7 he was proclaimed "King of the French by the grace of God and the will of the people." (After a painting by Horace Vernet)

Even in distant Poland the tremors of the revolution that put Louis Philippe on the throne were felt. Groups of rebels rose in Warsaw in November. Russian autocrats were expelled, and the Poles declared their independence. But their rebellion was short-lived. Russian forces were too strong for them, and after an eight months' war the Poles were defeated. Hundreds of patriotic leaders were executed, and others were exiled from their homeland.

Thus, although the uprisings were successful only in France and in Belgium, it was becoming increasingly clear that democracy was marching slowly forward in Europe.

III. France, a Middle-Class Monarchy, 1830–1848

The Revolution of 1830 definitely ousted "divine right" monarchy. The power of the new king, Louis Philippe, was restricted. The French constitution was modified, and the right to vote was extended to another small group — namely, all who paid 200 francs (about $40) in annual taxes. With this act the right to vote was granted to a large proportion of the middle-class landowners and shopkeepers, as well as to the larger industrialists and merchants.

Other political reforms were brought about at this time. Membership in municipal councils was won by election (instead of by appointment). Elementary schools were also provided for the smaller communes in a new law of 1833. It has been estimated that within the next fifteen years the number of children who attended primary school nearly doubled. Thus you can see that the French *bourgeois* capitalists received an important place in government during the very same years that their brothers the business-men politicians of England were winning an important place in their government. But note that in 1832, exactly as in England, the masses of the French farm laborers, mechanics, unskilled city workers, and the smallest property-owners were still without the vote. Although the exact proportion is not known, certainly in 1833 in France less than 5 per cent of the population was allowed to vote.

The rise of trade-unions and of the socialists in France

As time went on, agitation continued among the workingmen for the right to vote and hold office and for shorter hours of work, higher wages, and better working conditions. In the city of Lyon, for example, silk weavers were working from fourteen to sixteen hours a day for a wage of ten to twelve sous (cents). Conditions in the industries in Paris and other large cities were no better. As the royalists and the larger merchants and manufacturers became more powerful, the workingmen definitely organized themselves for the battle for political liberty.

It was at this time that Louis Blanc advanced his plan for social workshops. It was in these years of the 1840's that Karl Marx and Engels and other social reformers were organizing the workingmen and writing their theories of government. In his newspaper, *The Reform,* Blanc proclaimed the right of the workingman to a job. He said:

> To the able-bodied citizen the state owes work; to the aged and infirm it owes aid and protection. This result cannot be obtained unless by the action of a democratic power.

Seizing the slogan of the Revolution, Blanc proclaimed the rule of the people through universal suffrage.

IV. Another Revolution — the Second Republic, 1848–1852

With almost all the political groups of France demanding change, it was clear before the end of 1847 that the monarchy could not last long. Meetings at which were discussed the rights of the people were being held publicly in the winter of 1847. Matters came to a head on February 22 and 23, 1848. Workingmen, writers, students in the colleges, and National Guardsmen came to an open clash with the royal troops in the Place de la Concorde in Paris. A score of citizens were killed, and the revolt spread rapidly through the city. Streets were barricaded, and the usual fighting characteristic of city rebellions went on.

Almost at once Louis Philippe abdicated as king of the French. Then, for a time, two separate governments claimed control — the *bourgeois* republicans and the working-class republicans. Later the two merged in a joint provisional government.

Gradually, however, the capitalist leaders again secured control, putting Blanc and the socialists in the background. More minor revolts of the workmen occurred. Several more days of street fighting followed, in which many workers were killed. Eventually the *bourgeois* troops subdued the revolutionaries by shooting some and exiling 4000 others to colonial prisons. From that time on, the socialistic workmen of the lower classes learned to hate their *bourgeois* masters as they had formerly hated their noble landlords.

For four years, from 1848 to 1852, these capitalist republicans controlled France. They too adopted the slogan of the Revolution — Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. In the new constitution of the Second Republic they established freedom of speech and of the press and granted universal manhood suffrage. In December, 1848, a presidential election was held, and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I, was elected president of the Second Republic.

More revolutions in Europe!

Once more we note the swift communication of revolution from France to other centers of discontent. In other countries leaders of the trade-union and socialist movements had been carrying on agitation similar to that conducted in Paris. On receipt of the news of the establishment of the Second Republic, there were outbreaks in other centers.

Austria was still in control in Italy. When Italian patriots heard of the setting up of the new French Republic, they rose in revolt against the Austrian troops. From Milan and Venice to Naples and Sardinia national enthusiasm spread, and armed revolt developed against the foreign rulers.

Parallel uprisings took place in the attempt to set up republics in Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin. In none of these small states did the people succeed in overthrowing the government, but, as before, they succeeded in securing added constitutional liberties.

In Berlin, street fighting developed in March, 1848, and hundreds were killed in a nationalist movement which demanded a unified Germany and a liberal constitution. A constitutional convention was called, one representative being included for every 50,000 persons in the so-called German Confederation.

Likewise, in Vienna, a constitution was granted by the Emperor in April, 1848, and a constitutional assembly, which was to be elected by universal manhood suffrage, was called.

In the meantime the Hungarians were seceding from Austria and setting up their own government, in which more democratic provisions were made. The Hungarian constitution was also a result of the movement of national patriotism. Freedom of the press and speech was guaranteed, national legislatures were to be elected by all persons who owned $150 worth of property, and feudal serfdom was abolished. Democracy marched forward again, even in eastern Europe.

V. Napoleon III and the Second Empire, 1852–1870

For four years Louis Napoleon gave promise of being a really democratic president of France. We must remember that he had been born in 1808 in the palace of the Tuileries, at Paris, during the height of the power of his uncle Napoleon I. Thus he was brought up in the midst of revolution. Throughout his youth he was frequently aligned with liberal, even socialistic, movements. He had connections with Louis Blanc, the socialist, and he wrote socialistic books himself — one, for example, which was called *The Extinction of Pauperism.* In every way he gave promise of being a democratic leader.

Louis Napoleon's democratic connections, along with the fact that the great Napoleon had by this time become a legendary hero to the French people, had enabled him to win the election as the president of France; he received 5,400,000 votes. The other candidates received 1,400,000 votes, 370,000 votes, and 17,000 votes respectively. At first he did all that he could to obtain popular support by encouraging industry and trade, securing old-age insurance for the workers, getting the support of the Catholic Church, and ingratiating himself with all classes.

Now, however, was revealed another sign of the growing struggle between the industrial middle-class leaders and the workers. In the Revolution of 1848 all adult males had been given the right to vote. This made it possible for the workers to play a considerable part in the political life of France. When the more well-to-do town and city people saw this happening, they passed a new electoral law in 1850 to prevent the rise to power of the lower classes. The law stated that no person could vote unless he had lived and paid taxes in the commune in which he was to vote. It was an amazingly bold attempt to take the suffrage away from the masses. It deprived at least one third of the voting population of France of the right to vote.

At this action Louis Napoleon, pretending to favor the common people, dismissed the Assembly and seized control of the government by proclaiming himself in sole authority. In December, 1851, he held throughout France a plebiscite, or special vote of the people, at which he secured popular support for the drawing up of a new constitution. His success was probably due to the fact that he had previously proclaimed universal suffrage as the right of all adult males. Out of about 8,300,000 votes which were cast, Louis Napoleon received 7,700,000.

Thereupon Louis Napoleon showed his real hand. He announced a new constitution which gave him practically supreme power over France. It made him president for ten years and gave him the power to appoint a cabinet, a council of state, and a senate, the command of the army and navy, and the right to appoint all governing officials. Always preaching democracy, Louis Napoleon prepared the way for a proclamation in December, 1852, which made him Napoleon III,[1] Emperor of the French. Even at this time he went through the pretense of holding an election. So great was the faith of the mass of the people in Louis Napoleon that even at this election he received the votes of nearly 8,000,000 citizens, confirming him in the right to set up a new imperial constitution.

This Napoleon seemed to be living up well to the tradition of the Bonaparte family. Although he too was an adventurer, he held the throne of France as emperor for nineteen years. His ability as a clever politician enabled him to do so. He devoted himself to making friends with the leaders of all classes. He established his position with mechanics and laborers and called himself "the Emperor of the Workmen." In the drawing-room he was a polished courtier. He had married a Spanish princess (Eugénie), who helped him to maintain a brilliant court which aristocrats found to be a center of culture. He succeeded also in securing the friendship of the Catholic leaders.

At the same time Louis Napoleon developed many public works, built up trade, and made many internal improvements.

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[1] Napoleon II was the son of Napoleon Bonaparte. Like Louis XVII, he never reigned.

This was the time when railways and factories were appearing rapidly. Harbors were dredged and docks were built to receive the larger seagoing vessels. Louis Napoleon also improved on his uncle's plans in beautifying the city of Paris. It was during his reign that two world expositions (1855 and 1867) were held. The French people came and saw with their own eyes the magnificence which their capital had attained under this new emperor.

It was at this time also that the French government launched more vigorously upon its conquest of colonies. It acquired territory in Africa, in Indo-China, and in the islands of the Pacific. It also obtained trade privileges in China.

As we have said, for nineteen years this second Bonaparte emperor maintained himself in power as the magnificent Emperor of the French. But his story is somewhat like that of his uncle, Napoleon I. Not through internal opposition but through foreign wars was his downfall brought about. He had scarcely taken office in 1852 when he prepared for war against Russia. In this war, which is known as the Crimean War, he was aided by the British. It began in 1854, lasted two years, and cost nearly 500,000 lives and $2,000,000,000. It is estimated that not less than 75,000 young Frenchmen met death and $500,000,000 were spent — all for practically nothing. You can readily see that this would make Louis Napoleon decidedly unpopular in France.

Three years later Napoleon III interfered in another foreign situation; namely, that of forcing the Austrian rulers out of Italy and helping the Italians to declare their independence and unify themselves into a national state. In 1859 he declared war against Austria.

This is not the place to tell how the revolution spread and the Austrian rulers were expelled. Suffice it to say that within two years, from 1859 to 1861, the people of the various little Italian states joined together and formed the kingdom of Italy — a nation of 22,000,000 people under Victor Emmanuel as king. Five years later (1866) Venice, which was still outside the kingdom, was also brought in, when, by a public vote, with more than 99 per cent of the people voting, the Venetians declared that they wished to join the kingdom of Italy. Four years later (1870) the city of Rome, which had been controlled by troops loyal to the

Pope, was captured, and in 1871 Rome was named as the capital of the completely unified kingdom of Italy.

To go back once more to the story of Napoleon III, the war against Austria had hardly helped to increase his popularity in France. As the 1860's went on, various enemies rose against him.

Grandiose plans for world conquest filled the mind of this dabbler in militarism. In 1862 he intervened in Mexico. Mexico City was captured, and in 1864 Louis Napoleon placed Archduke Maximilian of Austria on the throne as Emperor of Mexico. But the success of this excursion into foreign affairs was short-lived, for within three years the Mexicans rose against their foreign conquerors and captured and executed Maximilian. He had already been deserted by Napoleon III for two reasons — the demand of the United States that France respect the Monroe Doctrine and retire from Mexican politics, and the threatening war between Prussia and Austria, which might embroil France.

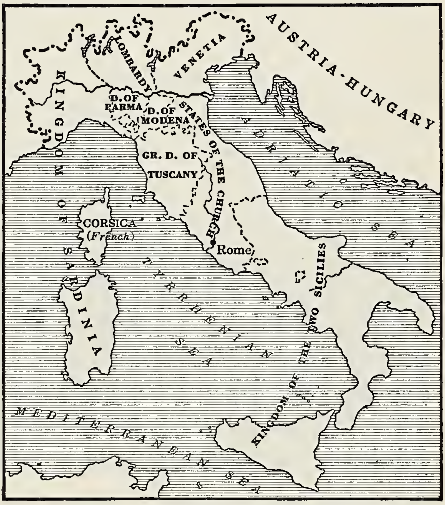
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
VENETIA
LOMBARDY
D. OF PARMA
D. OF MODENA
STATES OF THE CHURCH
GR. D. OF TUSCANY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
CORSICA (French)
Rome
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

FIG. 117. By 1870 all the political divisions of the Italian peninsula as far north as the dashed and dotted line had joined to form the Kingdom of Italy

This adventure brought Napoleon III more enemies. One faction after another rose against him. In the elections of 1869 his doom was foretold by the return to the national legislature of a very large number of liberals and republicans. In a last effort to retain the confidence of the people of France, he made many democratic reforms in the government. But it was to no avail. The socialists and those who wanted to restore the Republic became steadily more audacious. In May, 1870, in a public vote for a new constitution, 2,000,000 people refused to vote, and 1,500,000 were definitely against Napoleon's proposed constitution. Opposition to the empire was increasing, although in this instance Napoleon was upheld.

It was at this point that he ventured once more to unite the factions of France behind him. He allowed himself — perhaps willingly — to be drawn into a conflict with the armies of the newly unified German nation. In Chapter XIII we shall read of the swift dispatch with which German troops swept down upon France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. They defeated Napoleon's armies at Sedan in September, 1870, capturing Napoleon himself and 80,000 men after a short six weeks' campaign. Then the Germans captured Paris and proclaimed the new "German Empire" at Versailles, the very palace of the French kings.

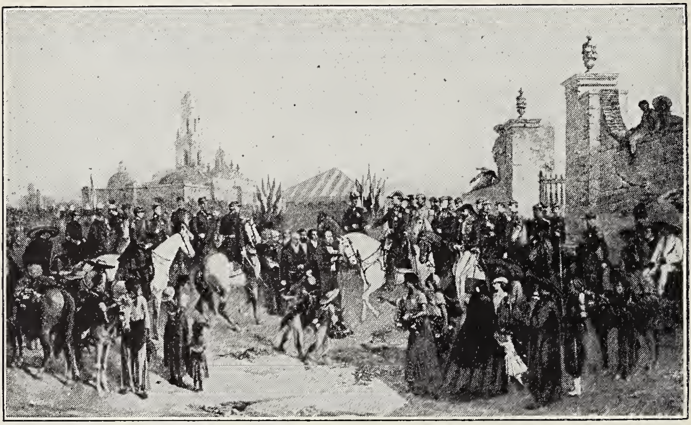

Fig. 118. Maximilian of Austria arriving in Mexico, 1864. After three years of turmoil France withdrew her troops from Mexico, and the Emperor was besieged, captured, and executed by the Mexican republicans. (From a painting by J. A. Beaucé)

While Napoleon was a prisoner a government of national defense had been set up. A National Assembly was elected to deal with the victorious enemy; and in February, since Paris was in the hands of the enemy, the Assembly held its first session in the city of Bordeaux.

VI. THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1871 TO THE PRESENT

The people divided into three groups

For 80 years the middle and lower classes had tried to set up a permanent democratic kind of government in France. Each time that they asserted themselves, however, military leaders had made *coups d'état,* overturning their republics and establishing imperial dictatorships or constitutional monarchies. Now, near the close of the disastrous Franco-Prussian War, came another interval of disorder and uncertainty. For five years (1870–1875) struggling factions fought one another for the control of government.

By this time it was clear that the struggle for power in modern France lay among three groups: (1) the royalists, or monarchists, who wanted a king with limited power; (2) the *bourgeois* republicans, who steadily inclined toward some form of republic; (3) the workingmen, consisting either of Marxian socialists, of more radical socialists, or of anarchists, who were not clear as to the kind of government which they wished to set up.

The revolt of the Parisian workingmen

During the year following the overthrow of Napoleon III thousands of people were starving in the city of Paris. Tens of thousands were out of work. The suffering exceeded perhaps that of the starving time of 1789. Paris, the ancient capital, again became the scene of a terrible but short-lived revolution. The workers of Paris attempted to set up an independent local government known as the Commune. Then, during April and May, 1871, troops of the National Assembly and of the angry populace outside of Paris marched against these workers and slowly conquered the barricaded city. Every day marked the death of hundreds of citizens. The total number killed or exiled has been variously estimated at from 15,000 to 25,000. Finally, at the end of May, the suffering city capitulated, and the last military revolt in the history of the French government was over.

A new constitution and the permanent establishment of the Republic

For four years more the National Assembly carried on, while the factions strove to come to an agreement as to the form of government which would best fit the needs of the French people. The Commune had put the socialists in a discreditable light with the country at large. Thus one of the three groups was practically eliminated from real power. The contest remained for the monarchists and the republicans. In the election of 1871 the sentiment of the nation seemed to favor a limited monarchy, a sort of "crowned republic," somewhat like that of Great Britain.

Gradually, however, sentiment began to swing toward setting up a republic. In 1873 a definite step was taken in that direction. An act was passed which created the office of President of the Republic, with a seven-year term. A complete constitution was not written at that time, however, as in previous changes of government. Instead, one by one, a series of constitutional laws were passed. During the four years between the defeat of the Commune in 1871 and the proclamation of the constitutional laws of 1875, the basis of the Third Republic of France was laid.

Now let us note two points. First, the government organized in 1875 has lasted essentially in the same form to the present day. Second, it resembled other governments which had come into existence by that time, especially those of Great Britain and the United States.

In addition to a president, a national legislature was created, which was called the National Assembly. This was organized into two chambers: (1) the Chamber of Deputies, consisting of approximately 600 members, *elected by universal manhood suffrage* for a term of four years; (2) the Senate, of 300 members, elected by officials in the various departments and districts of the country for a term of nine years. Thus the deputies are elected *directly* by all males over 21 years of age; the senators indirectly by officials appointed by the central government. The president is elected by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, meeting together.

France resembles the United States in that it is nominally a republic, under a president and a national legislature. However, as in England, the government is run by the ministry (resembling the British cabinet), which consists of the heads of various government departments. Each minister also has a seat in the Chamber. Thus the government is "responsive to the people" in much the same way as Great Britain's. New ministries are formed whenever the one in office fails to receive a majority support in the Chamber of Deputies. Provision was made for the Chamber to be dissolved and a general election held in approximately the same way as in Great Britain.

Thus, at last, France had come to substantial parliamentary government. The chief executive officer, — the president of the Republic, — like the king in England, had little power. The real power lay in the parliament, especially in the Chamber of Deputies — "the Commons."

Final establishment of civil liberties for the French people

This period of the Third Republic recorded still another success of the people in their march toward democracy. In a series of historic laws, passed between 1881 and 1901, the civil rights of the people were recognized more definitely than in most European countries. One act definitely protected the right of the people to public assemblage and guaranteed complete freedom of discussion of economic, political, and social matters. Another guaranteed freedom of the press, leaving the decision in controverted cases to a jury. Still another guaranteed the right to form labor organizations.

As you can see, both political and civil rights were assured. There is, however, one important item of political liberty that is still lacking, even today. All men can vote, but women are still denied the right. Half the adult population still has no share in the French government.

The Great Industrial Expansion

To understand who has controlled the French government from 1870 to the present day, we must bear in mind that this was the great period of the industrial development of France. At the very moment that each of the other leading industrial countries — the United States, Great Britain, and Germany — was entering upon a period of great industrial expansion, France was doing likewise.

TABLE X

Tons of Coal mined and Pig Iron produced, 1865 and 1913

Year	Coal	Pig Iron
1865	11,840,000	1,290,000
1913	45,020,000	5,126,000

Under the stable government and the comparative peace of the Third Republic, machine industry, agriculture, and world trade developed rapidly in France. How rapidly can be noted in the adjoining tables (X–XII) and graphs (figures 119 and 120). In 1913 more than three times as much coal and four times as much pig iron were mined as in 1865. Note the steady growth in the number of industrial establishments in France between 1872 and 1912. Note also the sharp rise in the amount of steam power used in French manufacturing plants.

TABLE XI

Number of Farm Machines used in One District of France

Year	Mowing Machines	Reapers	Reapers and Binders
1892	450	180	60
1908	15,000	25,000	1,200

Agriculture also felt the impact of the industrial expansion, especially after 1890. In one district of France the number of mowing machines increased thirtyfold between 1892 and 1908, and the number of reapers more than a hundredfold.

TABLE XII

Value of All Farm Products in 1860 and 1913

Year	Value
1860	6,000,000 francs
1913	11,000,000 francs

The new government itself had much to do with this swift economic advance. Within a quarter of a century (1879–1904) it built approximately 125,000 miles of modern highways and 18,750 miles of railroad, vastly extended the canals of France, and improved the harbors. Agriculture was also definitely benefited by public aid. Growers of grapes and producers of silk, flax, and hemp were given financial support by the government. Coöperative societies, similar to those which had developed on

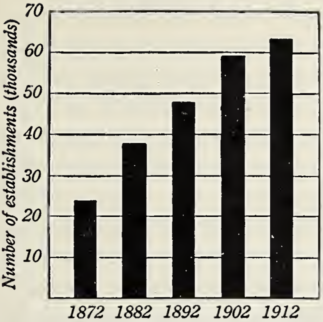

Fig. 119. Increase in the number of industrial establishments in France, 1872–1912

such a large scale in Denmark and in the United States, spread among the farmers. Banks and insurance companies were established to help them. Table XII sums up the remarkable agricultural growth from 1860 to the outbreak of the World War.

Inevitably, as a result of this enormous expansion of manufacturing agriculture, and trade, the wealth of France grew swiftly. A startling illustration of the industry, thrift, and perseverance of the French people is provided in the astonishing way in which they paid off the indemnity demanded by the victorious Germans after the Franco-Prussian War, in 1871. Within three years, instead of the five years promised, the entire indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs (or $1,000,000,000) had been repaid, largely through the loans made by millions of thrifty French peasants. It was in this period, also, that French peasants purchased many billions of francs' worth of the bonds of foreign governments. Other billions were invested in the mines, railways, public utilities, and industrial enterprises of other countries, as well as in similar undertakings in France itself.

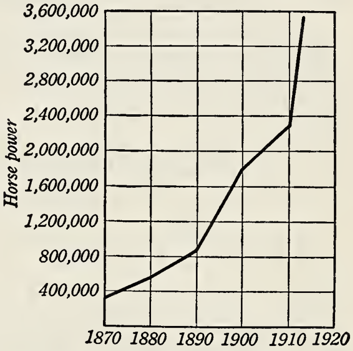

Fig. 120. Increase in steam power used in industry in France, 1870–1920

The Third Republic ruled by the Business Men

We are now in a position to understand that the *bourgeoisie,* the small and large capitalists of the towns and cities, became the real masters of French government. From 1880 to the present day the first estate — the nobles — and the second estate — the clergy — have played a very minor part. A small party of monarchists tried repeatedly to increase their power and to place a royalist on the "throne," but their efforts were of no avail.

Similarly, the Catholic Church steadily declined in influence. Church and State had been one for more than 1000 years; but in 1905, with the passage of the Separation Law, France ceased *officially* to be a Catholic country. At last the two organizations were completely separated, as in the United States, and the state ceased paying the salaries of the officials of any church. Members of all religious denominations and believers in all creeds were given equal recognition — all being allowed to form independent church organizations.

With monarchists, clericalists (leaders of the Church), and socialists in the background, the republicans, the upper middle class of business men representing essentially the third estate, came into virtual control of the government. For 50 years it has maintained itself in power. In this respect also the history of government in France is like that in Great Britain and the United States.

The business men's government protected the people with humane legislation

Even though every male over 21 years of age did have the right to vote, the *bourgeois* government of the Third Republic was not really a government by the common people of France. It was essentially a paternalistic government of the upper middle class. But it was a benevolently inclined government, as is shown by the advanced laws passed for the protection of the workers.

In 1884, laws were passed protecting, even encouraging, trade-unions of workingmen. At the outbreak of the World War more than 2,000,000 skilled workers belonged to the trade-unions. An act of 1892 and later laws reduced the hours of labor for women and otherwise regulated their work. It also prohibited the employment of children under thirteen and established the ten-hour working day and the six-day working week.

In the following year other acts guaranteed workers' health and safety and gave them free medical attendance for injuries incurred while at work. In 1898 a law was passed compelling employers to compensate laborers for injuries received at work. Further legislation was enacted in the interest of workers when, in 1910, France passed an act granting old-age pensions to all wage-earners, except those already provided for. Other bills passed in the last half-century reformed the criminal code of the nation.

It was in this period also that the present universal system of elementary education was introduced. Attendance at school was required of all children, and provision was made for public elementary schools in every commune of the nation.

These illustrations suffice to show, therefore, the extensive advance in democratic legislation that came under the paternal middle-class government of France.

Summing up France's March toward Democracy

Here we must close our brief synopsis of the rise of parliamentary government in France. The people of France lagged far behind the people of Great Britain in throwing off absolute rulers. To achieve freedom required many revolutions and *coups d'état.* But once it had begun, the march toward democracy really did not stop until extensive civil and political liberty was given to the people.

At this point let us sum up the civil and political liberties of the French people.

1. *The gains in civil liberty.* First and foremost, feudal serfdom was completely abolished. The peasants of France secured the right to own land. As a result millions of peasant proprietors came into existence. These made France practically a self-supporting agricultural nation while she was also becoming one of the world's leading industrial and trading nations.

Furthermore, the French constitutional laws now guarantee the people the civil liberties which are prized so highly in Great Britain and America. Summed up briefly, they are

The right of free speech.
The right of a free press.
The right of free assembly.

The right to petition the government on any matter.
The right to religious freedom.
The right to habeas corpus and trial by jury — in brief, to fair treatment by the government in legal matters.

2. *The gains in political liberty.* But in France, as in Great Britain and in America, the people knew that civil liberty could be guaranteed to each citizen only by assuring him political liberty as well. Therefore all French males over 21 years of age have been given the right to vote and to hold office without restrictions as to religion or ownership of property.

In only one respect do the people of France lack the political liberties granted to the people of Great Britain and the United States. The women of France cannot vote. Thus half the adults are still without the franchise.

In the attainment of these great civil and political rights, therefore, we see that the French people, like those of Great Britain and America, have marched far toward democracy.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

BILL, ALFRED H. The Clutch of the Corsican. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. Tells of Napoleon's rise and fall.
BROOKS, ELBRIDGE S. A Boy of the First Empire. The Century Co., New York. Tells of the domestic life of Napoleon.
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SIMPSON, FREDERICK A. The Rise of Louis Napoleon. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.
TAPPAN, EVA M. Hero Stories of France. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Short biographies of outstanding Frenchmen from the early times to Marshal Foch.
VAN LOON, HENDRIK. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York.

CHAPTER XIII

EMPIRE BY DIVINE RIGHT: GERMANY UNTIL 1918

In Europe, as the democratic movement spread, one after the other "divine right" monarchies disappeared. Step by step, in country after country, as the one-man idea was given up, government of the people, by the people, for the people, took its place.

As we have seen, this happened first in England. Isolated and protected from the feudal and aggressive wars of Europe, England could throw off the absolute régime earlier than the other countries. By 1700 an increasing number of people disbelieved that kings ruled by divine right. Property-owners were beginning to rule instead. France followed England's lead, but not until a century later. The English had had their Bill of Rights and a parliamentary government for 100 years before the French phrased their Declaration of the Rights of Man and set up their first National Assembly. Unlike the English, the French were constantly in danger of invasion, owing to the predatory activities of their greedy and ambitious kings. There were other important reasons, too, which prevented the advance of representative government.

In Germany, however, a kind of government by divine right existed until the 1900's. It was 1918 before the German people threw off the control of a divine-right monarch. Thus democratic constitution-making in Germany lagged more than 100 years behind that in France and 200 years behind similar happenings in England. We have tried to picture this fact simply and graphically in figure 121.

The Industrial Revolution also developed much more slowly in France and Germany than in England (see figure 122). As you know, English inventors and business men first launched power-driven machine manufacturing in the period 1765–1785. Frenchmen did not take up the machine until after 1825. The Germans began to adopt it slowly in the 1830's and 1840's, but

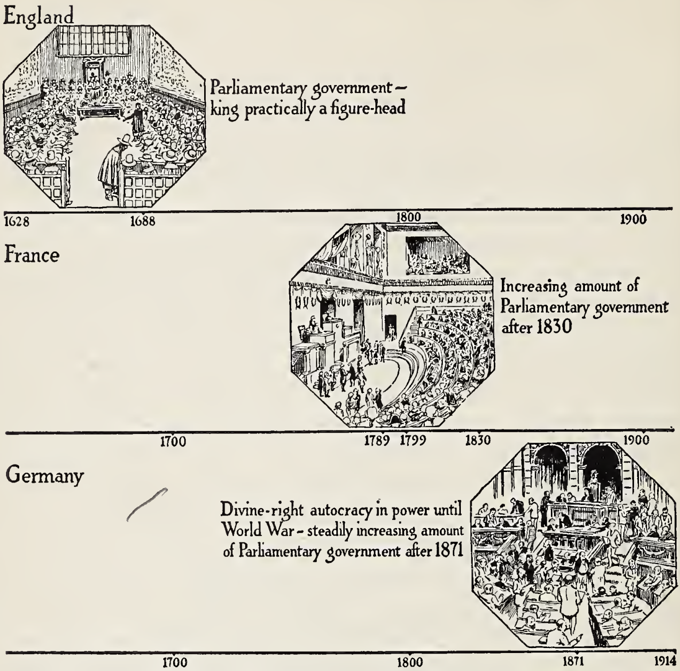

England
Parliamentary government – king practically a figure-head
1628
1688
1800
1900
France
Increasing amount of Parliamentary government after 1830
1700
1789
1799
1830
1900
Germany
Divine-right autocracy in power until World War – steadily increasing amount of Parliamentary government after 1871
1700
1800
1871
1914

FIG. 121. The growth of representative government in England, France, and Germany

it was not common in Germany until 1870. Thus we see a very interesting parallel between the invention and spread of the *industrial way of living* and the invention and spread of *representative* government.

It is also interesting to note that in Europe the democratic movement spread from west to east. It arose in Great Britain. It appeared next in France and, a little later, in Bavaria, Belgium, Switzerland, and other regions of *western* Europe. Then it spread slowly *eastward*, to Austria, Hungary, and Germany in the middle and later 1800's. There the movement rested for some forty years until we find it achieving its final destruction of "divine right" monarchs in the 1900's in Russia and in parts of the Balkans and the East and the Near East.

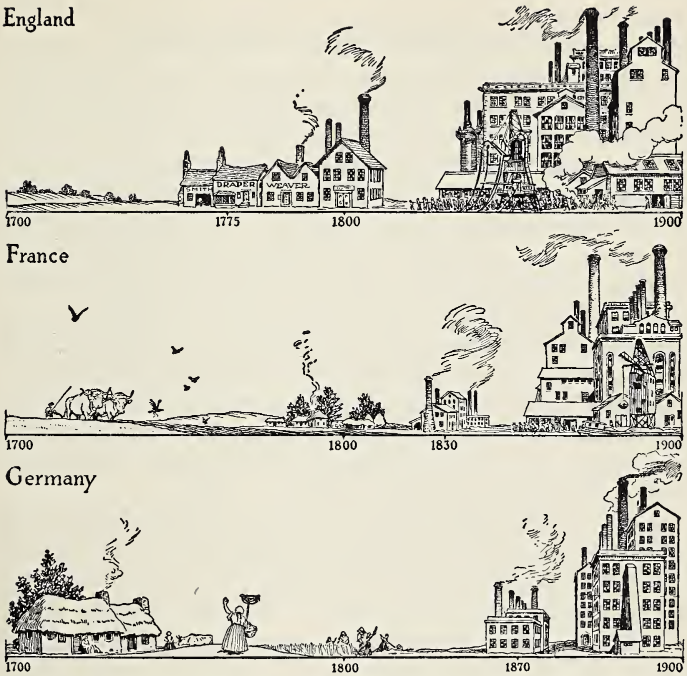

England
SMITH
DRAPER
WEAVER
1700
1775
1800
1900
France
1700
1800
1830
1900
Germany
1700
1800
1870
1900

FIG. 122. The growth of the Industrial Revolution in England, France, and Germany

ONE REASON WHY DEMOCRACY CAME SO LATE IN GERMANY

How did it happen that representative government came so late to the German people?

There are several factors which explain its delay, but one is more important than the others: there was a lack of unity among the German peoples. There was no German nation until the late 1800's. France and England, as you know, had achieved a kind of nationality even in the 1500's. Even then each had attained about the same boundaries that it has today. Most of the people within each country spoke the same language. Each people as a whole recognized the same central government and spoke of themselves as being English or French.

But this was not so in Germany. Even in the middle 1800's, although there was a fairly common German language, there was no territory definitely known as Germany. There was no single monarch to whom all the people paid allegiance, no region in which all the people said with national patriotism, "We are Germans."

Even as late as 1800 the territory of central Europe was divided into some 300 units. Two of these were Austria and Prussia, fairly large and strong states. In Austria and Prussia there was a mixture of races, about half of the people being Slavs. Ranking next in importance were about 30 medium-sized states, such as Bavaria, Baden, and Saxony, whose population ranged from a few hundred thousand to a million or so. Following these 30 states, both in size and influence, came about 250 petty governments. These were very small, some totaling only a few hundred people and including what would have been regarded as a fair-sized estate; others numbering 10,000 people. Each was an absolute monarchy, ruled by a duke or a count.

If such a hodgepodge, within a territory one tenth that of the United States, was not confusion enough, try to think of more hundreds of knights, each of whom ruled over still fewer people. In England these men would have been merely country gentlemen, fathering their less well-to-do neighbors; but in the Holy Roman Empire, as this region had been called for hundreds of years, they were *monarchs*. Each of these little monarchs had his own little court, his courtiers, and his obsequious officials. Each collected taxes in his own way and charged other "monarchs" tariffs for the privilege of trading within his domain. And each ruler had his own little army. Historians were certainly justified in speaking, not of Germany, but of the "Germanies."

Thus instead of the country Germany, there were in 1800 some 300 quarreling units, — kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, principalities, and free cities, — all bound together loosely in the so-called German Confederation. So uncertain were the boundaries and so indefinite was the feeling of nationality, however, that we can certainly say that in the early nineteenth century there was no such thing as the German nation.

We must see how the German nation was formed out of this loose confederation.

HAPSBURGS VERSUS HOHENZOLLERNS

The story of Germany is the story of how two powerful families slowly acquired control over all the German states. These families were the Hapsburgs of Austria and the Hohenzollerns of Prussia. As you know, the Hapsburgs became so strong that the successive heads of their family — their dukes — gradually got control of the duchy of Austria and for hundreds of years were elected emperors of the Holy Roman Empire.

In the 1600's, however, the Hohenzollerns began to stand out as real rivals to the Hapsburgs of Austria. Indeed, the story of the building of the German nation is essentially the story of the rise of the Hohenzollern family. It covers 1000 years, from the time when they were counts, ruling over a single little valley, to the time when, having been successively the dukes of this and the margraves of that, they finally became kings in Prussia and emperors of Germany.

Thus the history of the *German nation* goes back 1000 years to about 900 A.D., when a certain feudal count ruled the hamlets about a hilltop castle (whence the name of the family, *Hohen-Zollern*, "high castle") in southern Bavaria. During the next 300 years his successors fought with the neighboring feudal lords and steadily added more territory to their little principality.

They not only conquered territory: they married into it as well. Their sons married the daughters of other feudal nobles, thus gradually bringing more territory under the Hohenzollern rule. For example, in the 1200's marriage made one of the counts of Hohenzollern a burgrave (commander) of the fine trading city of Nuremberg. There were many such instances.

Two hundred years passed, and then, at one stroke, came a large addition to their territory. In 1415 the Hapsburg emperor of the Holy Roman Empire gave to the count of Hohenzollern the *mark*, or margraviate, of Brandenburg, a northern territory some 500 miles from his ancestral home. That this territory was regarded as important is shown by the fact that the margrave of Brandenburg was one of the seven electors — one of the seven princes who chose the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

Another 100 years passed. The rise of the Hohenzollerns continued steadily. During the Reformation in Germany — after 1520 — the Elector of Brandenburg and the other northern German princes followed Martin Luther out of the Catholic Church and adopted Protestant Lutheranism as the official state religion. This too increased the strength of the Hohenzollern family by making enormous additions to their wealth. The Elector merely helped himself to the vast lands and other properties of the Catholic Church in Brandenburg, as did other German rulers and as Henry VIII did in England. Since not less than one fourth of the German territories had been owned and governed by bishops and abbots of the Catholic Church, the electors of Brandenburg became many times richer than they had formerly been.

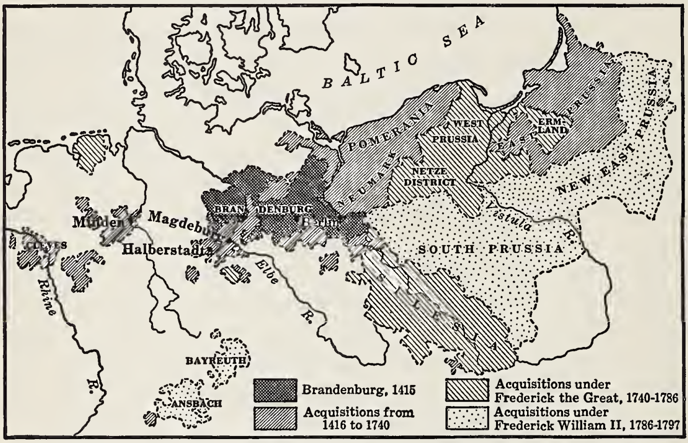

BALTIC SEA
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
ERMLAND
NEW EAST PRUSSIA
NETZE DISTRICT
NEUMARK
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Minden
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
CLEVES
Rhine
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
SOUTH PRUSSIA
SILESIA
R.
BAYREUTH
ANSBACH
Brandenburg, 1415
Acquisitions from 1416 to 1740
Acquisitions under Frederick the Great, 1740-1786
Acquisitions under Frederick William II, 1786-1797

Fig. 123. A graphic map telling the story of the rise of the House of Hohenzollern from 1415 to 1797

This newly acquired wealth made it possible for them not only to conquer still more territory but also to continue to marry their sons to the daughters of more important rulers. A hundred years later they were gathering in more and more lands and people by that method. In 1609 the Elector claimed and occupied about half of Cleves, after the death of its duke, on grounds of kinship. By 1614 he had the entire duchy. Cleves lay away to the west of Brandenburg, on the Rhine. In 1618 East Prussia, a large duchy north of Poland, on the Baltic (see figure 123), became the property of the Brandenburg line of the Hohenzollern family.

Then, after the bloody Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the Hohenzollerns acquired Magdeburg, Minden, Halberstadt, and half of Pomerania.

By the time the monarch Frederick William, the Great Elector (ruled from 1640 to 1688), came to rule these northern German states, the nucleus of a large, powerful kingdom was under the control of the Hohenzollern family. It was the Great Elector who completed the conquest of the duchy of East Prussia and united Brandenburg, East Prussia, and Cleves under a single government controlled by a strong army.

At the same time, more than all his predecessors, he developed profitable farming and stimulated varied handicrafts and industries. During his rule the little town of Berlin became a thriving city of 20,000 people. Huguenots who had been exiled from France by the edict of Louis XIV settled there. They were skilled craftsmen and helped to lay the foundation for the fine German crafts of modern times. Upon Frederick's death only one reigning family in Germany — the Hapsburgs — was stronger than his.

Although the Hohenzollerns held many titles, Elector of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, Duke of Cleves, as well as a long string of minor ones, yet Frederick III of Brandenburg, son of the Great Elector, desired to be a *king*. He gained the title in 1701, when he made a bargain with the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire whereby, in return for Hohenzollern assistance in the coming War of the Spanish Succession, the Emperor permitted him to crown himself Frederick I, King of Prussia. His territories, though not unbroken, stretched from East Prussia to Cleves, on the lower Rhine, and included scattered possessions in other parts of Germany. Much empire-building had been accomplished by the Hohenzollerns during the 300 years since the Count of Hohenzollern became Elector of Brandenburg.

Frederick I (reigned as *king* 1701–1713) was followed by Frederick William I (reigned 1713–1740), and he, in turn, by the most famous of all the Hohenzollerns, Frederick (II) the Great (reigned 1740–1786).

By 1740 the Hohenzollern family of Prussia had become the leading rival of the Hapsburg family of Austria for control among the German states. In that year Frederick, the Hohenzollern, and Maria Theresa, the Hapsburg, came to the respective thrones of Prussia and Austria. For years, under these absolute monarchs, the two families fought out the quarrel over power, land, imperial titles, thrones, and money. It was during that time that the Hohenzollerns definitely defeated the Hapsburgs and added the rich province of Silesia to the Prussian kingdom.

Twenty-three years of almost constant warfare were required to change definitely the ownership of that valuable territory. There was the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), a quarrel among rulers about who should occupy the throne of Austria. There was the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), which Frederick the Great finally won, thereby establishing his claim to Silesia. During these wars countless thousands of men were killed, the labor of millions of farmers and artisans was destroyed; but the King of Prussia got his Silesia, attained greater renown in the society of kings and princes, and made Prussia a recognized power in European affairs.

Did the people have anything to say about it? Not at all. Frederick and Maria Theresa were absolute monarchs, like Louis XIV of France shortly before them. While their armies were killing each other, millions of peasants were living in the misery of feudal serfs. They did not own their land. They had no civil or political rights. Travelers of the time tell us that their living conditions were miserable indeed — far worse than those of the farmers of England and of France.

Frederick the Great, the "benevolent despot"

In the meantime Frederick the Great set up a splendid court near Berlin and made it a center of pleasure and culture, as Louis XIV had done in France. In many respects this German Hohenzollern is to be compared to the French Bourbon, Louis. He too worked at his trade of being king. He was a true "benevolent despot." Like Louis XIV he rose early in the morning and worked at matters of state all day long. He personally supervised the administration of the provinces of his realm; he reviewed the decisions of his judges. He abolished the "third degree," that is, the practice of torturing suspected criminals in order to make them confess. He granted freedom of worship and established elementary schools in many communities of the kingdom.

He encouraged industry and agriculture, stimulating farmers to use more scientific methods. He developed water transportation by connecting rivers with canals. He developed new industries, such as the weaving of silk. And he did try to protect the people by keeping down taxes to a minimum and using the money which he received from the peasants and artisans of the nation in efficient and economical ways.

This was the practice of the enlightened despot. While ruling with an iron hand, he devoted himself vigorously to economical and efficient administration. In a book which he wrote on government he said, "The monarch is not the absolute master, but only the first servant of the state." Yet he really conceived himself and all kings as the fathers of their people. He did not want the masses to think about government; he wanted to do the thinking and directing himself. He said, "The prince is to the nation he governs what the head is to the man; it is his duty to see, think, and act for the whole community."

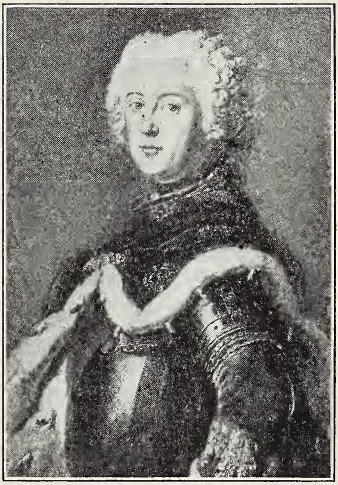


FIG. 124. Frederick the Great. (From a painting by Antoine Pesne)

Do you think that political liberty advanced at this time? No, indeed. The nobility and Frederick were the only ones considered necessary to making plans and carrying them out. And Frederick held his power by means of an army which at one time reached 200,000 men.

At the very moment of the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in the United States, at the time of the outbreak of the

French Revolution, and 100 years after the signing of the Bill of Rights in England, government in Prussia and the German states was by divine right.

THEN CAME NAPOLEON, THE HUMILIATION OF GERMAN MONARCHS, AND THE SPREADING OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS

When Frederick the Great died in 1786, Prussia was recognized as the leading state of central Europe. It was unified and seemingly prosperous, and the people were apparently contented under the benevolent though autocratic rule.

Within the next 25 years, under weak kings, all this was changed. One after another the armies of Prussia (and Austria too) were defeated. The Hohenzollern king lost his prestige. The states which made up Prussia lost their feeling of unity, and the *democratic spirit spread rapidly* in the towns and cities. What happened to cause such a reversal?

You already know the story. Napoleon I, the dictator of Europe, rose to military power in France after 1797, made himself Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine (a combination of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and several other states). In 1805 he defeated the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz. In 1806 he invaded Prussia, destroyed a Prussian army of 65,000 men at the battle of Jena, and marched into Berlin as the master of Prussia. Changed, indeed, were the fortunes both of the rulers and of the people in Prussia.

The King of Prussia, Frederick William III (reigned 1797–1840), had now lost all his territory west of the river Elbe — about half of his entire kingdom. At the same time Napoleon combined many of the smaller German states and made his relatives the rulers.

Serfdom was abolished; the peasants could now own the land

Although Prussia was subjugated, the war had brought into Prussia the seeds of democracy. A storm of criticism rose all over the German states, and there was much discussion among the advisers of Frederick William III as to the unrest among the people and the need for reforming Prussia from within.

Two leaders were chiefly responsible for the reorganization of the country between 1807 and 1813. They were Baron vom Stein (1757–1831) and Chancellor (Prime Minister) von Hardenberg (1750–1822). Although of the noble class, Stein had decidedly democratic leanings. He had read Rousseau and the other French revolutionary philosophers. He had studied the parliamentary government of England and admired many things about it.

As a result of Stein's effort, in 1807 the King of Prussia issued the renowned *Edict of Emancipation* abolishing serfdom. At last millions of peasants who had been rigidly bound to the great landed estates were freed and were given the right to own land in their own names. At last land could be bought and sold and owned privately by any citizen of the kingdom. At the same time members of the lower economic and social classes were given the right to enter any occupation or profession in which their abilities enabled them to work. It was a signal victory for democracy.

The liberal minister also attempted to obtain a written constitution for the common people of the kingdom, but in this he was defeated by the great landowners. Stein succeeded, however, in making important changes in city governments: from 1808 every property-owning burgher had a voice in the election of the councilors and other officials who administered the local affairs of the towns and cities.

Education and national patriotism advanced

At the same time another movement was launched for the purpose of unifying the German peoples. *Education instead of armed force!* Teach the masses to understand and to love the Fatherland, to respect the king and the government, instead of commanding loyalty from submissive herds of human beings by armed force. This was the new method of the leaders.

Throughout the kingdom a common-school system was set up under the minister of education, Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835). Schools soon sprang up in practically every village and town. Every child was to be taught to read and write, so that national patriotism could be developed. Every child must learn the thrilling history of the German peoples so that the unification of the German nation would be furthered. Singing was also taught in the schools. Patriotic singing societies were organized, and the love of the Fatherland was enhanced through national festivals. Systematic physical training was introduced; the people were to be made strong and healthy in order to create a strong nation.

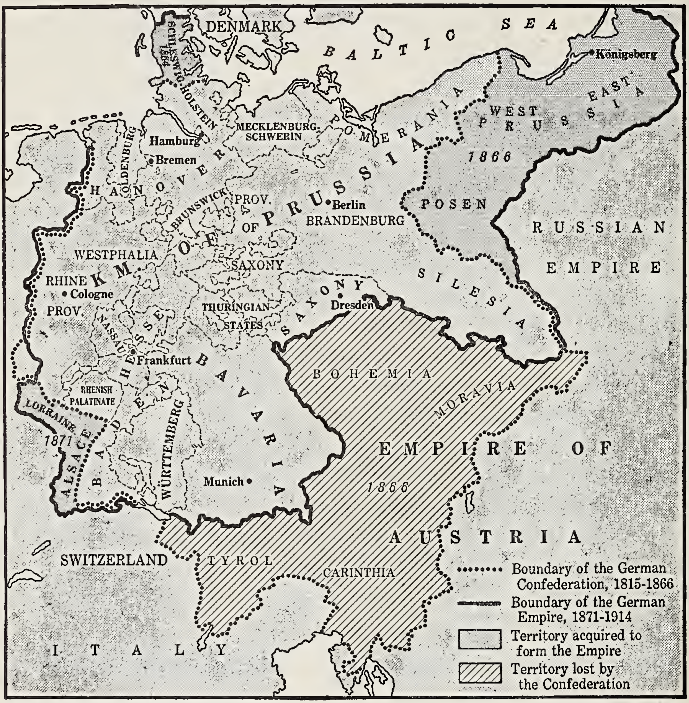

DENMARK
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
1864
BALTIC SEA
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
WEST PRUSSIA
1866
POMERANIA
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN
Hamburg
Bremen
OLDENBURG
HANOVER
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
BRUNSWICK
PROV. OF BRANDENBURG
Berlin
POSEN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
WESTPHALIA
RHINE PROV.
Cologne
SAXONY
KINGDOM OF SAXONY
Dresden
SILESIA
THURINGIAN STATES
NASSAU
HESSE
Frankfurt
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
RHENISH PALATINATE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
1871
BADEN
WÜRTTEMBERG
Munich
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
1866
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
CARINTHIA
ITALY
Boundary of the German Confederation, 1815-1866
Boundary of the German Empire, 1871-1914
Territory acquired to form the Empire
Territory lost by the Confederation

FIG. 125. Germany, 1815–1914. Note the changes in boundary between 1866 and 1871. What did Germany gain? What did she lose?

Thus you see that the leaders instituted their reforms largely to build up the German nation, to increase national patriotism, and to develop love of Fatherland. Germany was still a hodgepodge of little states, and the new Prussian leaders, under their Hohenzollern king, were visualizing a completely unified Germany.

The purpose of education, then, was loyalty to the *state*. Children were not taught to think, to learn how to solve their country's problems; they were taught to obey. But it was to be an intelligent obedience, not a stupid one. The state was to become *a strong national state* by developing an obedient, loyal, intelligent common people. For 100 years, even to the World War, this was the goal of the Prussian leaders. Thus democracy, though marching on in Germany, was advancing very slowly.

At the same time that these partially democratic changes were taking place, Chancellor von Hardenberg was making the Prussian army into a highly efficient machine. It was under him (1811) that compulsory military service for all men was developed in Prussia. Prior to the French Revolution the armies of the kings of Europe had been made up of hired professional soldiers. After the French Revolution and the dismemberment of the royal army, compulsory military service was instituted to provide an army for France. Napoleon's conquests with such armies popularized the idea. So in Prussia the "draft" came into existence. Each year those young men who attained a certain age were sent to training camps and military schools and taught the art of war. People who hated war called this training in the art of murder.

So it was that a national state began to develop in Germany. So it was that love of country and forced military service in defense of one's country began to spread throughout Europe as well.

The Congress of Vienna, 1815, put down Democratic Movements Everywhere in Europe

You remember that Napoleon, the disturber of European peace, was finally disposed of in 1815. In the same year emperors, kings, ministers, princes, electors, dukes, counts, and generals met in Vienna in a spectacular international conference to reconstruct Europe. The Czar of Russia, Alexander I, was there; the Emperor of Austria, Francis I, was there; the King of Prussia, Frederick William III, and Chancellor von Hardenberg were there, as well as the kings of various little states, the electors of the former Holy Roman Empire, the Duke of Wellington of England, and the wily Talleyrand of France.

Suavely guiding the whole aristocratic convention was the Austrian chief minister, Count Metternich. The assembly was dominated by reaction and conservatism; liberal democrats were either entirely missing or unable to get a hearing for their proposals.

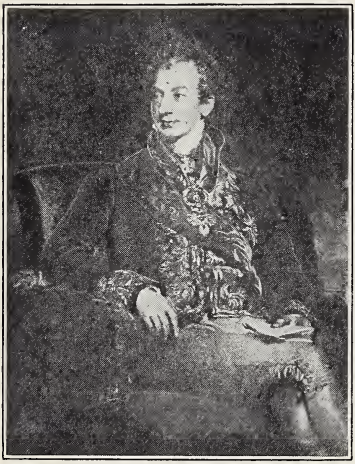


FIG. 126. Clemens Wenzel Metternich-Winneburg (1773–1859)

For nine months these nobles conspired, exchanged favors, and put over their schemes for the defeat of every sign of liberal tendencies. They finally arranged the boundaries of Europe and the occupancy of thrones to suit their desires.

As for the German states, the princes did their best to stop the movement toward the unification of Germany under the Prussian king. All the German states excepting East Prussia and Posen joined the western part of the Austrian Empire in setting up a new German Confederation. The legislature of this Confederation, called the Diet, contained no representatives either of the common people or of the rising *bourgeois* class. It consisted solely of ruling princes, primarily under the leadership of Austria, and its principal function was the organization of defense against foreign invasion.

For fifteen years democratic movements everywhere were suppressed. The old ruling houses, the nobility, controlled the governments. In France it was the period of Louis XVIII and the White Terror, of Charles X and the extreme monarchists. In Spain members of the Bourbon family were put back upon the throne. In Portugal the ruling house, which had fled to Brazil in order to escape from the armies of Napoleon, returned to power. Even in more democratic Great Britain the Tories were in power, and the business men of the cities and the workingmen generally were excluded from the government. In Russia the government, which earlier had tried liberal experiments, became harsh and oppressive. Autocracy was maintained everywhere in central Europe.

After 1830 the Industrial Revolution began to develop in Germany

In the meantime, as you know, far-reaching industrial changes were taking place in the West, especially in England. Machines had been invented and perfected, and English manufacturers and merchants were taking trade away from French and German competitors.

In 1825 England passed a law permitting machines to be exported to other countries. Almost immediately, both in France and in Germany, beginnings were made in the introduction of power-driven machinery. As long as central Europe was upset by Napoleon's armies, there was little opportunity to develop the new industry in German states; but with the strict quiet enforced by the new autocratic régime, this could be done.

In the 1820's and 1830's power-driven machinery was introduced into the growing manufacturing towns, especially in Prussia and the other North German states. A little later the manufacturers of Vienna, Budapest, and other central cities of the Austrian Empire followed their lead.

Industry grew swiftly from that time on. In 1840 the German textile mills spun and wove only approximately 9000 tons of raw cotton; in 1855 the total reached 25,000 tons. By 1865 approximately 1,000,000 tons of pig iron were being produced each year. The mining of coal rose rapidly. In 1830 the rich coal mines of the Ruhr valley, in Westphalia, had hardly been touched. In 1865 about 28,000,000 tons were mined. At that time Germany had actually surpassed France in the production of coal. It was still far behind England, however.

As machines improved, factories increased, and roads improved, workers left the farms of Germany and became machinetenders in the towns and cities. The working class grew and grew, and the foul tenement slums of the cities grew too. As the workers lived closer together they began to organize. Trade-unions sprang up, especially in the western German states. In the meantime the upper middle class of industrial owners (the German *bourgeoisie*) increased their wealth and aspired to political power. Thus the history of the Industrial Revolution in other countries was being repeated in Germany.

The Prussian customs union and the new railroads unified the German states

Very soon the Prussian business men began to realize that the English could manufacture and sell goods more cheaply than they. Under the leadership of their government they worked out plans for unifying and protecting the industries of the German states against the more efficient ones of England.

Again we see the importance of economic changes in bringing about changes in government. During the twenty-five years that followed the Congress of Vienna two things happened which did more than all the wars of ambitious kings to tie the scattered German states together in national unity. The first was the formation of a *Zollverein* ("customs union") under the leadership of Prussia.

This had an immediate influence on the ways of living in the German states, as well as on trade. People began to exchange goods with one another as though they were citizens of the same country, not as quarreling members of enemy states. The business men of Prussia in the north traded with those of Bavaria in the south much as those of New York traded with others of Pennsylvania in the United States.

Through the *Zollverein* the protective tariffs which each little state had placed on goods imported from other German states were now abolished. The people of any German state in the *Zollverein* could trade with those of another member state freely, without paying customs duties. At the same time a tariff was placed on all goods imported into the German states from foreign countries, or states outside the union. In this way the *Zollverein* served to tie together the hitherto unfriendly states. The only large political body to remain outside was Austria, and Austria was soon to lose all her control over German life.

The second economic change also served to bind the German states together. This was the rapid building of railroads. The first railroads were laid down in Prussia in 1835. By 1844 there were 500 miles of track in operation in that single state alone. In 1860 the number was 3500 miles. In the meantime railways extended out into Saxony, Hanover, and Baden, and joined Bavaria in the south with Prussia in the far north.

Thus unity through mutual economic interests took the place of attempted unity by the "mailed fist" of armed force. Is it not clear that mutual gain through trade will do more to bind people together in coöperation than the sworn oaths of princes to love and help one another? Was there a more effective way to make the people of Catholic Bavaria and those of Protestant Prussia feel that they were citizens of the same country?

As industrialism spread, democracy spread with it

As time went on, the *bourgeois* merchants and manufacturers, on the one hand, and the workingmen and peasants, on the other, kept demanding a larger share in the government. They were encouraged and helped in their demands by the professors and students in the universities of Berlin, Vienna, and other cities.

Not only was this true in Germany and Austria. In every oppressed country of Europe, as well as in the rising republics of Latin America, it was in the colleges and universities that democratic ideas were most vigorously discussed. Here they were thinking about the age-long problems: How shall property be owned? How can government be truly of the people, by the people, for the people? How can the income of a people be equitably divided among them?

This was the period in which Karl Marx was studying the history and philosophy of civilization. Later he was to be driven from country to country by the autocratic Prussian government, which feared the influence of his democratic and socialistic ideas. It was the time, also, of Friedrich Engels and the organization of workingmen's unions.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN THE GERMAN STATES

Scarcely a year passed in the larger cities of Germany without demonstrations by students and workingmen who demanded reforms.

There was a growing feeling that the German states should be united in political bonds more strong than those afforded by the Confederation. Political parties began to spring up advocating different solutions. The democratic group favored a united German republic, to take the place of the many separate governments of the Confederation. All favored reforms of one kind or another.

Then, early in 1848, came the news that Louis Philippe had been forced to abdicate the throne of France. Almost at once democratic groups in Italy, in the German states, and in Austria revolted against their autocratic masters. So rapidly did the revolutionary movement sweep over Europe that before the end of the summer half the lesser monarchs had either been put off their thrones or had been forced to give their subjects charters of liberty in the form of written constitutions.

In March, 1848, workers and students rose in armed rebellion in Berlin. Streets were barricaded, and bloody fighting ensued. More than 200 citizens were killed, and the frightened king, Frederick William IV, promised to call a national conference and give the people a written charter of liberties.

Swiftly the democratic movement spread throughout other parts of Germany. As a result, in May, 1848, a constitutional convention was assembled at Frankfurt, bringing together representatives from every member state in the German Confederation, including the provinces of Austria within the Confederation. For nearly a year the delegates conferred. On the whole some gains were achieved for democracy. Certain civil rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and the right to petition the government were granted, and certain declarations of equality were made. But almost no advance in political liberty came to the people.

In the spring and summer of 1849 "Republican" clubs were formed in various cities. Largely as a result of their work provincial governments in the form of republics were set up in the western states of Saxony, Baden, and the Rhenish Palatinate. But these movements, too, soon failed. Order was restored by the armies of the Prussian king, and by July, 1849, the revolutionists were suppressed once more. It was at this time that thousands of German patriots left Germany and settled in the United States, which to them was the nearest approach to the republic of their dreams. These people, as you know from your study of American history, became patriotic American citizens. Not long after, many of them fought in the Civil War to preserve the union of American states.

In the meantime the Frankfurt assembly, now almost a year old, had completed a plan for the formation of the German states into a German Empire with Frederick William IV, king of Prussia, as emperor. But it was impossible to form any real union in which both Austria and Prussia should be included, for neither would be subordinate to the other. Twenty-eight small states agreed to the plan, but Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, and Hanover refused it. Frederick William IV did not believe that the assembly had the right to offer him the emperorship, and he was also friendly to Austria. His acceptance of the offer would mean war with Austria, and so he declined. In April, 1849, the Frankfurt assembly closed without having achieved a closer unification of the German people.

In the reaction which followed, a conservative constitution was granted, 1850

But the people of Prussia obtained at least one thing from the revolutions of 1848–1849. This was a partially liberal constitution. Although it granted certain civil liberties to the people, the king still ruled by divine right.

In the constitution a legislature was provided for, but both the upper and the lower house represented chiefly the large property-owners of the kingdom. A kind of manhood suffrage was granted, but the representatives in the legislature were so proportioned that the control was entirely in the hands of the well-to-do. Thus it could hardly be said that democracy had advanced much in Germany, even by 1850.

UNDER WILLIAM I, ANOTHER "DIVINE RIGHT" HOHENZOLLERN KING, PRUSSIA STRENGTHENED HER MILITARY ORGANIZATION

In 1861 William I (reigned 1861–1888) became king of Prussia. He was the most courageous and able Hohenzollern that the country had had in three quarters of a century. Under William I and his two iron-handed leaders — the war minister Von Roon and Von Moltke, the commander in chief of his army — Prussia strengthened her military organization. Compulsory military service was demanded, and increasingly heavy taxes were laid upon the people to finance the government.

The parliament of Prussia vigorously opposed this policy. The members wanted peace and quiet and business prosperity. They had little interest in strengthening the military organization. But wars threatened; and, under compulsion, parliament did agree to continue the period of three years' military service for all men, but declined to tax the people to the extent that the King and his militaristic ministers desired.

It was during this conflict that the war party discovered the man of destiny who would lead Prussia in the unification of the German states and the final humbling of the Austrian Hapsburgs.

OTTO VON BISMARCK, CUNNING DIPLOMAT OF "BLOOD AND IRON," CREATED A UNIFIED, WARLIKE GERMAN EMPIRE (1862–1871)

In 1862 Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck (1815–1898) was appointed Minister-President (chief minister) of Prussia over the protest of the liberals. It was little wonder that the democrats did not want him, for he was a conservative of the conservatives.

At the time of the Revolution of 1848 Bismarck was a young count and the leader of the "Junkers" in East Prussia. The Junkers were the landed aristocrats of Prussia. They had long played a most important part in German politics, controlling the offices of the government and favoring in all matters the king and his ministers.

Bismarck had made himself useful to the Hohenzollerns and had had valuable diplomatic experience in France and Russia.

In addition to being a shrewd diplomat, he was a believer in the divine right of kings. During his ministry the principles of free speech and a free press gave way to the most reactionary kind of suppression. Editors were jailed for criticizing the government, and their papers were suppressed. When the liberal legislature refused to vote the taxes demanded by the King and his ministers, Bismarck proceeded to collect them by force. Liberals in return threatened to hang Bismarck, but the Junkers controlled the army and all administrative positions in the government.

FIG. 127. Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck (1815–1898)

It was by such methods as these that Bismarck kept order at home and made all Germans obedient servants of the Fatherland. The schools were teaching obedience and patriotic self-sacrifice to the state, the aristocrats were developing the strongest army in Europe, and thousands of independent liberals were emigrating from Germany. Hence there was little chance for the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of representative government.

In the 1860's and 1870's Bismarck created the German Empire as a result of three wars among the peoples of Europe: (1) the war with Denmark, 1864; (2) the war with Austria, 1866; (3) the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871

1. *The war with Denmark, 1864*

The war with Denmark was brought on by the troublesome question of the status of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had for centuries belonged to the king of Denmark although populated mainly by German people. In 1848, when the spirit of revolution was sweeping over central Europe, the Danish king, fearing an uprising in the duchies, announced his intention of incorporating them as an integral part of the kingdom of Denmark.

There was much indignation in Germany over this proposed step, and some attempt was made to prevent the duchies from becoming Danish possessions. But the controversy continued, and finally, in 1863, Schleswig was definitely joined to the Danish realm.

Thereupon the Diet of the Confederation declared war upon Denmark with the enthusiastic support of German public opinion. This was Bismarck's opportunity. At once he arranged with Austria that she and Prussia should act as the executors of the Diet's decree. Denmark had hoped for the support of England, France, and Russia; but those countries were not favorable to intervention, and eight months later Denmark, utterly defeated, was forced to cede Schleswig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia jointly, to be disposed of as those two powers should see fit.

2. *The war with Austria, 1866*

In 1865 and 1866 Bismarck deliberately instigated a war with Austria over the division of the spoils. We shall not stop to tell the details. There appears to be no justification for the way in which it was brought about, but within seven weeks Germany had defeated her enemy decisively. This was known, therefore, as the Seven Weeks' War (1866).

By the use of armed force great strides were being made toward a unified *German Empire* under a Prussian king. As a result of the Austrian war the North German states of Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau, and Frankfurt (one of the most important free cities) were annexed to Prussia. Austria was excluded from this North German Federation. Prussia had now become the largest German state, with a population totaling about 25,000,000.

We should pause to note here that the mass of the people did not know of the schemes by which Bismarck had provoked the two wars. They went on with their daily work, trying to get a living and occasionally wondering what the warring was really all about.

3. *The Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871*

By 1866 Bismarck had succeeded in lining up all the North German peoples behind his militaristic policies. Even many liberals and progressives joined hands to extol the glories of the great Bismarck. There was no doubt about the fact that North Germany was unified.

But South Germany was still out of the union, and the creation of the German Empire would not be complete until it was brought in. So Bismarck's schemes went on, this time drawing France into the net of diplomacy and war.

Napoleon III hoped to annex the Rhineland as a reward for his neutrality in the Austro-Prussian War. About this time he talked over his proposal with Bismarck when the latter visited him. Bismarck, with his usual policy of playing one group against another, went to the leaders of the South German states and told them of Napoleon's plans.

Then he published a hitherto secret offensive and defensive alliance that had been made between Prussia and the South German states. Bismarck now felt sure that if a successful war could be fought with France the South German princes would join with the Hohenzollerns to form a united imperial Germany. Furthermore, he felt confident that they would proclaim the King of Prussia as Emperor of Germany.

But Bismarck had to have a pretext for war. It would never do to force war on France, so that other people would think Prussia had started it. The occasion came in 1870. Napoleon III was disturbed because the Spaniards proposed to take as their king a relative of King William of Prussia. This would compel Napoleon to live between two Hohenzollerns, a very uncomfortable position, indeed. So he tried to persuade King William to prevail upon his relative to refuse the crown. He went too far in his demands, however, and William declined.

It was at this point that Bismarck tricked the French. King William sent Bismarck a 200-word telegram telling him to make public the decision and the reasons for it. Instead of giving this telegram or even a true version of it to the newspapers, Bismarck wrote from it a 20-word telegram which made it appear that the king of Prussia had been insulted by the French ambassador and that the latter had been rebuffed. This short telegram went to the German newspapers and was copied in the French press. Immediately the French press became violently excited. It soon began to influence the people, and the government, on July 19, 1870, declared war on Prussia.

This is an important illustration of the way wars of conquest can be brought about by the secret conspiracies of the diplomats.

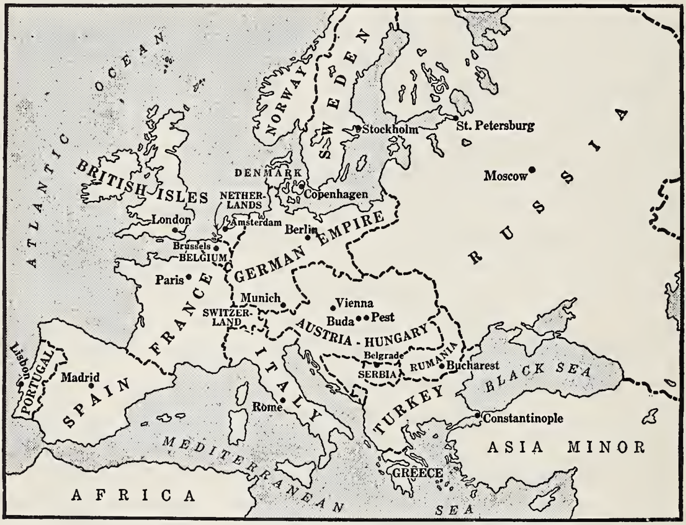

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
RUSSIA
Moscow
BRITISH ISLES
DENMARK
Copenhagen
NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
London
Berlin
GERMAN EMPIRE
Brussels
BELGIUM
Paris
FRANCE
Munich
SWITZERLAND
Vienna
Buda
Pest
AUSTRIA - HUNGARY
Belgrade
SERBIA
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
ITALY
Rome
TURKEY
Constantinople
ASIA MINOR
GREECE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA

Fig. 128. Europe in 1871. A comparison of this map with that of figure 115 will illustrate some interesting changes that came about in a little more than fifty years

There was little pretense of morality in this method. Bismarck sought his ends by fraud and violence. Nothing was to be allowed to stand in the way of Prussian power.

The campaign of the Franco-Prussian War was short. Within a few months the German armies overwhelmed the French in a series of startling victories. On September 2, 1870, at the decisive defeat of Sedan, the French general, Marshal MacMahon, and the Emperor Napoleon III himself were captured with 80,000 men.

The Germans pressed on and laid siege to Paris that same month. The city held out until January, when, starving and freezing, it surrendered. The Franco-Prussian War was over.

As a result of this war Bismarck's plans were completely successful. Even before Paris had surrendered, treaties of union were made between the North German Federation and four southern states,— Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse, and Baden,— and the German Empire was formed. While the Germans were still besieging Paris, Bismarck journeyed to the French palace of Versailles and there proclaimed King William of Prussia Emperor of Germany.

One more of Bismarck's conquests we must mention because of its international importance from 1871 to the World War. In the terms of peace Germany took from France Alsace and part of Lorraine, two rich boundary provinces, even as the French had earlier taken them from the Germans. For nearly 50 years this angered not only the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who had been taken from their beloved France, but also the leaders and people of France itself. Not until the World War was over, in 1918, and Germany had been defeated was this territory returned to France. In the meantime it was a constant source of friction between the two peoples and the two governments.

How the Government of Germany was Organized, 1871–1914

In 1871 a new constitution was formed. In no sense was the new constitution a written guaranty of the civil and political rights of the people. It was a sort of treaty of union between the northern and southern divisions of the empire. At the head of the government was the emperor of Germany, who was in general charge of all government matters in the empire and who had the power to appoint the prime minister, called the imperial chancellor.

There was a legislature, which consisted of two houses. The lower house was called the *Reichstag*. Its members were elected by all adult males over 25 years of age. The *Bundesrat* was the upper house. It consisted merely of the representatives of the 22 rulers and the three free cities which composed the empire.

Each state was apportioned a definite number of votes somewhat in proportion to its size. For example, Prussia, which totaled nearly two thirds of the entire population, was given about one third of the votes. The five states next in size were given, together, one third of the votes, and the remaining small states had one or two votes each in the total of 61 in the Bundesrat and 397 in the Reichstag.

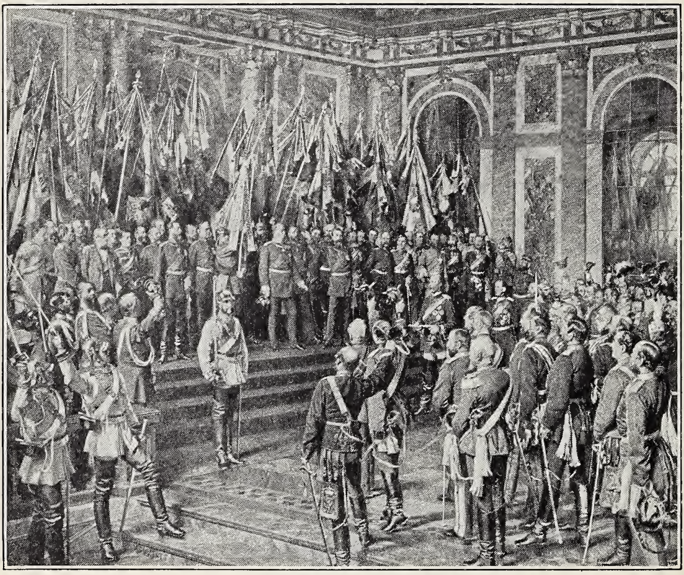


FIG. 129. The ceremony in the Hall of Mirrors, at Versailles, at which King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor William I of Germany. (From a painting by Anton von Werner)

The imperial constitution, although apparently liberal in form and granting suffrage to adult males, proved really to be one of the most undemocratic in Europe. It turned Germany over to a "divine right" government, practically under the control of the king of Prussia and the imperial chancellor whom he appointed.

The chancellor (Bismarck, from 1871 to 1890) was indeed the leading power in the empire. He appointed the ministers, proposed most of the laws, controlled Prussia's seventeen votes in the Bundesrat, and presided over the meetings of the Bundesrat. In actual practice this upper house really ran the government. It initiated laws and decided on their constitutionality. Things were so arranged that Prussia, acting through the chancellor, could defeat any proposal to amend the constitution, to reduce taxes, or to regulate the army and navy. Thus the representatives of the princes and the noble landowners ran the German imperial government from 1871 until the end of the World War.

In no sense was the Reichstag a powerful lawmaking body. In no sense did its power compare with that of the House of Representatives in America, the House of Commons in Great Britain, or the Chamber of Deputies in France. Furthermore, as industrial cities grew in Germany, as people crowded together in great manufacturing centers, the landed estates in rural districts came to have a far greater proportion of the seats of the Reichstag than was their due.

Within the separate states themselves, however, there were fairly important gains for democracy. Between 1871 and 1914 all but one of the 26 German states obtained written constitutions. In Prussia local government was made more democratic even before 1890. In Bavaria a written constitution set up parliamentary government in charge of a ministry responsible to the people, somewhat as in Great Britain and in France. In 1906 the method of voting was changed, and the secret ballot, based upon the Australian plan, was adopted. One by one other political liberties were achieved in the smaller states in the early 1900's. In 1904, for example, state and local offices were made elective, and all adult males were given the right to vote for them. Thus throughout this period democracy marched slowly onward.

BETWEEN 1871 AND 1914 GERMANY BECAME A LEADING MANUFACTURING NATION

It was in the half-century following Bismarck's rise to power that Germany became the chief commercial rival of Great Britain and one of the four leading manufacturing nations of the world. In Germany, as in the United States, Great Britain, and France, the great industrial expansion took place after 1870.

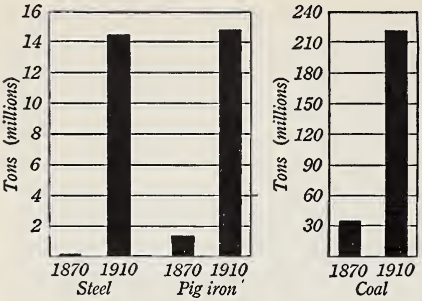


Fig. 130. These graphs illustrate the rapidity with which Germany industrialized after 1870. Steel, pig iron, and coal are the foundations on which an industrial civilization is built

Note the transformation recorded in figure 130. In 1870 more than 1,000,000 tons of pig iron were produced; in 1910 production reached approximately 15,000,000 tons — fifteen times as much. The increase in the production of steel was even more rapid, and in the same interval the amount of coal mined increased nearly sevenfold.

In 1882 the approximate number of workers employed in German manufacturing and trade was 20,000,000; in 1910 it was 35,000,000. The textile industry doubled its output. The goods shipped in German merchant ships more than doubled, and the export trade almost tripled.

In the meantime population grew rapidly. In 1870 it was 40,000,000; in 1911 it was 65,000,000. But the city population grew more rapidly. In 1871 only 36 per cent of the German people lived in cities; in 1910, 60 per cent lived there. At that time there were 45 cities, each having more than 100,000 people.

It was in this period also that Germany built her tremendous system of world trade. We shall see in the following chapter

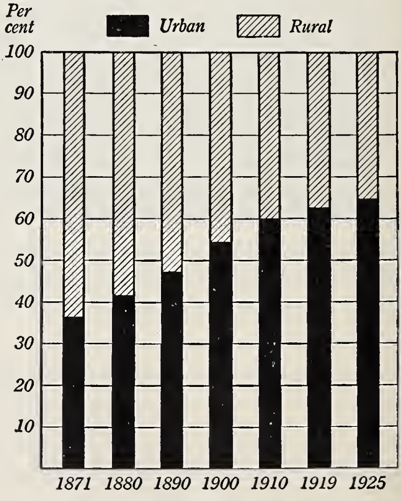


Fig. 131. In 1871 about 36 per cent of Germany's population were living in cities; by 1925 the urban population had grown to a little more than 64 per cent

how her trade, which in 1870 was largely local,— that is, among the German states and communities,— in 1914 was world-wide. Encouraged by the imperialistic central government, German commercial travelers competed with Englishmen, Americans, and Frenchmen in the remotest corners of the globe. Long before 1900, articles marked "Made in Germany" were seen in the homes of natives of twoscore countries. There was no more efficient system of trade on the earth than that which Germany built up during this period.

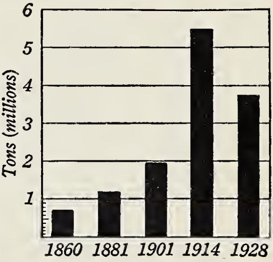


FIG. 132. Growth in Germany's shipping tonnage, 1860–1928

A glimpse can be had of this astonishing growth in the graph of figure 132. This shows the stupendous increase in German shipping. In 1860 the total tonnage of Germany's merchant ships was about 700,000; in 1914 it was 5,400,000 — nearly eight times as much. In 1910 Germany bought from other countries and sold to them three times as much as in 1870.

In the next chapter we shall see more clearly this rapid expansion of the German industrial nation around the world, and the dangerous competition which was developing among the chief industrial nations.

THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN GERMANY, 1875–1914

As modern industry developed, German cities became centers of socialist agitation. The ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had slowly made their way among the workingmen of the German states. Various groups of socialists had formed the Social Democratic Labor party as early as 1875. Even as scattered groups they had already secured nine representatives in the Reichstag at that time. Two years later (1877) the Social Democratic Labor party secured more than 500,000 votes in the national elections and placed twelve members in the Reichstag.

Table XIII shows the swift growth in the influence of the Social Democratic Labor party from 1874 to the World War. In 1912 it had more than twelve times as many representatives in the Reichstag as in 1874. In 1912 it polled 4,250,000 votes, more than twice as many as were polled by any other single party. Before the outbreak of the World War the Social Democratic Labor party had gathered a large membership not only from the workingmen but from students and upper-class radicals.

As long as Bismarck was chancellor he conducted a drastic and oppressive war upon socialists of every stamp. In 1878, for example, a law aimed at them prohibited the publication of radical views in newspapers or books. Imperial police interfered with legally held public meetings. They arrested and imprisoned socialist critics of the government.

TABLE XIII

Number of Seats in the Reichstag held by Socialists in Various Years, 1874–1912

Year	Number of Seats
1874	9
1881	12
1890	35
1898	56
1903	81
1912	110

After Bismarck's resignation in 1890 the Emperor, William II, carried on his policy. Free speech, free press, and free assemblage were suppressed by the Emperor and his officials. In spite of obstacles, however, the Social Democratic Labor party continued to hold the workingmen — the proletariat of Germany — and to increase its membership.

There were four other major parties in the German Reichstag. There were the *Conservatives,* made up mostly of the Junkers — the large landholders of Prussia — and their followers. There were the *National Liberals,* a group which included most of the business men of the cities and towns. These tended to support the Emperor and the chancellor in their desire to build up a strong central national government at the expense of the smaller princes and the workingmen and the peasants. Third, there were the *Progressives,* the real advocates of democracy. This group was the smallest of the parties and included many of the teachers in universities and other schools, intellectual radicals, and some professional men.

Fourth, there were the *Catholics*, or *Center*, so named because their representatives occupied seats in the center of the Reichstag. This party represented the various Catholic interests in the country. Unlike the people of Great Britain and France, in general the German people were divided in their political life by their religious views. The people of Prussia and the North German states were predominantly Lutherans; those of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and other South German states were still devoted to the Catholic Church.

Throughout the 1870's there developed a conflict between these two groups which was somewhat similar to the religious conflict in France. But whereas in France the government ousted the Church from all share in matters of the state, in Germany the Catholic party continued to increase its representation. In the election of 1912 it polled 2,000,000 votes. This was more than either the Conservatives, the Liberals, or the Progressives polled, but less than half as many as did the Social Democrats.

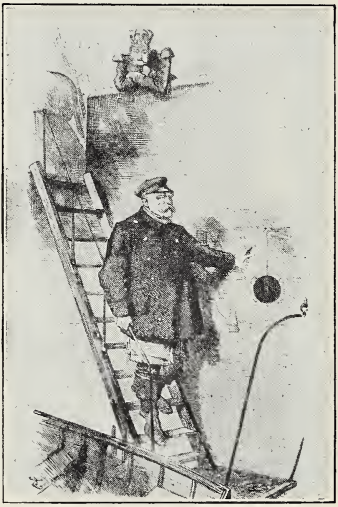


Fig. 133. This cartoon appeared in an English publication in 1890, upon Bismarck's resignation. It was entitled "Dropping the Pilot," and indicates Bismarck's political importance. (By Tenniel in *Punch*)

In Germany, as in Great Britain, France, and America, much Legislation was passed protecting Workingmen

Although political liberty lagged in Germany, there was marked gain in civil rights. Owing in part to the fear of socialistic revolution and in part to the militaristic desire to insure the health of the young men of the nation, Bismarck himself led the way in suggesting social legislation.

In the 1880's laws similar to the French and English laws were passed protecting the health and security of the German workers in industry. There were laws insuring workingmen against illness and accidents, laws limiting the amount of labor performed by women and children, laws restricting hours of work and prohibiting labor on Sunday, and laws enforcing insurance against incapacity due to old age. In this latter respect the laws of the German Empire in 1890 protected the workers of Germany better than American laws protect our workers today.

FIG. 134. William II (1859–), last of the German monarchs

Moreover, the laws were actually *enforced*. Surveys in 1907 showed that from 13,000,000 to 20,000,000 people had been insured against either accident, illness, or incapacity due to old age, and in the 22 years preceding 1907 more than $1,500,000,000 had been paid out by the state in insurance to workingmen.

THUS UNDER BISMARCK AND WILLIAM II GOVERNMENT WAS CENTRALIZED IN GERMANY

So it was that in this period of swift transformation from many small farming states to a unified industrial nation, government was changed to meet the new conditions. As in France, laws were made uniform. Banking was also made uniform throughout the empire, with the great imperial bank — the *Reichsbank* — at the head of the system. This bank matched the Bank of France and the Bank of England in its power. In the two leading industrial nations of continental Europe, France and Germany, banking was placed definitely under the control of the state.

State ownership of certain public utilities was also developed under the central imperial government. In 1873 the railways of the various states were organized under a central railway bureau. Telegraphs, postal system, and other utilities were also brought under the control and operation of the government.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

BOYLAN, GRACE D. The Pipes of Clovis. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. Tells of the early days of the Holy Roman Empire.

HEADLAM-MORLEY, JAMES W. Bismarck and the Foundation of the German Empire (Heroes of the Nations). G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

HENTY, GEORGE A. With Frederick the Great. Blackie & Son, London. The Seven Years' War.

MADDEN, E. A. Two Royal Foes. McClure & Co., New York. Prussia in 1810; Louise of Prussia and Napoleon.

MAJOR, CHARLES. A Gentle Knight of Old Brandenburg. The Macmillan Company, New York.

PYLE, HOWARD. Otto of the Silver Hand. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Tells of robber barons.

ROTH, RICHARD. King Otto's Crown. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis. Germany in the 900's.

SEAWELL, MOLLY E. Lively Adventures of Gavin Hamilton. Harper & Brothers, New York. Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa.

SHEPPARD, A. T. The Red Cravat. The Macmillan Company, New York. Frederick William I of Prussia.

SIDGWICK, C. U. Germany. The Macmillan Company, New York. Home life in Germany.

VAN LOON, HENDRIK W. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York.

WILE, F. W. Men around the Kaiser (The Makers of Modern Germany). The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

UNIT V

CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND THE WORLD WAR

CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND THE WORLD WAR

We have now seen how the new ways of thinking produced a new type of industrial civilization in the three leading European nations. Especially have we noted how they made three different experiments in representative democracy. As these dramatic changes took place, others, equally important for the world, began to appear. The most important was the development of world trade — Great Britain, France, and Germany began to trade with remote parts of the earth and to spread in distant continents their industrial ways of living.

As that happened each of the three countries — and with them others, such as Belgium, Holland, and Italy — conquered lands and peoples in Asia, Africa, and America. There began then a fierce race between these industrializing nations for the rich prize of foreign trade.

But this race, in turn, brought other dramatic developments, among which were grave dangers to the peace of the world. In Chapter XIV we shall bring together our knowledge of this empire-building, and we shall see in what world disasters it resulted.

CHAPTER XIV

INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES EUROPEANIZE THE EARTH AND PRODUCE THE WORLD WAR

So it was that the scientific revolution which spread over Europe after 1600 produced the Industrial Revolution and the march toward democracy. At last the new ways of thinking were bringing forth both power-driven machinery and parliamentary government in the leading industrial nations. The scientific method of thought was being applied to economic, social, and political matters as well as to the physical world.

In the meantime kingdoms and empires were in the making. Dukes and counts had fought and married their way into power over ever-larger territories. First in England and France, then in Spain and Portugal, in Russia and the Scandinavian countries, and later in the "Germanies" and Italy, duchies and counties, electorates and margraviates, free cities and other principalities, were merged by some means into kingdoms and empires.

Sooner or later most of these kingdoms and empires became nations. The people in each were ruled by a uniform system of central and local government. Most of the people in each spoke the same language, and they came to recognize their common nationality. That is, they said proudly: "We are French," "We are German." Increasingly this spirit of national patriotism, this love of country, grew in European countries.

We have seen, then, three very important developments in Europe:

First, the formation of large and powerful nations out of many small, weak, and scattered groups.

Second, the adoption of power-driven machines and the industrialization of Great Britain, France, and Germany. At the same time there was a steady increase in the wealth of the captains of the new industry.

Third, the gradual invention of various kinds of representative government under the control of the industrial capitalists and other property-owners, but with marked extension of civil and political rights to all the people. Although government was not really *by* the people, it was much more *for* the people than ever before in the world's history.

THESE MOVEMENTS RESULTED IN A NEW EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

These three movements have produced a totally new kind of civilization — one new in physical ways of living, new in government, new in its art life and its leisure occupations, new in its social spirit and its outlook upon most of the phases of life.

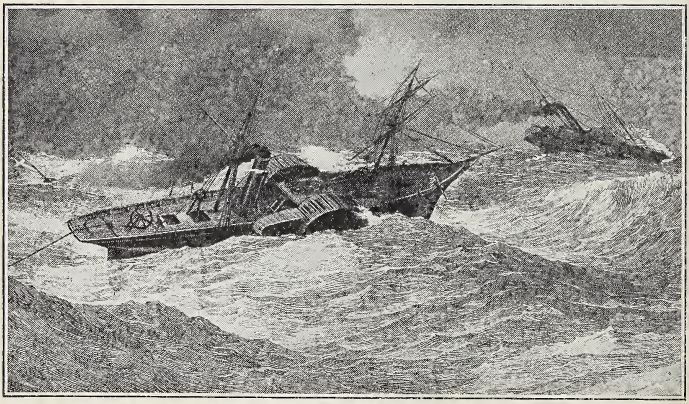
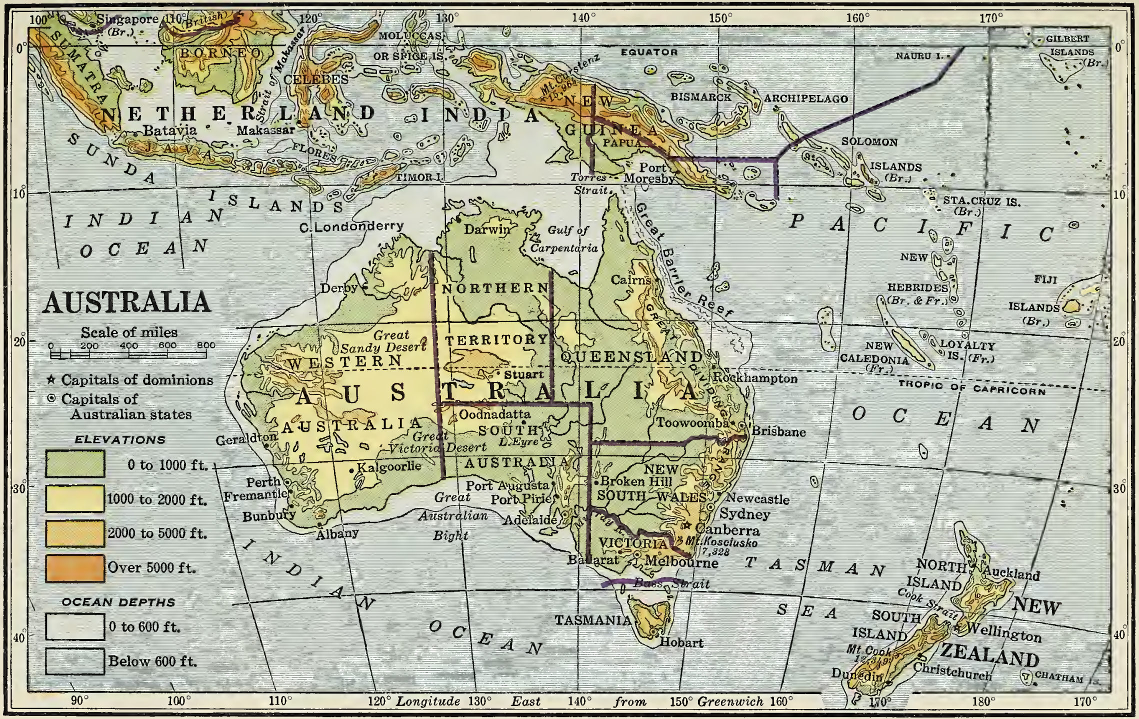


FIG. 135. In 1853 ships laid down the cable for a submarine telegraph connecting England and Holland. A new idea in communication began to spread. (From the *Illustrated London News*, June, 1853)

It is a civilization in which power-driven machines have begun to replace sweating, tired bodies. Swift transportation brings the goods of distant continents to the remotest hamlets, and instantaneous communication binds separated peoples together in an interdependent world. It is a civilization of large corporations, of a few enormously rich property-owners, and of a great mass of comparatively poor mechanics, clerks, and peasant


AUSTRALIA
Scale of miles
0 200 400 600 800
★ Capitals of dominions
⊙ Capitals of Australian states
ELEVATIONS
🟩 0 to 1000 ft.
🟨 1000 to 2000 ft.
🟧 2000 to 5000 ft.
🟧 Over 5000 ft.
OCEAN DEPTHS
□ 0 to 600 ft.
▨ Below 600 ft.
Singapore (Br.)
British
BORNEO
SUMATRA
CELEBES
Strait of Makassar
MOLUCCAS OR SPICE IS.
NETHERLAND INDIA
Batavia
Makassar
JAVA
FLORES
TIMOR I.
SUNDA ISLANDS
INDIAN OCEAN
EQUATOR
Mt. Carstenz 15,964
NEW GUINEA
PAPUA
Port Moresby
Torres Strait
BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO
NAURU I.
GILBERT ISLANDS (Br.)
SOLOMON ISLANDS (Br.)
STA. CRUZ IS. (Br.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
NEW HEBRIDES (Br. & Fr.)
FIJI ISLANDS (Br.)
NEW CALEDONIA (Fr.)
LOYALTY IS. (Fr.)
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
C. Londonderry
Darwin
Gulf of Carpentaria
Cairns
Great Barrier Reef
Derby
NORTHERN TERRITORY
Great Sandy Desert
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Stuart
QUEENSLAND
Rockhampton
GREAT DIVIDING RANGE
AUSTRALIA
Oodnadatta
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
L. Eyre
Great Victoria Desert
Toowoomba
Brisbane
Geraldton
Kalgoorlie
Perth
Fremantle
Bunbury
Albany
Port Augusta
Port Pirie
Adelaide
Great Australian Bight
Broken Hill
NEW SOUTH WALES
Newcastle
Sydney
Canberra
Murray R.
Mt. Kosciusko 7,328
VICTORIA
Ballarat
Melbourne
Bass Strait
TASMANIA
Hobart
INDIAN OCEAN
TASMAN SEA
NORTH ISLAND
Auckland
Cook Strait
NEW ZEALAND
Wellington
SOUTH ISLAND
Mt. Cook 12,349
Christchurch
Dunedin
CHATHAM IS.
0° 10° 20° 30° 40°
100° 110° 120° 130° 140° 150° 160° 170°
90° 100° 110° 120° Longitude 130° East 140° from 150° Greenwich 160° 170° 180° 170°

farmers. But it is a civilization in which even the lowliest have a better standard of living than their comrades in most nonindustrialized civilizations.

It is a civilization in which nearly all children go to school and most people learn to read and write and to understand something of the scientific knowledge of the modern world. It is a civilization in which the paper governments at least are parliamentary, partially democratic rather than absolute. The legislative bodies are chosen by universal manhood suffrage, and civil liberty is generally protected by written constitutions.

It is a civilization in which the arts of writing, painting, architecture, music and the dance, and the theater have reached a very high point.

There are other characteristics of this new civilization which we shall note as we continue, but these are sufficient to define it clearly. Since it was developed first in Europe we call it *European civilization.*

After 1800 European Civilization spread around the World

Within the past 100 years the chief industrial countries that produced this new civilization have begun to Europeanize the earth. That is, traders, missionaries, and government officials of Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries have gone among other peoples of the world and have taught them, in many cases forced them, to adopt the European ways of living. They have gone to China, Japan, India, the Malay States and other parts of Asia, as well as to Africa, Central and South America, and Australia.

Some of this Europeanizing was begun through "peaceful penetration" — that is, by going into a country, building factories and railroads, opening up mines, and taking out the rubber, oil, wood, and other products. At the same time the Europeans would sell goods to the natives, thus introducing them to European ways. In other cases the Europeanizing was accomplished by conquering the natives, seizing control of their government, and taking possession of their territory. These two methods of empire-building by the leading industrial countries spread European civilization in every continent.

The Europeanizing of the earth, then, is the fourth great movement of the modern world. To understand the difficult situation of the industrial countries today we must comprehend clearly this building of great empires by Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, and the formation of smaller ones by Italy, the United States, Belgium, and Holland.

Let us review briefly the empire-building of the leading nations.

THE RACE FOR EMPIRE

Kings and trading companies established colonies

Recall the years of vigorous exploration after the discovery of America in 1492. In the 1500's and 1600's came permanent colonies. Within 150 years England and France had established colonies in North America, and Spain and Portugal had divided practically all Central and South America between them.[1]

Then came the great period of empire-building

1. *England built the vast British Empire*

In the 1600's and 1700's the English East India Company not only secured control of the trade of the millions of Indian peoples, but also came to govern them as well. At the great rebellion of 1857, however, England stepped in and brought India directly under the control of the British government. In 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India.

In order to protect her merchant ships in their journey from the British Isles to India, England acquired many strategic points in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. Even as early as 1713 she possessed the fortress of Gibraltar.

[1] By 1783 the English colonies had become an independent country, — the United States of America, — and even before that time the English, having ousted the French from the New World, had cleared the way for what was to become the Dominion of Canada. In the years from 1810 to 1826 the colonies founded by Spain revolted from the mother country and established a score of Latin-American republics. Even Brazil gained its independence from Portugal.

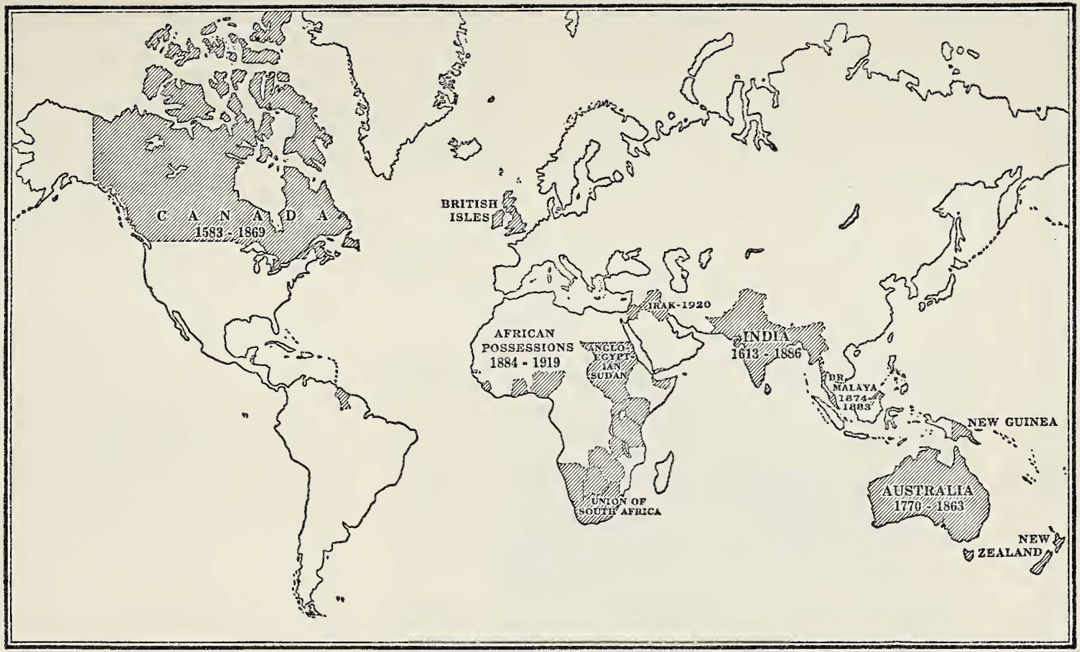

C A N A D A
1583 - 1869
BRITISH
ISLES
AFRICAN
POSSESSIONS
1884 - 1919
ANGLO-
EGYPT-
IAN
SUDAN
IRAK-1920
INDIA
1613 - 1886
BR.
MALAYA
1874-
1883
NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIA
1770 - 1863
UNION OF
SOUTH AFRICA
NEW
ZEALAND

FIG. 136. Lands in every continent of the earth are included within the British Empire. The principal ones and the dates when they became a part of the Empire are given in the map

Early in the 1800's English emigrants began to settle in Africa. One by one official governments were established over the huge provinces, which were made parts of the British Empire: the Gold Coast, 1871; Bechuanaland, 1885; Nigeria, 1886; Kenya Colony, 1887; Rhodesia, 1889; British East Africa, 1890; Uganda Colony, 1894: Tanganyika Territory, 1918; and, in 1910, the Union of South Africa, formed from territory annexed between 1843 and 1885.[1] One can travel today from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on the north to Cape Town at the southern tip of Africa and remain in British territory all the time.

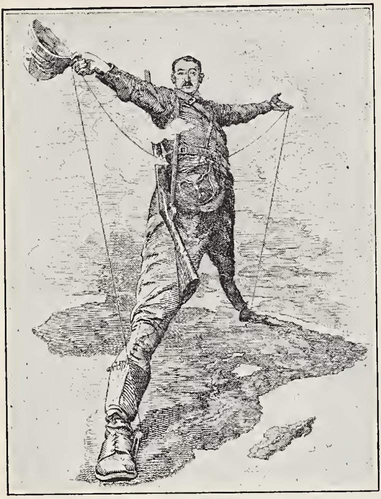


Fig. 137. A cartoon of Cecil Rhodes, British empire-builder, upon beginning his project of connecting by telegraph the extremities of British Africa. (From *Punch*, 1892)

By 1919 the British Empire included lands in every continent (see figure 136). In 1800 the Empire had totaled less than 2,000,000 square miles; in 1919 it was almost 14,000,000 square miles. At that date more than 400,000,000 people were ruled by the government of Great Britain.

2. *France built the second-largest empire*

As you know, the British defeated French attempts at colonial expansion in the New World and in India. You recall that for more than 100 years France was submerged by the turmoil of revolution. During this time she did not engage in empire-building. But when the industrial capitalists began to need markets, raw material, and places for investment outside of the homeland, the French began to add imperial possessions to their territory.

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[1] Gambia had been taken as early as 1618; Sierra Leone, in 1788.

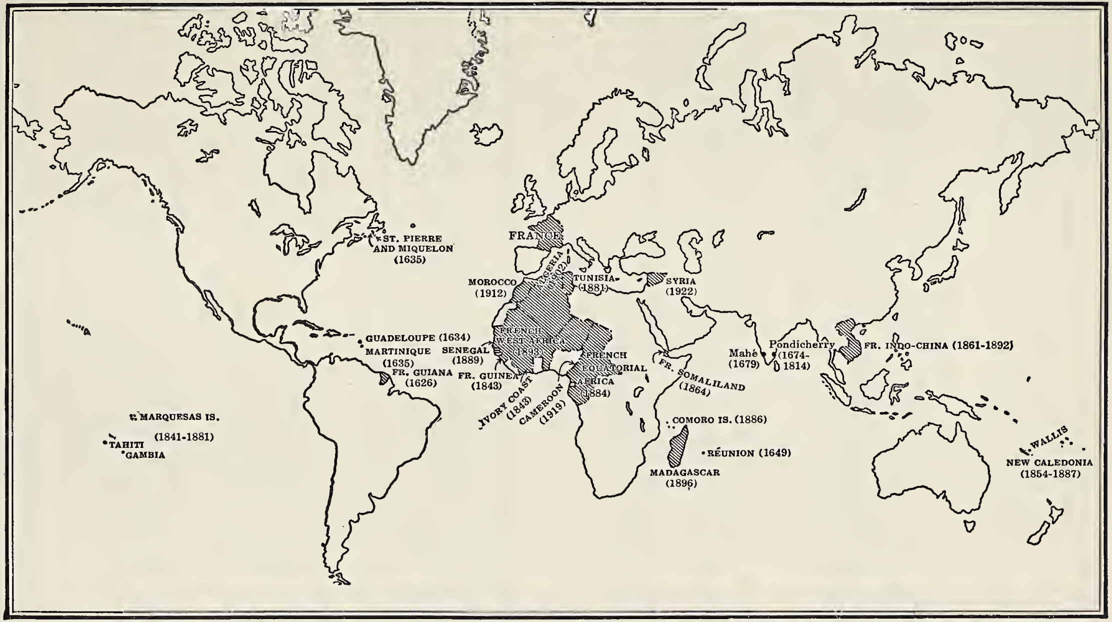

ST. PIERRE
AND MIQUELON
(1635)
FRANCE
ALGERIA
(1902)
TUNISIA
(1881)
SYRIA
(1922)
MOROCCO
(1912)
GUADELOUPE (1634)
MARTINIQUE
(1635)
SENEGAL
(1889)
FR. GUIANA
(1626)
FR. GUINEA
(1843)
FRENCH
WEST AFRICA
(1893)
FRENCH
EQUATORIAL
AFRICA
(1884)
IVORY COAST
(1843)
CAMEROON
(1919)
FR. SOMALILAND
(1864)
Mahé
(1679)
Pondicherry
(1674-
1814)
FR. INDO-CHINA (1861-1892)
COMORO IS. (1886)
RÉUNION (1649)
MADAGASCAR
(1896)
MARQUESAS IS.
(1841-1881)
TAHITI
GAMBIA
WALLIS
NEW CALEDONIA
(1854-1887)

FIG. 138. The lands which belong to the French empire or over which it has a certain amount of control are indicated on the map

Between 1830 and 1902 Algeria and the great Sahara Desert were made a French colony. In 1881 Tunisia was added to the empire. Morocco, French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa, and the large island of Madagascar also came under the government of France.

Between 1861 and 1892, traders and military forces penetrated the region of Siam and Indo-China and made Indo-China part of the French empire. Indo-China grew cotton, sugar, coffee, and tobacco; it produced hides and silks; it had large stores of copper, coal, iron, gold, zinc, tin, all of which were valuable to France. Many other scattered regions were also taken by the French.

By 1919 the French flag waved over the second largest empire of the world, which had a population of over 104,000,000 people and covered 4,000,000 square miles of territory. This population was about two and a half times as large as the home country, and the area was almost eighteen times as large.

3. Germany also built an empire of foreign possessions

Although the industrial development and the political unification of Germany came much later than the corresponding movements in Great Britain and France, Germany too took foreign possessions. But by the time the German business men were ready to begin their empire-building, most of the favorable spots of the world had been taken. Only a part of Africa and some islands in the Pacific remained for German conquest.

Germany took these regions in the same way as the British and the French had done. Traders and missionaries went in first. The former developed trade with the natives; the latter tried to convert them to Christianity. Trouble soon ensued between the Europeans and the native peoples. Then, step by step, the German government took control of the regions and made them colonies in the empire. In this way Togo (1884), Cameroon (1884), German Southwest Africa (1884–1890), and German East Africa (1885–1890) were taken over. In 1897 about 117 square miles of territory in the Shantung peninsula in China were controlled by leases. They included two port

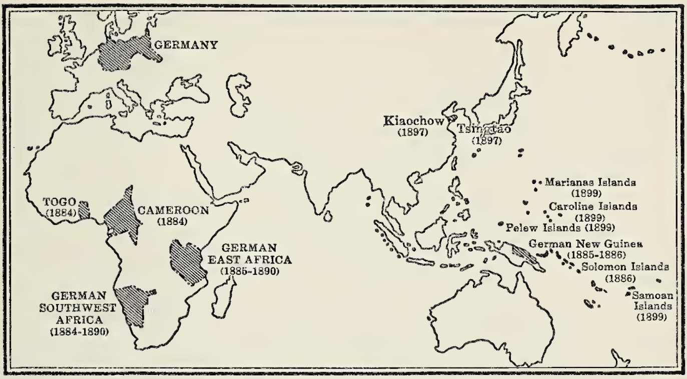

GERMANY
TOGO (1884)
CAMEROON (1884)
GERMAN EAST AFRICA (1885-1890)
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA (1884-1890)
Kiaochow (1897)
Tsingtao (1897)
Marianas Islands (1899)
Caroline Islands (1899)
Pelew Islands (1899)
German New Guinea (1885-1886)
Solomon Islands (1886)
Samoan Islands (1899)

FIG. 139. The darkened areas show Germany's foreign possessions until after the World War

towns, Kiaochow and Tsingtao. Other scattered regions were also taken among the islands of the Pacific. In figure 139 you can see what Germany had acquired before 1914.

4. *Russia built a great inland empire across two continents*

While England, France, and Germany were dividing the world among themselves, Russia was also building an empire. This was done in two ways: first, by military conquest; second, by the emigration of the Russian peoples southward and eastward across Asia.

Russia wanted "warm water" ports — ports which would be open to ships in winter as well as in summer. So in the 1700's and 1800's the Russian armies conquered lands to the west and south, including a large portion of Poland, Lithuania, and the regions bordering the Black Sea.

At the same time emigrants pushed out across the Urals, down the Volga River to the Caspian Sea, and southward into Turkestan. Then slowly the empire expanded across Siberia. Eventually the great migration moved 5000 miles.

By 1900 the Russian Empire reached from Germany, Austria, and the Black Sea on the west to the Pacific Ocean on the east. It was a huge empire, as large in population as the total population of Great Britain, France, and Germany combined and seventeen times as large in area as those countries. Its size totaled more than 8,000,000 square miles. It was twice as large as Europe, nearly three times as large as the United States, nearly twice the size of China, and included practically one seventh of the entire land area of the earth.

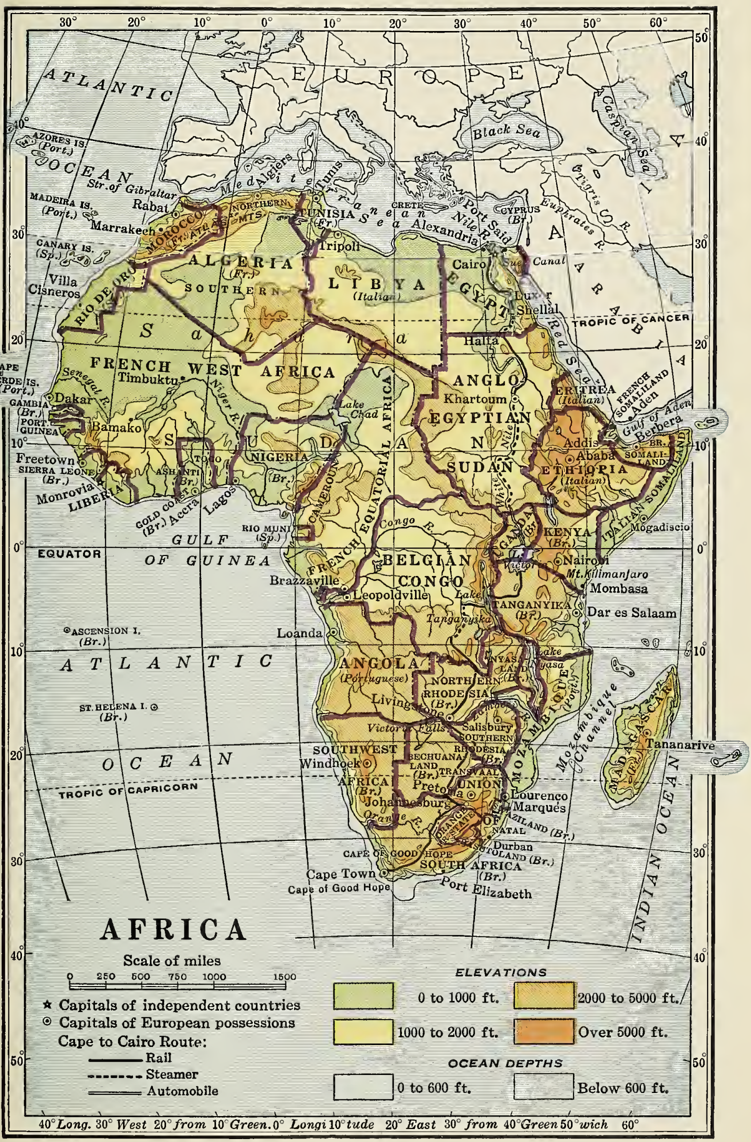
5. *As other countries became industrialized they too took lands in other continents*

In the expansion of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia we see the chief empire-building of the modern world. Although other countries seized small territories in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific islands, on the whole they were of little consequence. They played little part in the swift Europeanization of the earth or in bringing on serious international crises. We shall merely mention some of them briefly.

Italy's possessions in Africa. Italian trading companies began to buy their way into various regions in Africa as early as 1869. In that year the port of Assab, on the Red Sea, was bought outright by an Italian shipping company. In 1882 the Italian government took control of Assab and developed about it the colony of Eritrea.

In 1889 what is now Italian Somaliland, south of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), was developed as an Italian colony. From the map of figure 140 we see that this region is larger than the entire Italian peninsula. During the following few years the Italians did their best to take Ethiopia itself. But the people of Ethiopia defeated the Italian armies sent against them. However, in 1935 and 1936, the Italians finally conquered them.

Italy had long wanted the large African province around Tripoli, which, as you see from figure 140, lies directly south across the Mediterranean. In 1911, after negotiations with France, which in the meantime had taken Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, near by, Italian armies invaded Tripoli. This region was then in the power of Turkey. In a year of warfare the Turks were defeated, and the entire region called Libya, with Tripoli as the leading city, was made an Italian colony.



AFRICA

30° 20° 10° 0° 10° 20° 30° 40° 50° 60°
50 40 30 20 10 0° 10 20 30 40 50
EUROPE
ASIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
AZORES IS. (Port.)
MADEIRA IS. (Port.)
CANARY IS. (Sp.)
Str. of Gibraltar
Rabat
Marrakech
MOROCCO (Fr.)
ATLAS MTS.
NORTHERN
Algiers
Tunis
TUNISIA (Fr.)
Tripoli
CRETE
CYPRUS (Br.)
Port Said
Alexandria
Nile R.
Cairo
Suez Canal
ARABIA
ALGERIA (Fr.)
SOUTHERN
LIBYA (Italian)
EGYPT
Luxor
Shellal
Red Sea
TROPIC OF CANCER
RIO DE ORO
Villa Cisneros
Sahara
CAPE VERDE IS. (Port.)
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Timbuktu
Senegal R.
Niger R.
Dakar
GAMBIA (Br.)
PORT. GUINEA
Bamako
SUDAN
Lake Chad
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Halfa
ANGLO EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Khartoum
White Nile
ERITREA (Italian)
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Berbera
BR. SOMALILAND
Addis Ababa
ETHIOPIA (Italian)
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Mogadiscio
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE (Br.)
Monrovia
LIBERIA
TOGO
ASHANTI (Br.)
GOLD COAST (Br.)
Accra
Lagos
NIGERIA (Br.)
CAMEROUN
RIO MUNI (Sp.)
GULF OF GUINEA
EQUATOR
Congo R.
BELGIAN CONGO
UGANDA (Br.)
L. Victoria
KENYA (Br.)
Nairobi
Mt. Kilimanjaro
Mombasa
Brazzaville
Leopoldville
Lake Tanganyika
TANGANYIKA (Br.)
Dar es Salaam
ASCENSION I. (Br.)
Loanda
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGOLA (Portuguese)
NORTHERN RHODESIA (Br.)
NYASALAND (Br.)
Lake Nyasa
MOZAMBIQUE (Port.)
Zambezi R.
Livingstone
Victoria Falls
Salisbury
SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Br.)
ST. HELENA I. (Br.)
Mozambique Channel
MADAGASCAR (Fr.)
Tananarive
SOUTHWEST AFRICA (Br.)
Windhoek
BECHUANALAND (Br.)
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Johannesburg
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Br.)
Lourenco Marques
SWAZILAND (Br.)
NATAL
Durban
ORANGE FREE STATE
BASUTOLAND (Br.)
Orange R.
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
Port Elizabeth
INDIAN OCEAN
Scale of miles
0 250 500 750 1000 1500
★ Capitals of independent countries
⊙ Capitals of European possessions
Cape to Cairo Route:
Rail
Steamer
Automobile
ELEVATIONS
0 to 1000 ft.
1000 to 2000 ft.
2000 to 5000 ft.
Over 5000 ft.
OCEAN DEPTHS
0 to 600 ft.
Below 600 ft.
40° Long. 30° West 20° from 10° Green. 0° Longi 10° tude 20° East 30° from 40° Green 50° wich 60°

In the meantime Belgium also seized territory in Africa. Around the Congo River her traders subdued and cruelly enslaved the people of the rich rubber region. In the Belgian Congo developed the worst examples of exploitation of native peoples in all this ruthless empire-building by European peoples. Vast riches in rubber, copper, palm oil, and cotton were taken out of the Congo by Belgian business men.

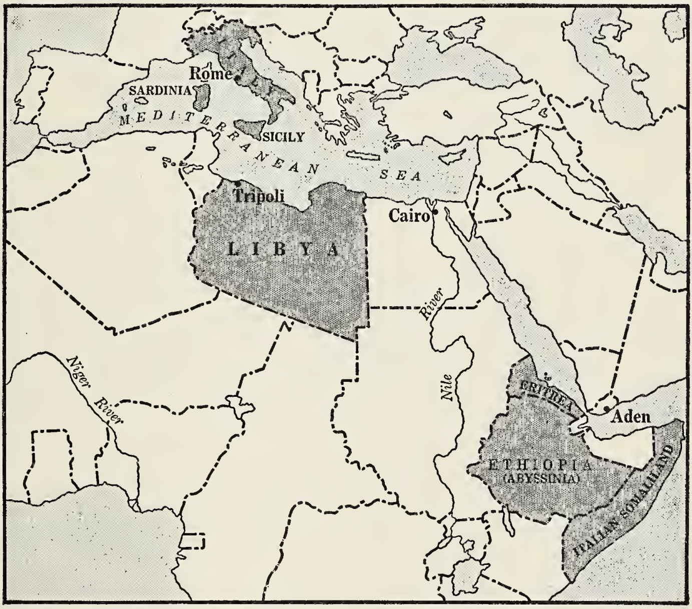

Rome
ITALY
SARDINIA
SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripoli
Cairo
LIBYA
Nile River
Niger River
ERITREA
Aden
ETHIOPIA (ABYSSINIA)
ITALIAN SOMALILAND

FIG. 140. Italy and her foreign possessions. Compared with the empire of England or France, Italy's empire is a very small one

There were other examples of European empire-building: Spain and Portugal in Africa, and Holland in Latin America and in the East Indies. But the chief examples are those which we have cited. It was through these — especially those of Great Britain, France, and Germany — that the new industrial civilization of Europe was being spread around the earth about 1900.

6. *The United States too was slowly acquiring small foreign possessions*

Alone of the leading powers of the world the United States took little part in empire-building until about 1900. To the end of the nineteenth century most of the vast wealth which was piling up in America was employed at home in developing rich mines, factories, railroads, great power stations, telegraphs, telephones, and machine agriculture.

Even in the 1800's, however, a very considerable world trade developed with Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

During this time American missionaries and traders went out in increasing numbers to the various islands of the Pacific. Increasingly they began to play a larger and larger part in the political life of the regions to which they went. They, like the missionaries and traders of other countries, came into conflict with the natives. Armed uprisings occurred, and eventually the United States government sent naval vessels and troops to put them down. As a result several of these islands were brought under the American flag.

In 1898 the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands; in 1899 it took Tutuila, one of the Samoa Islands. As a result of the Spanish-American War, in 1898, the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam became American possessions. Five years later, in 1903, a strip of land across Panama, known now as the Panama Canal Zone, was ceded to the United States in exchange for a sum of money and certain yearly payments. In 1917 three of the largest of the Virgin Islands — St. John, St. Thomas, and St. Croix — were purchased from Denmark. In the meantime the United States had extended its commercial and political influence in other Caribbean countries, especially in Haiti, Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic.

THE FIRST FACTOR IN EMPIRE-BUILDING: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Why did industrial countries take colonies? First and foremost, empires were built in the 1800's by industrial countries for economic reasons. These reasons were chiefly three: first, the desire of the business men to sell goods abroad; second, the need of raw materials which are not supplied by the home country; third, the need of a place to invest the surplus money that was accumulating in each country. We will give just a brief review of each of these.

1. *The desire to sell goods abroad.* Industrial peoples easily manufacture more goods than they can use. They therefore need additional markets. The outlying parts of their empires afford such markets. For example, as a result of taking Algeria, French cotton-manufacturers in a recent year sold one third of their goods in that colony. Similarly, Madagascar, French Indo-China, Tunisia, and Morocco purchase millions of dollars' worth of French manufactured goods each year.

So also the value of the exports of British products to India increased. In 1931 it amounted to more than $380,700,000. This was more than the amount of Britain's trade with any other single country, even with the United States, Germany, France, or with any of her dominions other than India. British machinery, engines, wagons, implements, and other products were sold among the hundreds of millions of people of India.

Until the World War, German business men sold their products among the islands of the Pacific, in the province of Shantung, and among the natives of the four territories which had been taken in Africa. In these examples, therefore, we have brief illustrations of the first economic reason, namely, the desire for profit in foreign trade.

2. *The desire for raw materials.* There was a second economic reason which led each industrial country to want colonies under its own government; namely, the need of raw materials which it could not produce itself. For example, France gets sheep and oxen, animal products, metals, and wine from Algeria; rice, cotton, corn, oxen, rubber, pepper, fish, vegetable oil, silver, zinc, and leather from Indo-China; hides, rice, vegetables, minerals, and other things from Madagascar.

Similarly, Great Britain receives huge shipments of raw cotton, wheat, tea, rice, wool, leather, and jute from India and huge quantities of things from Canada, Australia, and her many other possessions.

Germany took out of Togo large supplies of palm oil and mahogany. From Cameroon it brought out large amounts of rubber, together with ivory, ebony, and mahogany. Its traders developed large rubber plantations. From the grazing plains of German Southwest Africa came cattle, and from the mines came copper, tin, and diamonds.

Similarly, Holland took vast quantities of rubber and other products from Java and the Dutch East Indies; and Italy and Belgium obtained important raw materials from Africa.

Thus raw materials were the second economic reason for imperialism.

3. *The desire to invest surplus wealth.* In time the industrial countries found that their people were purchasing practically all the goods they could. The capitalists had been investing their surplus wealth at home in more factories, more warehouses, more railroads, more shipping companies, more stores. This was no longer profitable. So they looked abroad for other places in which to invest their money. They sent agents to India, to Canada, to Australia, the Malay States, and Africa. There they set up factories, developed cotton, rubber, and rice plantations, opened up mines, and built railroads and telephone and telegraph lines. Indeed, they set up in many of these undeveloped regions much the same kind of civilization that they had developed at home.

TABLE XIV[1]

British Foreign Long-Term Investment	
Period	Millions of Pounds
1870–74	61.0
1875–79	1.7
1880–84	23.9
1885–89	61.1
1890–94	45.6
1894–99	26.8
1900–04	21.3
1904–09	109.5
1910–13	185.0

Note how clearly Tables XIV–XVI show this rapid investment of European wealth in other countries. So rapid was the investment of British money abroad that by the outbreak of the World War it is roughly estimated that $20,000,000,000, or practically one fourth of the entire national wealth of the United Kingdom, was so used!

[1] Herbert Feis, *Europe the World's Banker, 1870–1914*, p. 11. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930.

French investments abroad increased at the same rapid rate. In 1870 the foreign investments totaled about $2,500,000,000. In 1914 they had reached the grand total of almost $9,000,000,000. The latter sum was estimated to be one sixth of the entire national wealth of France.

TABLE XV[1]

Total French Foreign Investment	
Year	Billions of Francs
1870	12–14
1880	15
1890	20
1900	28
1905	34
1910	40
1912	42
1914	45

German investments, while less than British or French, nevertheless reached the vast total of nearly $6,000,000,000 in 1914, growing after 1895 at the rate of $150,000,000 a year. In 1914, foreign investments were approximately one fifteenth of the entire national wealth of the German people.[2]

It is not an exaggeration to say that in 1914 one fifth of the wealth of the leading industrial nations was invested in foreign lands. This is, indeed, a striking illustration of the way in which economic imperialism developed after 1870.

TABLE XVI[3]

German Foreign Investment	
Year	Billions of Marks
1883	5
1893	10–13
1905	15–18
1914	22–25

A hundred years after Napoleon's time the British had justified his remark that they were "a nation of shopkeepers." British traders were found all over the world dealing in commodities from their home industries and also in commodities from industries which they had established or which they controlled abroad. But Napoleon's own people had become "shopkeepers" too, and so had the sons of the German *bourgeoisie,* both groups being busy with their home and foreign trade.

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[1] Herbert Feis, *Europe the World's Banker, 1870–1914*, p. 47. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930.

[2] In 1914 the pound was worth approximately $4.86, the franc 19 cents, and the mark 25 cents.

[3] Herbert Feis, *Europe the World's Banker, 1870–1914*, p. 71. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930.

A SECOND FACTOR IN EMPIRE-BUILDING: THE DESIRE TO CONVERT THE WORLD TO CHRISTIANITY

The economic reasons for gathering undeveloped lands into empires appealed in the main to business men, manufacturers, bankers, and others financially able to own stock in imperialistic enterprises. Such made up only a very small proportion of all the people. There were other motives which secured the support of much larger groups of people.

One was the missionary motive — the desire to convert the "heathen" of Asia, Africa, and other regions to the Christian religion. This motive had had a long history, dating almost from the establishment of the Church. After 1500 the officials of the Catholic Church aided the exploration and settlement of the world — as in the case of Columbus and many others — because of a desire to bring the truths of the Gospel to primitive people. We have seen, for example, the rôle of the Jesuits in exploring the New World and in establishing missions in foreign lands. They carried on their work in other parts of the world as well.

After the Reformation and the discovery and exploration of hitherto unknown continents, the Protestant churches of Europe also established missions among non-Christian people. The Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Congregationalists, and others developed missionary societies.

Zealous missionaries explored Africa, determined to teach the Christian religion to black-skinned natives of that "Dark Continent," determined to bring new membership into their churches. Missionaries often prepared the way for the business men and the government in German Southwest Africa and in Kiaochow, China.

So frequently has the history of imperialism repeated itself in different parts of the world that one would not be far wrong in summing it up thus: first, the missionaries, then the traders, and then the soldiers. Owing to these three groups scores of regions of Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the Americas were added to the European empires.

A THIRD FACTOR: NATIONAL PATRIOTISM AND HELPING "BACKWARD" PEOPLES

As love of country was instilled into the mass of the people, this nationalistic spirit was seized upon to enlist their support for empire-building. In each of the leading countries statesmen, politicians, even educators, became missionaries for the increasing "glory of the empire."

Various reasons were invented for this policy. Europeans and Americans began to feel that the white race, and the people of one's own country in particular, were the superior people of the world. The natives of Asia, Africa, and the islands were in their eyes "backward," "uncivilized," "inferior" people. Hence because people of the white race had invented the new European civilization, they thought it their duty to educate and convert all the other races to this "higher," "better" way of living.

So, along with patriotic reasons for building ever-greater empires, there was this duty of improving the other peoples of the world. In such ways the leaders of each industrial country began to explain and justify their conquests abroad.

The seizure of India by Great Britain was justified in that way. It was claimed that the improvement of the conditions of the Indian people was an obligation upon Great Britain. Poets, novelists, journalists, and political writers built up a growing literature of "the white man's burden" of uplifting the "backward" races.

At the same time patriotic enthusiasm for the Empire grew. Sons of British noble families were brought up with the idea of working in the colonial service. The rank and file of the people were constantly reminded of the glorious achievements of the British armies in foreign lands. The man on the street thrilled over the growth of the Empire. Thus the people of Great Britain began to regard themselves as a great cultural force in the world.

Many other people, of poorer economic conditions, regarded colonies as a place to which to emigrate and get a better living. After 1870, millions of people left England and went to the various colonies.

In the meantime the German people were also taught, in school and out, to believe, as one of their statesmen said, that "the German race is called to bind the earth under its control." The Emperor, William II, said in one of his speeches: "The German people will be the block of granite on which our Lord will be able to elevate and achieve the civilization of the world." And again, in another speech: "God has called us to civilize the world; we are the missionaries of human progress." Again: "We are the superior race in the fields of science and of art; we are the best colonists, the best sailors, the best merchants."

Before the World War a leading German author wrote: "Domination belongs to Germany because it is a superior nation, a noble race, and it is fitting that it should control its neighbors."

Hundreds of such statements could be quoted from the writings of German politicians in the years before the World War. Even educators and scientific writers aided in building up the idea among the mass of the people that the German was the superior type of man upon earth. He it was who was called by God to civilize the earth — but it must be done under his rule.

We must remember, therefore, that in England and France and Germany, in Italy and other countries as well, the schools and books, newspapers and magazines, political speeches and proclamations, steadily increased the spirit of national patriotism. As this took place the support of the common people was enlisted for empire-building.

Summing up, then, we see three sets of factors which led industrial countries to take colonies: first, the economic factors — the desire for profitable markets, for raw materials, and for a place to invest surplus wealth; second, the missionary factor — the desire of Christians to convert non-Christian peoples to their religion, even though these peoples may have had well-developed religions of their own; third, the patriotic factor — the desire to extend the scope of one's empire, to spread one's own culture around the world, and to lift "backward" people up to the level of one's own civilization.[1]

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[1] What the so-called "backward" peoples thought about all this we shall study in later chapters.

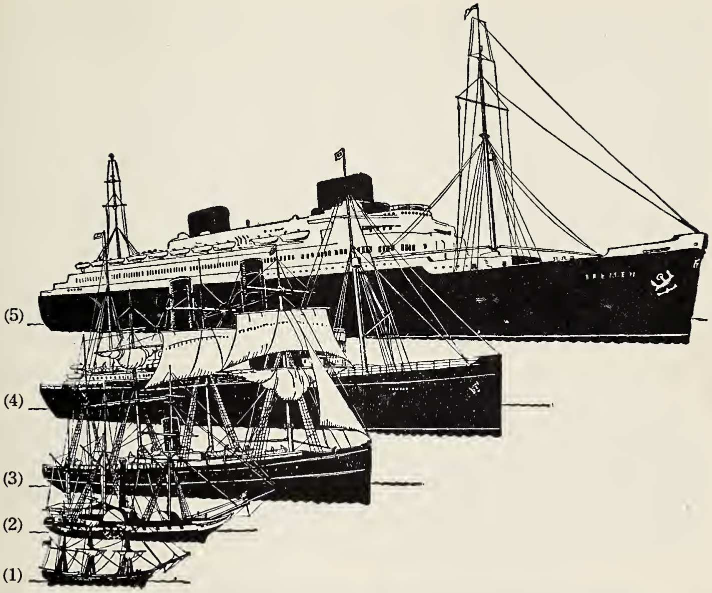

Fig. 141. In less than 100 years the competition for trade among industrial nations created a revolution in shipbuilding. Besides changing from wind power to steam or electric power, from wooden hulls to hulls of steel, ships have grown steadily larger and heavier so that they may carry more merchandise safely. The following ships are shown in the picture: (1) *Spartan*, built in 1834 — 475 tons, about 135 feet long; (2) *Trident*, built in 1841 — 875 tons, 206 feet long; (3) *Oceanic*, built in 1870 — 3808 tons, 420 feet long; (4) *Campania*, built in 1892 — 12,950 tons, 625 feet long; (5) *Bremen*, built in 1929 — 51,656 tons, 938 feet long. Note how the merchant ships have grown in length and tonnage since 1834

How Empire-Building (1870–1914) finally led to the World War

The dangerous race between industrial nations for trade

After 1870 the race between the industrial nations for the trade of the earth became fiercer. In the years just before and after 1900 the world witnessed the fiercest economic competition in all history.

Merchants and manufacturers in every machine-using country, with the active support of their governments, sent salesmen into

China, Japan, India, and other regions of Asia, into the Latin-American republics, among the natives of Africa and of the islands of the Pacific. Thousands of ships flying the Union Jack traversed the great sea paths of the world. Other thousands, flying the German, French, Italian, Japanese, and American flags, lay beside the British at the docks of Calcutta, Singapore, Manila, Hong Kong, Port Said, and Rio de Janeiro. Merchant marines grew by leaps and bounds. Larger and larger became the vessels; sailing ships gave way later to steamships (see figure 141).

As the slow sailing ships of pre-industrial days changed in the 1870's and 1880's to the steam-propelled liners, the imperial policies of governments also changed. Each one of them saw that it must have coaling stations scattered round the world where huge quantities of coal could be stored, from which their merchant and passenger ships and warships could refill their bunkers. England took island after island, port after port, in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Pacific, and other seas. In this development Germany and France were her close rivals.

The development of larger and more expensive navies

Colonies located thousands of miles from the home country needed protection. Scattered island coaling stations needed protection. The coast line of the homeland must be protected. So reasoned the ministers in the government of each industrial country. The fear of attack from economic rivals spread among the parliamentary and business leaders of each country, and they in turn spread the fear among their respective peoples.

With this feeling of fear, the demand for bigger navies began to grow. In the shipyards of the world, after 1870, new cruisers, battleships, dreadnaughts, and submarines were constructed. Thicker and thicker became the steel armor, bigger and bigger the engines and guns. The cost of a single battleship mounted into millions of dollars.

Heavier and heavier became the taxes; for *the people* had to pay the bills, just as in the days of absolute kings. By 1914 staggering sums were being spent upon the newest instruments of warfare (see Table XVII).

In the ten years preceding 1914 Great Britain alone spent $1,750,000,000 on her navy; France spent $800,000,000; Russia, $700,000,000; Germany, $900,000,000. Together the four leading world powers spent on naval armament more than $4,000,000,000 of the savings and income of their people. Many people began to wonder if democracy had changed things much after all. *Nine tenths of their taxes were still being used for war.*

TABLE XVII

Amount spent for Navies in 1878 and 1914

	1878	1914
Great Britain . .	$53,000,000	$244,000,000
Germany	14,000,000	117,000,000
Italy	8,000,000	—[1]

Armies also became bigger and bigger

In the meantime most of the leading countries had adopted universal military service. With certain exceptions every able-bodied young man was compelled to spend a stated number of years in rigorous military training. Conscription, you will remember, had first been used in France and Germany during the time of Napoleon. In the 1870's both the French and the German government extended the requirements.

So, decade by decade, the armies of Germany, France, Russia, Austria, and Italy became bigger and bigger. Table XVIII shows to what size they had grown in 1899 and 1914. Great Britain spent most of her money on her navy and kept only a small standing army. By 1914 France and Germany each had more than 800,000 men in her peace-time army; Russia had more than 1,250,000. Each country also had more than 1,000,000 trained men in reserve.

TABLE XVIII[2]

Number of Men in Peace-Time Armies

	1899	1914
Germany	604,000	806,000
Austria	346,000	370,000
Italy	258,000	305,000
France	574,000	818,000
Russia	896,000	1,284,000

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[1] In 1920 Italy spent $44,000,000.

[2] H. E. Barnes, *The Genesis of the World War*, p. 55. By permission of the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926.

In the ten years preceding 1914 each of four European countries spent more than $1,000,000,000 for the training, support, and equipment of armies (Table XIX).

Tables XVII–XIX present conclusive proof that *all the leading nations* were anticipating war — building larger and larger navies and armies. Great Britain, an isolated island kingdom and *absolutely dependent on the rest of the world for food,* spent the largest sums on her navy. Her leaders knew that the great merchant fleet must be protected at any cost; otherwise England's millions of city workers would starve. Germany, shut in between Russia and France, devoted most of her expenditures to her army. But *all the leading powers were taxing their people and imposing staggering burdens upon their peasants and artisans in preparation for the war that might come.*

TABLE XIX[1]

Amount spent for Armies, 1905–1914	
Russia	$2,406,402,863
France	1,688,112,539
Germany	2,177,404,139
Austria	1,140,488,458

Fear and suspicion grew; secret alliances were made between the leading governments

As the race for trade grew swifter, as armies and navies grew greater, each government sought to protect itself by alliances with certain other governments. Between 1878 and 1914 one secret treaty after another was drawn up by the ministries of the six powers — Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Viewed from the 1930's, the making of these secret counter-alliances was one of the most important factors in bringing on the World War. *All the six powers were engaged in secret treaty-making; no one was more responsible than another.*[2]

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[1] Adapted from H. E. Barnes's *Genesis of the World War* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926), p. 56. By permission of the publishers.

[2] This chapter is based upon such standard works as S. B. Fay's *Origins of the World War*, J. S. Ewart's *Roots and Causes of the Wars, 1914–1918*, C. J. H. Hayes's *Essays in Nationalism* and *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, and G. T. Gooch's *History of Modern Europe.*

As early as 1879 Austria-Hungary and Germany had secretly formed an alliance, and in 1882 they were joined by Italy. The alliance was essentially an agreement for a kind of mutual defense. Each party agreed that if any other country attacked one of them, the others would remain neutral. Later the agreement stated that if one party were attacked, the others would come to its aid with armed force.

After 1890 the Russian and French governments, each regarding the other as a natural ally, signed secret agreements. Each confronted Germany on a border; neither had anything to fear from the other. If Germany should attack France, Russia could distract her attention by making war on Germany's eastern frontier. If Germany should attack Russia, the case would be reversed.

Not only did the Russian and French ministries sign secret agreements binding the two nations to defend each other, but the *French peasants and artisans lent more than two billions of dollars to the Russian government after 1880.* The Industrial Revolution did not begin to develop in Russia until after 1890. The Russian people were so poor that, in spite of oppressive taxes, the Russian government could not build a navy and an army or construct railroads and factories without loans from abroad.

Even England, protected by the seas and remote from land attack by most of these powers, entered into secret agreements. She concluded a treaty with Japan in 1902, with France in 1904, with Russia in 1907. One of the leading ministers said frankly in defending one of these treaties:

> What do we see on all sides? We observe a tendency to ever increasing naval and military armaments . . . in these days war breaks out with a suddenness which was unknown in former days, when nations were not as they are now, armed to the teeth and ready to enter upon hostilities at any moment. . . . The country which has the good fortune to possess allies is more to be envied than the country which is without them.

The "Concert of Europe"

This practice of forming alliances among the leading European powers was the result of two points of view. On the one hand were the attempts to guarantee the peace of Europe by coöperation; on the other were the attempts of sovereigns and governments to conquer their enemies. During the 100 years from the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, to the World War, in 1914, the leading governments tried to maintain a "balance of power" and so keep peace in Europe. At the close of each war they tried to arrange things so that no one government could become strong enough to conquer the others. Each one thought, "We must ally with other strong nations."

Thus, after 1870, France and England, watching Germany's rise to industrial power, feared her as a disturbing factor. England saw with anxiety that Germany was building railroads through the Balkans and the Near East, aiming to capture her trade with India and the Far East. Russia was fearfully watching Austria seize lands in the Balkans and build up leadership there which would be hostile to her interests.

As a consequence, throughout the 1800's there came alliance after alliance and war after war. In the *Crimean War*, 1854–1856, Great Britain and France fought against Russia; in the *Seven Weeks' War*, 1866, Prussia fought against Austria; in the *Franco-Prussian War*, 1870–1871, Prussia fought against France. In one crisis after another the powers combated one another both on the battlefield and in their treaty-making foreign offices.

Although these alliances were made secretly by the foreign offices, information gradually leaked out concerning them. Members of each of the national legislatures then began to ask their foreign minister if it was true that the government had bound the country in a secret treaty to defend other countries in case of war. In 1896, for example, members of the French Chamber of Deputies attempted to find out if secret treaties had been made with Russia. The minister of foreign affairs either declined to answer or answered falsely. Similarly, on several occasions in the British House of Commons members asked the prime minister whether there was a secret defensive alliance with France, and in each case the minister either evaded the question or gave a false answer. Thus the people of democratic countries were being denied information concerning the acts of their governments in binding them to go to war.

We must remember, furthermore, that although these "understandings" were not legally binding on parliaments, they were practically so. Whenever a crisis came and the foreign minister appealed to the "honor" of the country to fulfill the pledges he had made, both the legislature and the credulous public supported him in war on the enemy country.

In the meantime there was growth in popular demand for permanent peace

After 1870 there was a marked advance in international coöperation leading toward permanent peace. The invention of the telegraph, the telephone, and the rotary printing press, together with swift means of land and ocean transportation, made it possible for ideas to spread quickly among the countries of the West. International unions, economic and social societies, organizations of various kinds, grew swiftly. For example, 30 nations joined together in the Universal Telegraph Union in 1875; 60 nations joined in the Universal Postal Union in 1874; 20 nations in 1883 adopted standard patent laws; 12 nations adopted uniform copyright laws in 1887; 23 nations adopted the metric system of weights and measures in 1875. These economic unions all helped to develop international understanding and coöperation.

The work of the peace societies also helped by developing into strong antimilitaristic movements. As education spread, more and more people in Western countries demanded *openly made treaties* which would bind nations together to prevent wars in the future. Wealthy men, such as Alfred Nobel, the Swedish philanthropist, endowed prizes to reward those who had performed notable work in establishing peace or had promoted better understanding among nations. There was a great gain in the movement toward international arbitration.

Governments responded to the popular demand for peace by accepting the suggestion of Nicholas II, Czar of Russia, that a conference be held at the Hague, in Holland, in 1899 to discuss the means of continuing the existing state of peace and of reducing the excessive cost of increasing armaments. A second conference was held in 1907, at which 44 nations met to discuss again the limitation of armaments and other phases of war and war preparation. A proposal was made for a world organization which should have its central government at the Hague, and for permanent courts and congresses as well as international laws and other means of regulating world affairs.

In spite of these movements for peace the leading governments were drifting into war

By 1914 the six strongest governments of Europe were sharply divided against one another in two powerful groups under secret agreement.

The Triple Alliance		The Triple Entente
Germany		Great Britain
Austria-Hungary	*against*	France
Italy		Russia

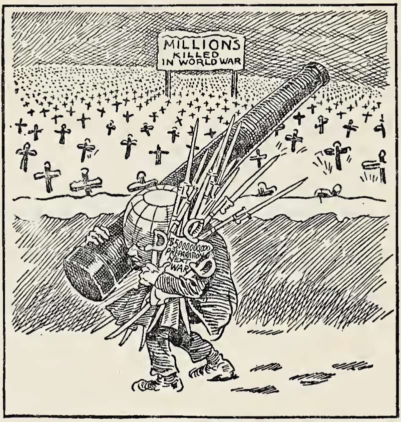
From 1900 to 1914 one political crisis after another confronted the contending groups. The Balkans were seething with revolts and wars. Friction among industrial nations was increasing. Germany and England were struggling for control of trade in the Near East. Russia was ready to go to war any moment to keep Austria out of the Balkans, and Germany from expanding in any direction. The French people were a unit in demanding that Alsace-Lorraine should be returned to them, even if a war had to be fought to get it. There was fear, suspicion, and increasing tension.

The spark that set off the world explosion

On June 28, 1914, the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife were assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia. This brought on the World War, 1914–1918.

For four years the people of almost the entire earth suspended the normal activities of life and devoted themselves to mass killing. In four years 26,000,000 human beings were wiped out, the goods of tens of millions of others were destroyed, and millions of people were thrown out of work.

We cannot tell here the details of the world's worst war. No doubt you have already read and studied about them.[1] If so, you have learned of the terrible destruction and of how the entire interdependent scheme of trade and international coöperation in Europe was smashed. Then you have seen how, after the war, the key industries of Europe were slowly rebuilt and how international coöperation helped Europeans to renew fairly peaceful relations. In order to understand clearly the grave difficulties which Europe — indeed, the entire earth — still confronts, you have only to consider the serious economic conditions of recent days.



© George Matthew Adams Service, 1930

FIG. 142. In 1930 this cartoon appeared. It seems to show that the world has not yet learned the lesson of 1914

WE MUST TURN NOW TO OTHER NEW EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNMENT

But our chief task in this book is to study changing governments and changing cultures. Hence we must now turn to a nation which provides the clearest contrast with those which we have been considering — Russia. In that vast Eurasian country is now being tried the world's most spectacular experiment in government and culture. Because of the interdependence of the world, the changes in Russia affect us vitally even here in the United States, 5000 miles away. For that reason it is very important for each of us to attempt to understand the present-day Russian experiment.

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[1] A treatment in some detail is contained in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World,* Chap. XV.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Atkinson, Eleanor. "Poilu," a Dog of Roubaix. Harper & Brothers, New York. The World War.

Benezet, Louis Paul. The World War and what was Behind It. Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago.

Gilman, Bradley. Son of the Desert. The Century Co., New York. Tells of Great Britain's expansion in Egypt.

Miller, Warren H. Sahara Sands. Harper & Brothers, New York. The expansion of Europe.

Rolt-Wheeler, Francis. The Boys' Book of the World War. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston.

Van Loon, Hendrik W. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York.

UNIT VI

RUSSIA: NEW EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNMENT

RUSSIA: NEW EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNMENT

We turn now to a very different kind of political experiment, that of the Russian people. We have learned of the early evolution of representative government in England, of its later development in revolutionary France, and of its still later emergence in Germany. Thus for two centuries the democratic way of government spread slowly eastward.

Finally, in the midst of the World War the smoldering fires of rebellion blazed up in European Russia and soon produced one of the most novel experiments in government the world has ever seen. It is this dramatic overturn of the government of 140,000,000 people that we shall study next.

To understand it we must comprehend the conditions of autocratic one-man rule in the old Russia which brought it about. These we shall study in Chapter XV.

In Chapter XVI we shall consider how a new Russia, a modern industrial nation, is being produced out of a backward agricultural and poverty-stricken old Russia. Furthermore, we shall see the rise of one of the most spectacular dictatorships in all history, that of the Russian Communist party. Thus, taken together, Chapters XV and XVI will introduce us to the story of one of the world's most important experiments in government.

CHAPTER XV

THE OLD RUSSIA: FROM IMPERIAL AUTOCRACY TO PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

The astonishing happenings of the past two decades in Russia can only be understood if we comprehend the racial make-up of the people, the geography of their land, and their long history of oppression. Let us discuss, first, the people themselves.

The Russian People

In the region known today as Russia there are more than 170,000,000 people divided into about 200 nationalities, speaking some 150 different languages and dialects. This mass of humanity lives scattered over a territory which extends across the great continent of Asia and, in Europe, reaches from the Ural Mountains westward to Poland and Hungary. Three fourths of these people live in Europe, west of the Ural Mountains. One fourth, about 40,000,000 of them, live in the vast area of Asia from Turkestan to Vladivostok. As a whole the Russians are more Asian than European. For 1000 years and more they have looked *eastward* rather than westward for their ways of living.

About 1500 years ago three groups of Slavic-speaking people lived between the Carpathian Mountains and the Dnieper River. The eastern group, which eventually acquired the name "Russians,"[1] moved northeastward and spread out over the vast plain stretching toward the Ural Mountains.

Centuries passed. In the 800's these primitive Slavic agriculturists were conquered for a while by bands of adventurous Norse traders called Varangians. No doubt you can recall the long water routes through the lakes and rivers of Russia which these world travelers and traders followed from the Baltic to the Black Sea while their brothers were settling in the British Isles and on the west coast of Europe. As a result the trading city of Kiev developed into an important capital.

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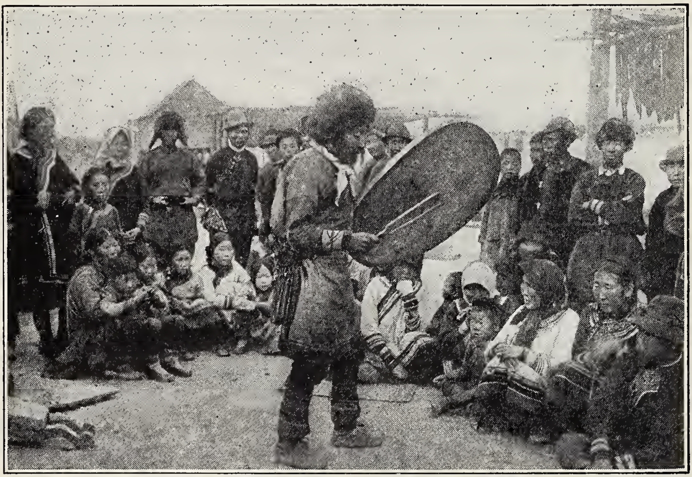
[1] Scholars disagree concerning the origin of the name "Russia."

More centuries passed. During the first half of the thirteenth century the Mongol hordes, under the descendants of Genghis Khan, came sweeping across Russia, conquering the land and exacting tribute from the people. For 200 years these European Slavs paid allegiance to Asiatic warrior rulers. For 200 years they were accustomed to looking eastward toward Asia for their orders and the models for their civilization. It was during this time, the 1200's and 1300's, that the foundation was laid for a gigantic *Eurasian* empire.



Press Cliché

Fig. 143. A Siberian tribe gathered for a religious celebration. Does this scene remind you more of Asia than of Europe? Why?

As time went on, a group of strong fighting men around Moscow gradually rose against the Mongol rulers. By 1400 these so-called Princes of Moscow had gathered strength enough to drive out their last remaining Mongol governors. Then slowly the Muscovites, as these men of Moscow were called, extended their realm southward. Shortly before the time that the Turks conquered Constantinople (1453) and brought the ancient Eastern

Roman Empire (the so-called Byzantine Empire) to an end, one of these Princes of Moscow, Ivan III, became prominent enough to marry a niece of the last of the Roman emperors. Later Ivan IV started the custom of calling the Muscovite ruler Czar — a modification of the Roman *caesar*.

Great conquests and migrations were made after 1450, when the wide plains of Asia had captured the imagination of the Princes of Moscow and their rich landowning nobles. For 400 years armies and pioneer settlers pressed outward in every direction. During the 1700's and 1800's conquest and migration continued eastward from Moscow. Whole villages migrated, southward into Turkestan and eastward across Siberia. By 1721 they had reached to the Baltic; by 1793, to the Black Sea.

As this great movement took place, more and more Russian villages were established in Asia. Settlements had appeared around Lake Baikal as early as 1652. By 1800 a range of farming communities stretched almost continuously halfway across Siberia, and scattered outposts continued to the Pacific. It was another tremendous conquest of a continent, and it produced the greatest inland empire in the world.

As you can well imagine, peoples of many races and languages were intermingled during these conquests and migrations. In a few pages of description it is impossible to give an adequate understanding of the mixture of peoples and temperaments that are revealed by the Russians today. A library would be required to give a full account of the Asiatic mixtures that have been produced by the intermingling of Slavs and people of the Turcoman Republic, the Uzbek Republic, the Kirghiz Republic, the Kazak area, the Siberian and Yakutsk areas, to name only a few of the territorial groups.

Students who have lived in Russia for many years shake their heads and give the same answer that is so frequently heard there when one asks a native for an explanation of certain happenings in his strange land: "I don't know." One finds it almost impossible really to know the Russians. But from a few significant facts concerning their geography and their history we can at least get a hint as to the temperament of the people and the conditions under which they live. Perhaps from these we can understand better the difficult conditions under which they are making the world's most comprehensive experiment in government and social life.

This brings us to the second factor that must be studied carefully if one is to understand the temperament of the Russian people and their present startling experiment in government and social life. That is the geography of their land.

Geography Again!

Three geographic factors help to explain the Russian way of life: (1) the tremendous size of the territory, (2) the relative scarcity of high mountains, (3) the climate.

The land of the Russians is for the most part a tremendous continental plain more than 5000 miles from east to west and more than 2000 miles from north to south. Over 8,200,000 square miles of relatively level land are comprised in this one country. On the Trans-Siberian Railway one rides for twelve days from Moscow to Harbin, Manchuria — across, for the most part, a flat plain. One gets far to the east before this plain is broken by mountain ranges, by deep and winding river valleys, or by seas and lakes.

In European Russia, as well as in the Asiatic territories, one can ride for weeks in the stiff, crude oxcarts of the natives as upon a level ocean of land. From village to village one gropes along the "traces" that pass for roads, trying to find one's way. Occasionally the spire of a church can be discerned over the horizon, and an hour or two later one bumps one's way over muddy roads into another Russian village of log and mud huts. There are 300,000 such villages scattered over the continental plain, varying in size but looking very much alike.

In these villages have lived nine tenths of the people of Russia. Generation after generation most of them have been isolated from one another and from the cities, unconnected by railroads, by telegraphs, telephones, or radio. Shut in away from the Western world, they have been looking toward the primitive uniformity of the Asian plain rather than to the varied, stimulating, changing world of western Europe and America.

Then we must not forget the part played by their unusual climate. Owing to the vast range of their country, which reaches from the arctic zone on the north to the warm Black Sea on the south, the range of temperature is twice as large as that of any other country, even of the United States. At one place in the north the average January temperature is nearly 60 degrees below zero (Fahrenheit). In the south, in Turkestan and the Caspian region, there is a short, intensely hot summer. Between these the Russian people experience many variations in degrees of summer heat and winter cold. The seasons change swiftly — winter going out suddenly within a few days and summer coming in almost before one is aware that even spring has arrived.

The intense cold, the long nights, the huddling together of large peasant families in small huts — all this has helped to produce passive, submissive temperaments. And it has also played a part in producing the loquaciousness of the Russian peasant. As one American who has spent several years in Russia says:

> No people in the world talk so much as the Russians. They have behind them centuries of long winter nights around the samovar. Russian friends have kept me up all night to convince me on some point in metaphysics, and when I, in weariness, would be convinced, they would switch positions and attack me with the very arguments I had used ten hours before. That's why so many Russians are political prisoners on the island of Solovetsky in the White Sea. They just *must* talk. . . . Foreigners in Russia get that way, too.[1]

Paralleling these long, dark nights of winter in northern Russia are the "white nights of summer." In these there is no real darkness, at most a twilight; the sun circles the heavens day and night, practically without setting, as we understand it.

This astonishing climate has worked its effect upon the personality of the Russian. In the summer he works eighteen hours a day, but he does very little work in winter. He cannot change the climate; so he learns to live with it and to accept it and the hardship the winter brings. Many students think that it produces the general attitude of "No matter!" which characterizes his conduct in so many situations. Constantly one gets the response *Nitchevo* ("It doesn't matter") from the taxi-driver of the city, the clerk in the government office, the railway guard, or the peasant in the village. It reflects a sort of fatalistic attitude of accepting what comes.

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[1] Bruce Hopper, *Pan-Sovietism: the Issue before America and the World*, p. 23. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1931.

So for many centuries this long-suffering, melancholy people clung to their plains, enduring life, living a semicommunal existence. For centuries most of them knew few comforts — indeed, scarcely knew even the idea of property. Therefore, in studying the experiment in communism that is being tried today, we must keep in mind the living conditions in the making of which their geography has played such an important part.

Centuries of Oppression by Autocrats

From the days of the first Muscovite Czars the Russian people had been governed by autocratic rulers. In fact, in the late 1400's Ivan III had taken the title of "Autokrator"; that is, "one who rules in his own right."

One ruling house, the Romanovs, held the throne for 300 years — from 1613, when Michael Romanov was elected Czar by the national assembly of nobles, until Nicholas II and his entire family were killed by the Bolsheviks in 1917. It was under this family of rulers that the Western world saw one of its worst examples of tyranny. But it was not until about 1700 that all restrictions upon the power of the Czar were removed. From that time on, the government was known for its absolutism, its oppression, and its iron discipline.

It was the grandson of the original Michael Romanov, Peter the Great (ruled 1682–1725), who really laid the foundation for the autocratic rule of the Czars. Peter was a man of great ability who, like Louis XIV of France and Frederick the Great of Prussia, worked at his task of being Czar. As a young man he had traveled incognito to France, England, and other Western countries, studying their advanced ways of living.

When Peter returned to Russia in 1698 he was determined to "modernize" his backward people. By royal edict he compelled them to adopt Western instead of Oriental ways of living. With his own hands he cut off the beards and mustaches of many of the leading nobles and officers of the empire. He compelled them to wear western-European clothing. He made them follow the new custom of smoking tobacco. He removed all restrictions upon women and had the two sexes associate together in his court.

He took control of the Russian Church, making the patriarch subservient to the Czar from that time on. He abolished the law-making rights of the assembly of nobles and decided that the Czar should appoint his own council of state.

It is important to remember that from the middle 1600's to their emancipation in 1861 more than 90 per cent of the Russian people were serfs. They had not always been serfs, for until the 1600's Russia had never adopted feudalism. Before that time the Muscovite princes had ruled over the nobles, and even the mass of the peasants had owned small amounts of land. But about the time that feudalism passed out of existence in England, France, and other parts of western Europe, it was introduced into Russia.

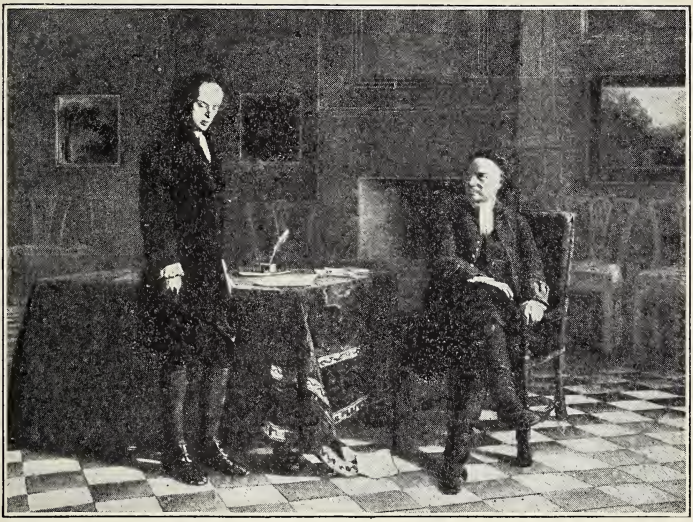

FIG. 144. Peter the Great and his son in the palace study

For example, under the law of 1649, peasants were ordered to remain with the owners of the land which they occupied. Even the nobles were "enserfed" in the sense that they held land directly from the Czar and must give him military service as long as they lived. So in Russia the Czar enslaved the nobles, and the nobles enslaved the peasants.

A century and a half of feudal slavery passed. Then in 1861 came the emancipation of the serfs. By the decrees of Czar Alexander II, 46,000,000 people were freed; that is, they were given permission to buy and sell land, to move from one district to another, to leave the country and go to the city, or to move from the city to the country.

Soon it was seen, however, that the condition of the peasants was worse than before. They were compelled to pay the government for their land, and they had little or no money with which to do it. They were in much the same plight as the Negroes in the United States at about the same time (1865). They were "free as birds"; yet they had no place to live. In fact, they became slaves to the government, as before they had been slaves to the nobles.

Russian Farms became Smaller and Smaller

Another difficulty soon made itself felt. As Table XX shows, the farms were small in 1861. But as time went on they became even smaller, for the reason that when the owners of estates died the land was divided up among their heirs. In fact, the farms became so small that individual families were unable to get a living from them. Observe the startling decrease in the size of farms from 1861 to 1905, as shown in Table XX. At the same time estimates showed that to support a Russian peasant family 30 acres were required — and that on the meager Russian standard of living. Even in the rich black-earth district an average family cleared only $40 a year over and above food expenses and taxes. Is it any wonder that the Russian peasant was always poor and often hungry?

TABLE XX

Number of Acres of Farm Land per Male Peasant, 1861–1905

1861	13.0
1880	9.5
1905	7.0

This problem of the dwindling size of farms was made more serious by the use of the strip system that was followed so widely over eastern and central Europe. This system assigned to each individual strips of land in various sections of the countryside around the village. As you can see, this was a wasteful arrangement. Not less than one seventh of all the farming land was lying unused in the ridges or fences between the strips. The strip system was especially disastrous in that it made impossible the use of power-driven tractors, cultivators, and other farm machines. This was one factor which delayed the coming of machine agriculture to Russia.

TABLE XXI

Average Number of Quintals[1] of Wheat raised per Hectare[2] of Land in Various Countries from 1901 to 1915

England	21.8
France	13.6
United States	9.9
Russia	6.6

Naturally, then, farming was done in the most primitive ways. Despite this the soil was so fertile that Russia produced about two thirds as much wheat as did the United States on the same amount of land. (See Table XXI.)

Remember the ingrained Russian attitude toward property

To understand changing Russia today bear in mind that for centuries most of the people owned no property. The state owned nearly everything. As has been said, until recent times even the nobles did not legally own the land: they merely held it as a fief from the Czar, paying him service for it. As one historian says, "In the eighteenth century the supposed owner could not chop down an oak tree on his land without becoming liable to the death penalty."

This helps to account for the lack of a *bourgeois*, or middle, class like that which appeared in England even in the 1600's and in France and Germany in the 1800's. The possession of other basic civil rights also came very much later to the Russians than to the other peoples of Europe. They dared not criticize the government; indeed, they could not even petition the government. There were no such rights as trial by jury, habeas corpus, or other civil rights of the type that had been established 200 years before in England and 100 years before in the United States and France.

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[1] 3.674 bushels.

[2] 2.471 acres.

Although farms grew smaller, population increased

The living conditions of the Russian masses were made still worse by the rapid increase in population. As Table XXII shows, the number of people nearly doubled in the last half of the nineteenth century. At the outbreak of the World War it was nearly two and a half times as large as in 1851.

TABLE XXII

Estimate of Number of People in Russia, 1851, 1897, and 1914	
1851	67,000,000
1897	129,000,000
1914	140,000,000

The multiplication of these peasants is astounding when one considers that millions of Russians died because of the lack of knowledge of sanitation and prevention of disease.

The Late Development of Machine Manufacturing

Not until after 1890 did the Industrial Revolution really get under way in Russia, and not until nearly 1900 did it become at all widespread. By that time, however, railways were being built, and manufacturers of the northern cities were bringing out the rich coal and iron from the fields around the Caspian Sea.

TABLE XXIII[1]

Tons of Iron produced in Russia, 1900 and 1914	
1900	1,467,000
1914	3,606,000

In 1913 the railways of Russia totaled 36,000 miles. The Trans-Siberian Railway alone measured 6312 miles from the Polish-Russian frontier to Vladivostok and was built at a cost of more than $200,000,000. But it was only a single-track line.[2]

After 1895, factories began to be constructed. Swiftly the industrial idea took hold. On the warm plains of Turkestan and Transcaucasia it was found that cotton would thrive. By 1914 more than 1,500,000 acres of land were under cultivation in cotton, and planters in southern United States, India, and Egypt were anxiously watching their new competitor. Correspondingly, in the cities the textile industry grew rapidly. By 1911 more than 8,000,000 spindles were spinning yarn, and more than 200,000 looms were weaving cloth. The Russian people began to use more goods. For example, in 1910 the consumption of cotton cloth per person was twice as great as in 1890.

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[1] The statistics for iron and oil production, for the textile industry, and for urban population are taken from G. V. Vernadsky's *History of Russia* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930). Units of weight (poods) have been converted into tons.

[2] In recent years it has been improved and is now double-tracked. In 1930 the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, joining the Trans-Siberian with the main line through Turkestan, was completed. At last the great Asiatic regions of Russian territory are being opened up to rapid transportation and communication.

Valuable coal deposits were found and opened up in the Donetz basin, where, in the year before the World War (1913), 25,000,000 tons of coal were mined. From this region came more than half the coal used in Russia. Including coal from other local deposits, more than 85 per cent of all coal used in Russia was produced within the empire.

TABLE XXIV

Number and Per Cent of People in Russian Towns, 1851, 1897, 1914, and 1930

	Number	Per Cent
1851	3,500,000	8
1897	16,300,000	13
1914	26,300,000	17.5
1930	31,000,000	20

In the same years the oil fields of Baku were exploited with great rapidity. By the year 1905 the annual production of oil was 7,294,000 tons. Russia produced 27 per cent of the world's supply in that year.

As industrialism at last took hold in Russia, there was the same drift to the cities as in other countries. In 1851 only 8 per cent of the people lived in cities; in 1930 the per cent had risen to 20.

The Czarist Government began to control Industry

Once industry got under way the government, autocratic in all things, played a leading part in its development. By 1900 the state owned three fifths of all the railroads and many of the factories. It controlled the credit of the entire nation. By establishing the powerful State Bank it became autocratic in economic life as well as in political life.

By 1900 the conditions of the common people employed in the factories and mines had become as bad as those of England 100 years earlier. Workers slaved under wretched conditions, working fifteen and sixteen hours a day for wages of $1.50 to $3 a week. Social legislation, which had developed early in England, France, and Germany, was almost lacking in Russia. Labor unions were prohibited. To strike brought long imprisonment or exile.

Factory-owners and government officials worked hand in hand to oppress the growing proletariat of the larger cities as well as the peasants on the farms. The Russian worker of the city began to hate the industrial masters, and especially the government which controlled them.

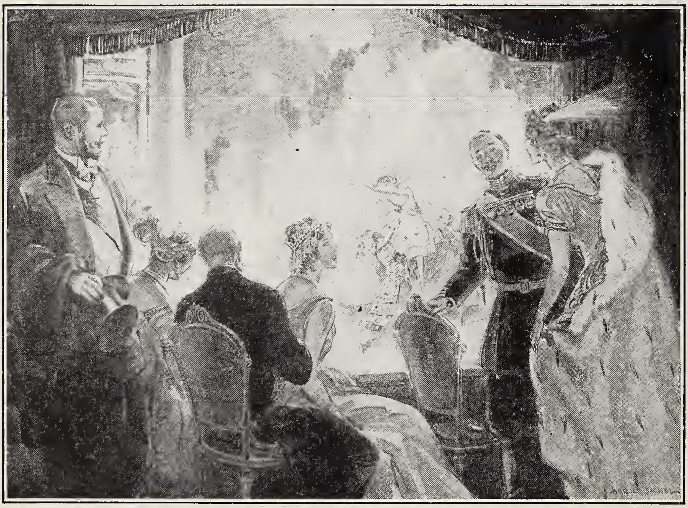


FIG. 145. Not all Russians were poor. A small class of rich and cultured people enjoyed the opera, theater, and other luxuries which the wealthy elsewhere enjoyed

At the same time the property of the Czar, of his family, and of the government which he controlled grew to staggering amounts, while more than 90 per cent of the people lacked a decent living wage. Peasants and machine-workers paid huge taxes which were used for palaces, battleships, amusements, and the like. Peasants were compelled to deliver their hard-earned bushels of wheat, rye, and other grains to the tax-collectors, to be exported to Germany and other countries. The income went to the government — not to the people.

Yet, decade after decade, even in the 1800's, when democracy had marched far in western Europe, the Russian peasant dumbly admired the "Little Father," grubbed the soil to maintain him in his splendor, and — occasionally wondered what it was all about.

Long ago Creative Writers laid the Foundation for Future Revolution

Long before the Industrial Revolution, however, a background of future revolt was being laid by a group of brilliant poets, novelists, and playwrights. Indeed, in no country was there a more important group of creative writers in the nineteenth century than in Russia. While Karl Marx and Engels were organizing workingmen in western Europe and writing theoretical treatises on the history of society, Pushkin, Gogol, Turgeniev, Dostoievsky, Chekhov, and Tolstoy were portraying the Russian character and Russian economic, social, and political life in books that have become famous. In the 50 years following 1825 there came from the pens of these men studies of human life that stand high among the world's classics.

Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) is regarded by many as the greatest of all the Russian poets. He has been called "the Sun of Russian Poetry." His poems picture with rare feeling the moods, despairs, and hopes of the "dark people" of Russia. Interested in the social life of the various classes in Russia, as well as in the individual human soul, he served as a great interpreter of the culture of the nation, and he helped to pave the way for a liberal understanding of the needs of the people.

Like Marx, Pushkin was interested in the history of civilization and in the improvement of the political and civil rights of the people. He lived near enough to Russian society to see clearly the conspiracies and plots of the bureaucracy that had grown up in the court and the government. Pushkin died at the early age of 37, in a duel. He left behind him writings which many years later were to help students in schools and universities to grope their way toward an understanding of the culture of the Russian people.

Nikolay Gogol (1809–1852), a Ukrainian novelist, did much the same sort of thing for southern Russia. His chief novel,

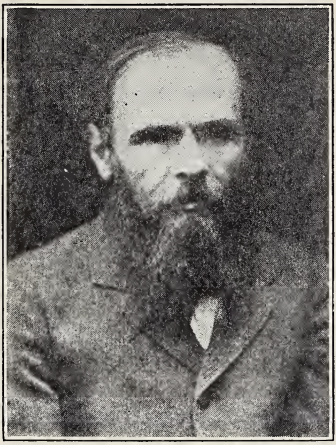


FIG. 146. Fyodor Dostoievsky

"The people are seeking eagerly for truth. . . . After the liberation of the serfs, the great longing for truth appeared among the people — for truth perfect and entire, and with it the resurrection of civic life." So wrote Fyodor Dostoievsky (1821–1881), whose sympathy with the poor and the unfortunate led him to join the meetings of a group of young writers who were studying the French philosophers and discussing means of reform in Russia. Suddenly the members of this group were arrested and sentenced to death. Just at the moment when they were to be executed, a reprieve came, and Dostoievsky's sentence was changed to four years in prison. Out of this experience came his most widely read novel, *The House of the Dead,* depicting prison life in Siberia. Then followed such others as *Crime and Punishment, The Idiot,* and *The Brothers Karamazov,* whose power and truthfulness to life in Russia during his day have placed him among the novelists of all time

During the early years of the 1900's people from countries scattered all over the world made pilgrimages to an estate in Russia to talk with an old man who dressed in peasant's garb, ate the simplest of food, and often worked long hours in the fields. This was Count Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1828–1910), dramatist, novelist, and philosopher — pleader against all forms of violence and against the false standards, the greed, and the corruption which he saw in the life of his time; pleader for simpler living and for human brotherhood. His young manhood had been spent largely in social gayety, and his earlier writings exalted the idle rich. Gradually, through travel, and through civic work performed when the serfs were emancipated, his eyes were opened to evils he had never noted before. From then on, in such essays as *A Confession* and *What I Believe In* and in such stories as *War and Peace, Master and Man,* and *The Death of Ivan Ilyich,* he spread his gospel, and millions were influenced by it

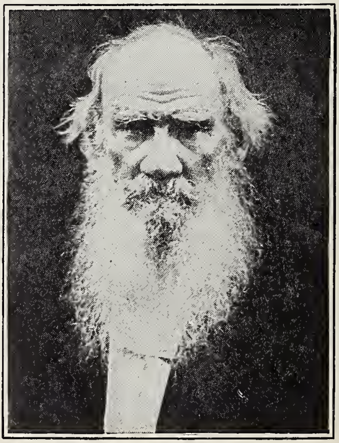


FIG. 147. Count Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy

Dead Souls, paints a vivid portrait of peasant life in the Ukraine. In other books Gogol revealed many scenes of the life of the rich landlords and contrasted their conditions with those of the common people on the farms. He too was a student of the ills of society, unhappy at the intrigue and the distressing inequalities among men. It was also through the works of Gogol that the standard Russian language came to include many Ukrainian words.

The Rise of the First Revolutionary Movements

The relatively liberal acts of the Czar Alexander II in his freeing of the serfs in the early 1860's had been followed, ten years later, by a period of harsh oppression. The local village councils based on popular election were restricted, and the press was rigidly censored. An infamous detective organization of the Czar's officials was established. Suspects were seized by these secret police and thrown into jail or exiled to Siberia without hearing. The slightest criticism of the government resulted in drastic punishment. Schools were censored, and the new scientific movement which had been well launched by 1860 was sternly suppressed.

As this happened a revolutionary movement developed among the intelligent, thinking men of the universities and the professions. These people were students of the democratic ideas which were sweeping over England, France, and other Western countries. They believed in education as the real means of advancing the world's march toward democracy.

In a novel of the great writer Ivan Turgeniev (1818–1883), called *Fathers and Sons* (1862), these students of modern science and democracy were called *nihilists*. The name soon attained wide adoption. The so-called nihilists were peaceful students of society. They opposed the intrigue of the courts and the inequality of the classes. They denounced the abuses of the Church and the ignorance that it had fastened upon the Russian people. They preached a new creative life for the people, based upon scientific knowledge and the education of all the people. They urged Russians to join the movement toward democracy which was then sweeping over the Western countries. This was nihilism in the 1870's — essentially a peaceful democratic movement.

In the meantime, however, two more violent revolutionary movements were spreading. One was the anarchism of the Russian socialist, Mikhail Bakunin; the other was the terrorist movement, advocating assassination of autocrats and forcible seizure of the government. Secret societies were organized in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), and a widespread campaign of educating the masses against their masters developed throughout Russia.

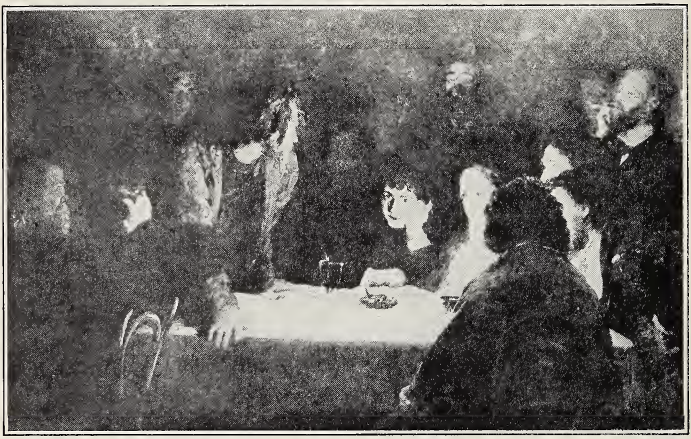


Fig. 148. A meeting of the Nihilists. Gatherings of this sort often took place in abandoned cellars and were conducted with the greatest secrecy. (From a painting by Ilya Repin)

Secret printing offices turned out pamphlets, bulletins, and handbills and distributed them among soldiers, artisans, and peasants. Between 1878 and 1881 the terrorists assassinated six leading officers of the government and many secret police.

At the same time the government itself employed drastic measures. It executed nearly 40 terrorists, exiled many others to Siberia, and imprisoned large numbers. And in 1881, just as Alexander II was about to institute reforms, he was killed by a bomb. His son, Alexander III (ruled 1881–1894), came to the throne determined to put down the revolutionary movement. In the 1880's and 1890's the government was centralized, strengthened, and made more oppressive than ever.

Education was at such a low ebb that from 50 to 90 per cent of the people in rural districts and approximately half of those in the cities were unable to read and write.

Here, then, was a small, educated, and compactly organized class, loyal to the imperial Romanov family. This group controlled the army and maintained itself in autocratic domination over 100,000,000 illiterate peasants and proletarian workers. These masses of common people were scattered, uninformed, and unorganized, lacking both the understanding and the organized force with which to take matters into their own hands. If we can keep these conditions in mind, we shall see why democracy advanced so slowly in autocratic, isolated Russia.

ENTER KARL MARX AND COMMUNISM AGAIN

We must now bring together the several revolutionary factors which we have seen at work in western Europe that we may understand the transformation of Russia since 1917. Especially must we bear in mind the work of the socialist reformers. Recall, first, Robert Owen and the Utopian philanthropists who experimented with ideal communities.

Remember, second, the revolt of the workingmen of Paris under Babeuf in 1797. Babeuf proposed a *dictatorship of the workers and an equalization of property among all the people.* This proposal is important for us to remember if we are to understand the Russian experiment in communism which was launched in 1917.

Fifty years passed, and then Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and their *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 were written into European history. *The Communist Manifesto* and Marx's *Das Kapital* were to become the Bible of the revolutionary movement in Russia. We must remember also that many eminent economists who believe thoroughly in our capitalistic way of living and have little sympathy for Marxian socialism respect Marx himself as one of the most influential writers of all time. For example, Professor E. R. A. Seligman says that with one or two exceptions "there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science."

The writings of Marx and other founders of socialism made their way slowly into Russia in the 1880's and 1890's. The young intellectuals of the universities and the scientific men generally read them eagerly. The idea which they saw in them of the struggle of the oppressed classes against tyrannical masters became the keynote of the program of action of the rising socialist group in Russia. Other writers, such as Maxim Gorky (1868–1936), spread the socialist teachings through novels and plays as well as through pamphlets and other literature.

The Workers form Political Parties

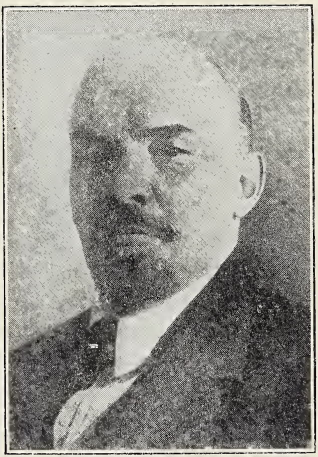
By 1898 the organization of workers into a political party, called the Workers' Social Democratic party, was well under way. In factories and mines, railroads and other industries, branches of the party, called "cells," were organized. They were secret clubs, for such organizations were still prohibited by the government. These cells held meetings and read and discussed especially the writings and interpretations of Marx and Engels.

By 1900 the influence of these groups had spread among the peasants, who in turn organized the Social Revolutionary party. This political party also kept its plans as secret as possible. The special aim of the movement was the confiscation of the large estates of the nobles and the division of the land into small holdings among the peasants.

There was still another liberal movement, which was less secret than the others — that of the growing upper middle class itself. It included a few especially liberal merchants and owners of factories and a small number of nobles and professors of the universities. In 1905 this group also organized a political party called the Constitutional Democratic party.

Of all these groups, however, it was the Workers' Social Democratic party that was to make Russian history. At its congress in 1903 it was divided into two groups — one, the Bolsheviks (the Majority), and the other, the Mensheviks (the Minority). The leader of the Bolsheviks was Vladimir Ulianov, who wrote socialist pamphlets, interpretations of Karl Marx, and the like under the pen name "Lenin," by which he has become famous round the world.

Lenin (1870–1924) was the son of a schoolmaster. He was well educated, and early in his youth came into contact with socialist ideas. He and his brother joined secret revolutionary organizations while they were still young. The brother, who advocated violence, was arrested in connection with a plot against the life of Czar Alexander III and was executed in 1891. From that time Lenin became an avowed Marxist and a determined enemy of the propertied classes. From 1900 to 1917 he lived in exile most of the time.



Press Cliché

FIG. 149. Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov Lenin (1870–1924)

All these parties agreed on one aim; namely, to get rid of the autocratic control of the Czar and his government. But they disagreed among themselves as to further details of a program. The Social Democrats — who were later called communists — wanted the city workers to rule. The Social Revolutionaries wanted all land to be taken over by the government and divided among the peasants. The Constitutional Democrats wanted parliamentary government, built on the lines of the government of Great Britain or of France.

THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1905

These revolutionary movements, partly peaceful and partly violent, brought about a crisis early in 1905. The defeat of the Russian armies in the war with Japan (1904–1905), which came as a great shock to the self-confidence of the nobility of Russia, greatly increased the criticism of the government.

Petitions were sent to the Czar to reform the government, to guarantee liberty, and to establish a representative assembly with a written constitution. But the Czar vacillated, and more violent demonstrations resulted. Finally, workers began to strike in the various factories of Moscow, Riga, Petrograd, and other cities. The climax came on January 22, 1905 ("Red Sunday"), when the Czar's soldiers dispersed the crowds of unarmed striking workmen in Petrograd by volleys from their rifles.

Then the revolutionary history of France, Germany, and other countries repeated itself. Rebellion spread rapidly among the city workers and then to the peasants in the Social Revolutionary party. The latter burned and looted the homes of well-to-do land-owners. Disorder became general throughout European Russia.

At last the smoldering resentment of the people broke through the restraint of centuries. The Grand Duke Sergius was assassinated in Moscow, and various other members of the government were killed. Martial law was proclaimed in Petrograd; the universities were closed; city streets were patrolled by troops.

The rebellion spread from civilians to the army and from the army to the navy. In June, 1905, the sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied against their officers. In the autumn of 1905 Czar Nicholas II, alarmed at the extent of the discontent, issued a manifesto promising freedom of speech, popular election of a *Duma* (House of Commons), and manhood suffrage. In March, 1906, he issued a decree providing for a national assembly with two houses. The lower (the Duma) was to be elective; half the upper house was to be appointed by the Czar and half to be elected by the Church, the universities and learned societies, certain commercial bodies, and the nobility.

For the first time in Russian history a Czar's decree omitted the statement that he was an autocratic and absolute monarch.

The granting of a constitution soon proved to be a mere gesture, for it was found that real political control was not to be given to the representatives of the people. Members of the Duma were elected on the plan shown in Table XXV, a scheme which gave the upper classes complete control. Yet more than half the members were firmly opposed to the ruling bureaucracy.

We must note the leadership of two groups in this first revolution of 1905, for it was these groups which afterwards came to play the leading part in the present communist government of

Russia. One was the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, led by one Bronstein, who wrote under the pen name of "Leon Trotsky." Trotsky, like Lenin and the other revolutionary leaders, assumed a pen name as a means of hiding his identity from the Czar's secret police. The other was the Bolshevik group of the Workers' Social Democratic party, under the leadership of Lenin. Thus twelve years before the final revolution Lenin and Trotsky were in command of the rebelling groups.

TABLE XXV

Number of Inhabitants per Elector in Various Russian Social Classes	
Gentry	1 elector for 230 people
Peasants	1 elector for 60,000 people
Workmen . . .	1 elector for 125,000 people

Gradually the revolutionary movement was suppressed, although not until thousands of people had been killed on both sides. Leaders of the Social Democratic party were arrested and tried for treason, and 31 were exiled to Siberia. Trotsky was included in this group. He escaped almost immediately, lived in various countries of Europe, and finally came to the United States. In his wanderings he never ceased active work in behalf of the socialist cause. Lenin left Russia and worked in Switzerland and other countries, organizing the socialist movement.

Order was finally restored. In 1909 the Duma was recognized as a part of the national assembly, "advising" the Czar and his ministers. Other slight reforms were made. The ownership of land by the *mir* (village) had been practically abolished. Tentative laws for workingmen's insurance were made, and education by the Church was extended. Thus democracy had marched forward, even if only a little. As one of the official reports of the Russian government announced in 1914, the government had become "a constitutional monarchy under an autocratic Czar." In both civil and political rights the Russian people still lagged far behind the peoples of the other leading nations of the Western world.

Russia and the World War

In 1914, with the declaration of war against Germany and Austria, the people of Russia were bound together for a time in a great nationalistic wave of "Pan-Slavism." The Czar and his ministers tried to unify the great mass of the people in support of the war. They promised reforms, and even for a time ceased religious persecution, which for many years had been directed especially against the Jews.

But not for long did the enthusiasm last. As you know, in spite of enormous expenditures for armaments, the Russian government was utterly unprepared for war. The peasants were untrained. Highways were bad; railroads were inadequate to transport troops. There was insufficient clothing, food, and even arms and ammunition. And so millions of young Russians — peasants and city youth — fought, almost totally ignorant of what they were fighting for.

A year after the outbreak of the war, in August, 1915, practically one third of the Russian troops had no guns. Had the Germans been able to move their food supplies fast enough to keep pace with the advancing German lines, Russia would have been defeated early in the war. But again the vast plains helped the Russians, even as they had 100 years before in Napoleon's advance upon Moscow.

As the war went on, however, the people in the local communities and the leaders in the larger cities alike became dissatisfied with the inefficiency of the government. This was revealed in a division between the Duma and the Czar's government. The former demanded that the Czar appoint a cabinet of advisers which would reorganize the army and carry on the war efficiently. In September, 1915, Nicholas II made himself commander in chief of the Russian army; but he surrounded himself with incompetent assistants, and matters went from bad to worse.

Weaker and weaker grew the government

Unrest pervaded the entire country, and socialist leaders — some in exile and others within Russia — secretly took advantage of the situation to spread propaganda against the war and to urge revolution. The Bolsheviks were the most active of all. Lenin, from his exile in Switzerland, carried on a world-wide campaign. In 1919 he was influential in forming a Third International, with headquarters at Moscow. He urged civil war in all the warring nations and revealed that he was now leader of the socialists.

Each year more millions of Russian youth were called to battle, and each year more millions of men were wounded or died from wounds and disease. Early in 1917 the total number enrolled had reached 12,000,000. There was hardly an able-bodied man of military age in Russia who had not been called to the colors. A large proportion of these soldiers were inactive, encamped behind the lines, unequipped and lacking supplies. Disease spread among them, killing them by the thousands. Between 1914 and 1917 some 9,000,000 of the best of Russian manhood were dead, wounded, prisoners, or missing. The vast proportion of the 1,800,000 who died, died from disease and were not in action at all.

Such was the state of backwardness that an autocratic militaristic government had produced. Was it any wonder, then, that the pamphlets, books, and whispered words of the socialist agitators gripped the imaginations of these millions of idle soldiers? So propaganda spread among the troops in 1916 and 1917.

Week by week in 1916 it became increasingly clear that the Czar and his ministers could no longer handle the situation. Expenditures mounted swiftly. Many millions of dollars were required each day to finance the enormous number of troops in the service. But the money was no longer forthcoming. The government had taken over three quarters of all the industrial plants to manufacture military supplies. The income of the Russian people was dwindling steadily. The government had requisitioned the grain supplies of the peasants. Taxes were left unpaid, because there was no money or crops or goods with which to pay them.

Then history repeated itself in another way: paper money was issued, and the credit of the nation became worthless. The printing presses of the imperial treasury ran faster and faster, turning out the paper bills. By 1916 more than 5,000,000,000 rubles ($2,500,000,000) were in circulation in paper money. Fear of a financial crash spread.

Among the soldiers the propaganda of the socialists was having its effect, and the determination grew to take things into their own hands and stop the war. Steadily the struggle for control increased between the Czar and the Duma. By November, 1916, opposition against the royal family was expressed in public addresses.

The Second Russian Revolution, March–November, 1917

Within three months the Czar practically ceased to rule. With money gone, with the army disorganized and in open mutiny, with socialists coming out into the open, the aristocrats made one last desperate effort to meet the emergency. They promised a new cabinet which would include representatives satisfactory to the Duma and to the mass of the people.

But before action could be taken the second and final revolution broke out. On March 12, 1917, mobs of workmen rioted in the streets of Petrograd, hunting for food and killing police who tried to maintain order. They opened jails and released prisoners; they set fire to public buildings. Finally they made their way to the Tauride Palace and demanded action from the Duma.

Then it was that the Duma acted. It appointed a temporary committee to take charge of affairs. On this committee was Alexander Kerensky, who soon afterwards organized the first Provisional Government.

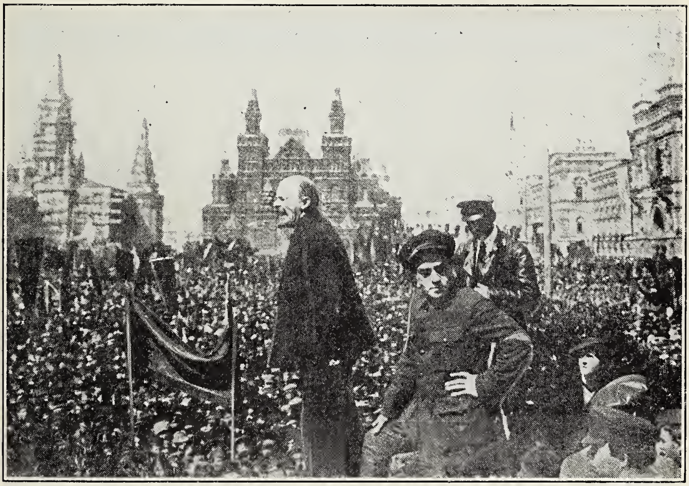
On March 15 the Provisional Government demanded that Nicholas II abdicate the throne. He and his entire family were arrested and exiled to Siberia. A year later, July 16, 1918, they were murdered in Ekaterinburg. About the same time the Grand Duke Michael was arrested. It is assumed that he too was murdered, for he has never been seen since. After reigning 300 years the Romanovs were no more; the last of the Czars had ruled.

For a few months the Provisional Government tried to carry on, but it soon showed that it was nonsocialist in character. Its decrees promised the civil and political liberties common to democratic countries — freedom of speech, of the press, and of organization, as well as a representative assembly based on popular election. It was a thoroughly parliamentary program, like that in operation in England and in France.

This, however, did not satisfy the socialists, who, in the meantime, had quietly organized another government — the Petrograd Soviet (or Council) of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This organization ignored the Provisional Government and gave orders directly to the soldiers of the army to organize themselves into units, take control of all weapons, and report only to the Soviet.

The Provisional Government tried to revoke this order, but the soldiers quickly organized themselves and deposed their officers. By this time vast numbers of soldiers had left the front and returned home.

So it was that two opposing governments developed during the spring and summer of 1917: (1) the Provisional Government, a weak parliamentary organization without strong leaders, but still regarded as the legal government; (2) the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, working behind the scenes and steadily growing in sureness of organization and power.



Press Cliché

FIG. 150. Lenin addressing a May Day gathering. Since the International Socialist Congress met in 1889, May 1 has been considered the international labor holiday

The Provisional Government still held the legal power, and under it new local governments were set up based upon universal suffrage, the secret ballot, and equal representation. In the meantime the Socialist Democratic party was organizing soviets (local councils) all over the country, in cities and in villages. In June the Central Executive Committee, which consisted almost wholly of the socialist leaders, called a meeting of the party (which they named the All-Russian Soviet Congress) in Petrograd. Even in this congress, however, the more moderate and democratic Mensheviks were in the majority. The radical Bolsheviks were still in the minority.

At the congress the Bolsheviks maintained that their soviets were the only true representatives of the Russian people, and they demanded that the Provisional Government be overthrown and that the soviets take charge.

In the meantime the Russian army had completely collapsed. Soviets had been formed in every unit, and these were openly opposing their officers. Russian and German soldiers hobnobbed with one another on the front. For all practical purposes the war was over.

During the summer and autumn of 1917 the Bolsheviks became increasingly strong. Lenin arrived from Switzerland, after passing through Germany into Sweden under the protection of the German government, which believed that if he were permitted to go to Russia he would help to break down the Russian government, demoralize the army, and thus make war impossible on the Eastern Front. Trotsky arrived about the same time from the United States. By this time he had become an extreme defender of world revolution and the right-hand man of Lenin.

Under the leadership of these two men the Bolsheviks drew together the workmen of Petrograd and Moscow. The rapidity of the Bolsheviks' rise to power is shown by the fact that in a city election in Petrograd in July they received 11 per cent of the votes; in September they had a majority in the city council. The same thing was happening in other cities. Tens of thousands of the proletariat were aligning themselves with the extreme socialists, known generally now as the communists. Marxian arguments and slogans were heard on every side. Pamphlets, handbills, and speeches increased the enrollment of the people in the soviets.

The Communists take over the Government of Russia, November, 1917

Between November 4 and November 8 the final overthrow of the Provisional Government under Kerensky was completed. The communists, under Lenin and Trotsky, took command of the army, seized the government offices, and set up a completely socialist government. It was all done quickly and almost without opposition. The *coup d'état* illustrated again the fact that "he who controls the army controls the government." Another government had tumbled down in Europe. But this time it was not democracy that was supplanting the old autocracy: it was an unknown kind of socialism.

From that day to this the entire Russian land from Poland to the Pacific Ocean has been ruled by a small group of Bolsheviks representing the Communist party. This group comprises less than 9 per cent of all the people. Since November, 1917, Russia has been ruled by a dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of autocratic Czars has given way to the dictatorship of *leaders* of the city workers.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

AKSAKOV, SERGIEI TIMOFIEEVICH. The Chronicles of a Russian Family. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Russian home and school life at the end of the 1700's and the first half of the 1800's.

BRESHKOVSKY, CATHERINE. The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

CHARSKAYA, LIDÏYA A. Fledglings. Henry Holt and Company, New York. Life in a boarding school in Petrograd.

CHARSKAYA, LIDÏYA A. Little Princess Nina. Henry Holt and Company, New York. Story of a little Russian girl who lives in the Caucasus.

LUSTIG, SONIA. Roses of the Wind. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Life in Russia about the middle of the 1800's.

UNDERWOOD, EDNA W. The Penitent. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Alexander I of Russia.

VAN BERGEN, ROBERT. The Story of Russia. American Book Company, New York. To the end of the Russo-Japanese War.

VERNE, JULES. Michael Strogoff; or, The Courier of the Czar. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Russia in Siberia in the early 1800's.

WALPOLE, HUGH. The Secret City. George H. Doran Company, New York. Petrograd during the revolution.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW RUSSIA: TRANSFORMING A "BACKWARD" NATION

In 1917 the Bolshevik branch of the Socialist Democratic party had seized the Russian government. A tiny group of men controlling small companies of soldiers had seized the government offices in Petrograd and were attempting to compel 140,000,000 people to become socialists. It seemed ridiculous, indeed. "Surely they cannot succeed!" was the thought of most people both inside and outside of Russia.

But month after month, year after year, the dictators held on. Tighter and tighter became their grip upon the people. Then they began to cope with the overwhelming problems that confronted them.

Gradually living became a little easier in Russia and government a little more orderly. Slowly agriculture and industry revived, crops were raised, factories began to open again, and trains ran once more. Coal mines began to pour forth fuel, and the iron mines and steel mills began to produce metals. In spite of the great difficulties and obstacles in their way the communist dictators continued to control all Russia from Petrograd to Vladivostok, from Archangel to Baku.

A decade passed, and then a stupendous Five-Year Plan was announced. This was a proposal to plan every aspect of living for the entire nation. Never before had such changes been suggested for a people. Never before were changes to be put into operation on such a vast scale. A new social order began to arise in the largest national territory on the earth.

The attempt stunned the world. Rumors concerning the astounding plan spread in every capital. Premiers discussed what it would mean for international relations, and business men all over the world began to wonder how it might affect them.

As the years passed, one fact became increasingly clear —

Russia, despite revolution, famine, dictatorship, and opposition, again rose to become a world power. In this chapter we shall attempt to comprehend the unusual Russian experiment. First, let us note how the scattered nationalities and races of this huge territory have been bound together under one government.

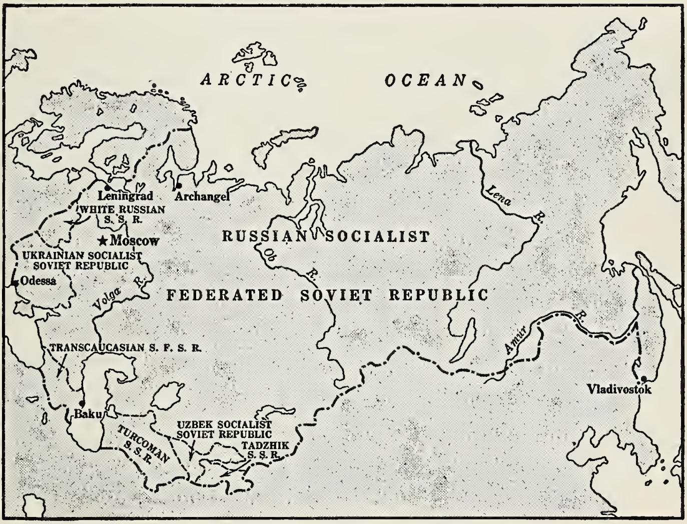

ARCTIC OCEAN
Leningrad
Archangel
WHITE RUSSIAN S. S. R.
Moscow
UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC
Odessa
Volga R.
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC
Ob R.
Lena R.
Amur R.
TRANSCAUCASIAN S. F. S. R.
Baku
TURCOMAN S. S. R.
UZBEK SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC
TADZHIK S. S. R.
Vladivostok

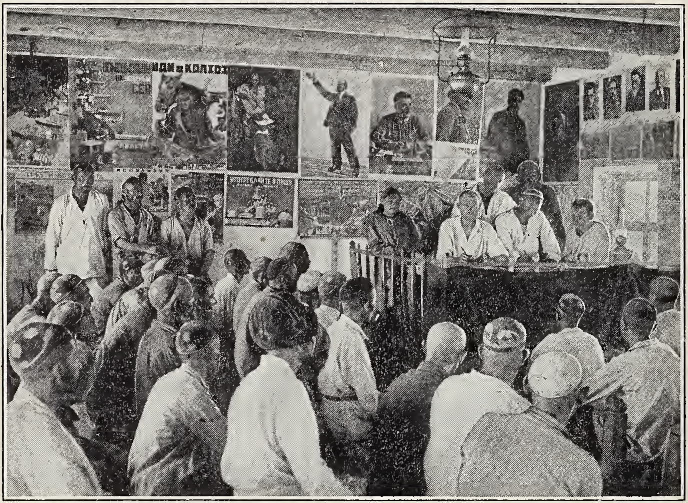
FIG. 151. The seven republics of Russia

WHAT THE FIRST UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF RUSSIA INCLUDED

After the revolution of 1917 the former Russian Empire gradually broke up into various republics and regions. There were seven so-called republics:

1. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic
2. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic
3. The White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic
4. The Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic
5. The Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic
6. The Turcoman Socialist Soviet Republic
7. The Tadzhik Socialist Soviet Republic

In each of these republics (see figure 151) the people were closely enough united in language and nationality to join together and form a separate government. In addition to these there were various large areas that were permitted to organize their own governments, — as, for example, the Siberian area and the Yakutsk area.



Press Cliché

FIG. 152. A gathering of representatives of a village soviet from a farming district. They have just pledged themselves to enter into a competition for bumper crops

To understand how each of these republics and areas has been governed since 1917, let us consider the government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.).

There was one outstanding fact about the form of the new government. It was a sort of *pyramid* of political control. At the base were the millions of peasants and city workers who organized in local branches called soviets (see figure 153). These soviets were local councils, or committees, elected every three months, and were composed of one representative to every 100 city workers and one representative to every 1000 peasants. As you can see, the city workers had ten times as much representation as the peasants. The well-known older classes — nobles, clergy,

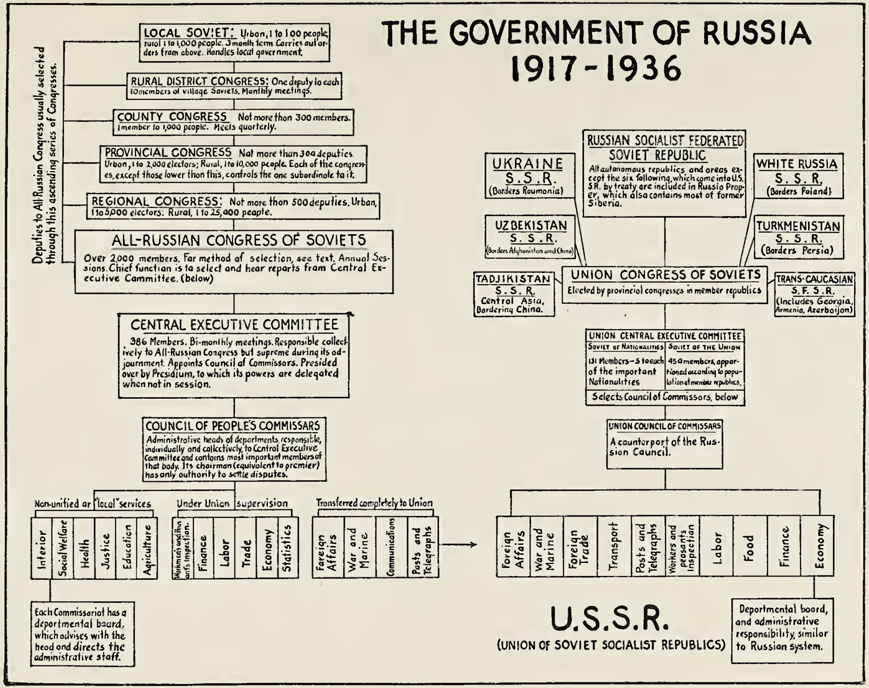

THE GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA
1917-1936
Deputies to All-Russian Congress usually selected through this ascending series of Congresses.
LOCAL SOVIET: Urban, 1 to 100 people, rural 1 to 1,000 people. 3 month term. Carries out orders from above. Handles local government.
RURAL DISTRICT CONGRESS: One deputy to each 10 members of village Soviets. Monthly meetings.
COUNTY CONGRESS Not more than 300 members. 1 member to 1,000 people. Meets quarterly.
PROVINCIAL CONGRESS Not more than 300 deputies. Urban, 1 to 2,000 electors; Rural, 1 to 10,000 people. Each of the congresses, except those lower than this, controls the one subordinate to it.
REGIONAL CONGRESS: Not more than 500 deputies. Urban, 1 to 5,000 electors; Rural, 1 to 25,000 people.
ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
Over 2,000 members. For method of selection, see text. Annual Sessions. Chief function is to select and hear reports from Central Executive Committee. (below)
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
386 Members. Bi-monthly meetings. Responsible collectively to All-Russian Congress but supreme during its adjournment. Appoints Council of Commissars. Presided over by Presidium, to which its powers are delegated when not in session.
COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS
Administrative heads of departments responsible, individually and collectively, to Central Executive Committee and contains most important members of that body. Its chairman (equivalent to premier) has only authority to settle disputes.
Non-unified or "local" services
Interior
Social Welfare
Health
Justice
Education
Agriculture
Under Union supervision
Workmen's and Peasants' Inspection.
Finance
Labor
Trade
Economy
Statistics
Transferred completely to Union
Foreign Affairs
War and Marine
Communications
Posts and Telegraphs
Each Commissariat has a departmental board, which advises with the head and directs the administrative staff.
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC
All autonomous republics and areas except the six following, which come into U.S.S.R. by treaty are included in Russia Proper, which also contains most of former Siberia.
UKRAINE S.S.R. (Borders Roumania)
WHITE RUSSIA S.S.R. (Borders Poland)
UZBEKISTAN S.S.R. (Borders Afghanistan and China)
TURKMENISTAN S.S.R. (Borders Persia)
TADJIKISTAN S.S.R. Central Asia, Bordering China.
UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
Elected by provincial congresses in member republics
TRANS-CAUCASIAN S.F.S.R. (Includes Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan)
UNION CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES
131 Members—5 to each of the important Nationalities
SOVIET OF THE UNION
450 members, apportioned according to population of member republics.
Selects Council of Commissars, below
UNION COUNCIL OF COMMISSARS
A counterpart of the Russian Council.
Foreign Affairs
War and Marine
Foreign Trade
Transport
Posts and Telegraphs
Workers and peasants Inspection
Labor
Food
Finance
Economy
Departmental board, and administrative responsibility, similar to Russian system.
U.S.S.R.
(UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS)

Fig. 153

business men, property-owners, and the like — were given no share at all in the government.

The next step of the pyramid was the Rural District Congress, made up of men called deputies elected by the village soviets. There was one deputy for every ten members of each soviet.

The third step was the County Congress, which consisted of not more than 300 members. These men were selected by the deputies of the local soviets, with one member for each 1000 people.

The fourth step was the Provincial Congress, made up of not more than 300 deputies. In this congress each city deputy represented 2000 electors, while each rural deputy represented 10,000 inhabitants.

The fifth step was the Regional Congress, made up of not more than 500 deputies. There was one deputy to each 5000 electors in the city and one to each 25,000 people in the country.

The sixth step was the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. This was the supreme representative body. It held meetings once a year and was made up of more than 2000 members selected from either the regional or the lower congresses.

The All-Russian Congress was so large that it intrusted its executive power to the *Central Executive Committee.* But this group was also too large (386 members) to work effectively; hence it centered the control in the *Presidium* (27 members).

But even this group was not the real governing power. At the top of the whole scheme came a small *Council of People's Commissars,* and this was the cabinet and the real administrative body. This group consisted of nearly a score of administrators, the heads of departments. These were responsible to the Central Executive Committee. The chairman of this council was given authority equal perhaps to that of the highest executive officer (president, prime minister, and the like) in other countries.

The chart of figure 153 shows the chief departments controlled by the members of the Council of People's Commissars and their assistants.

This, in brief, was the organization of the largest of the seven republics, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Each of the other six republics and of the areas not called republics was organized on approximately the same plan.

These Seven Republics were bound together in One Union

To understand how this entire area of Russia from Leningrad to Vladivostok came to be centrally governed, let us think of these seven republics, shown on the map of figure 151, as leagued together in a federation. This federation was called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the administrative plan also provided for some slight representation of the regions that had not been made into republics). Figure 153 shows us that these seven divisions chose deputies who met together in a Union Congress of Soviets. These deputies were elected by the provincial congresses in the individual republics. This Union Congress, being very large, delegated its work to the Union Central Executive Committee, made up altogether of nearly 600 members. Thus the committee corresponded to the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress. This committee, also being too large for effective work, delegated its administrative duties to a Union Council of Commissars.

Thus Russia became a gigantic federation of supposedly independent states. Actually, as we shall see, all the people of Russia were governed by the orders that went out from Moscow.

The Communist Party — the Real Government of All Russia

This vast territory, with its mixture of races, nationalities, and governments, is still held together today by the Communist party. And the group of communists at the head of the Russian government *have*, as individuals, the legal power which comes from having been elected to their offices. It was the communists (then called the Bolshevik branch of the Workmen's Socialist Democratic party) who carried through the revolution in November, 1917. They were aided, of course, by the peasant groups, namely, the Social Revolutionary party and the Peasants' party.

In 1918 the Bolsheviks brought together the loyal members of these groups into a closely unified party. At that time they dropped the name "Socialist Democrats" and became known as the Russian Communist party. Today it is organized much as any political party. Small local branches, called "cells," are organized in villages, in factories, in government bureaus. The members of the local cells elect representatives to meet in a higher committee representing a larger district. These representatives, in turn, elect others to meet in a still higher committee. Finally, the party as a whole, for all Russia, is represented in the committee at the top, called the All-Union Party Congress. This meets generally less than once a year. Thus since 1917 the party has been organized in the same general way as the Soviet government itself.

TABLE XXVI

Membership in Russian Communist Party, 1930

	Per cent
Industrial workers . .	68.2
Peasants	18.8
Others	13.0

The work of the party is carried on by the central committee, which consists of 71 members. But the real control is held by a little group of twelve determined men at the top of the party pyramid. This group, called the *Politbureau* (political bureau), really runs the party.

Thus this new socialist government has not been democratic. *It is autocratic. It is a government of one man or a few men.* During the past few years one man by his ability and force has succeeded in persuading his associates in the Politbureau to support his plans for government. Together they *run* the affairs of Russia. No peasant, mechanic, clerk, professional person, or any group of these has a direct voice in the selection of the central power which governs this vast land. The government is in the hands of the leaders of the Communist party. Leading this little group is one man, Joseph Stalin. Stalin — "the man of steel" — is the real *dictator* of Russia. As long as he retains the support of his associates in the Politbureau, he will continue to be the dictator over the lives of almost 170,000,000 Russian people.

Furthermore, the Communist party itself is very small. Belonging to it are only about 3,000,000 people out of a total population of nearly 170,000,000. More than half of these members are industrial workers, the remainder being made up of professional, clerical, and a small percentage of peasant groups. In short, ever since 1917 the party has controlled the government;

the proletariat — the industrial workers — has controlled the party. Thus Karl Marx's idea of government under the control of the industrial workers is being tried out.

The dictatorship has been made possible partly by the pyramid form of indirect representative government

This new Soviet government contrasts sharply with our American form. In America each citizen votes directly for most of his officials. He casts his ballot for the mayor and council members in his local community; for the governor, the lieutenant governor, and representatives and senators in his state legislature; for Representatives and Senators in the Federal Congress. He votes directly for the higher officials, as well as for the local officials. For these reasons we call the American form of government direct representative government.

But, as you can see, the original Soviet plan was *indirect*. The individual citizen voted only for his local soviet. He did not vote for representatives in the Rural District Congress, in the County Congress, in the Provincial Congress, in the Regional Congress, in the All-Russian Congress, in the Central Executive Committee, or in the Council of People's Commissars. Even if he lived in the city, he was not permitted to vote directly for the upper four levels of this scheme of government. This Soviet plan, then, was an example of *indirect representation*.

Furthermore, this indirect form of representative government made it easier for the little group of dictators to keep the control.

The dictatorship has been made possible partly by the armed force and iron discipline of the party

But there are other reasons why the little Communist party has kept control over Russia. One is, of course, that it has kept control over the army and the police — the armed force of the government. Another is that it has demanded absolute obedience from every member of the party. In preliminary discussions of local soviets or of any of the higher legislatures every member has been permitted to say what he thought. But once a vote was taken, support of the decision was required of all.

No opposition was permitted within the party. Wherever a group opposed those in power, it was ruthlessly crushed. Independent plans and thinking were not wanted. Because of their opposition many influential leaders have been expelled from the party and exiled from the country. Leon Trotsky is an example of one who opposed Stalin and his associates and was driven out of the country.

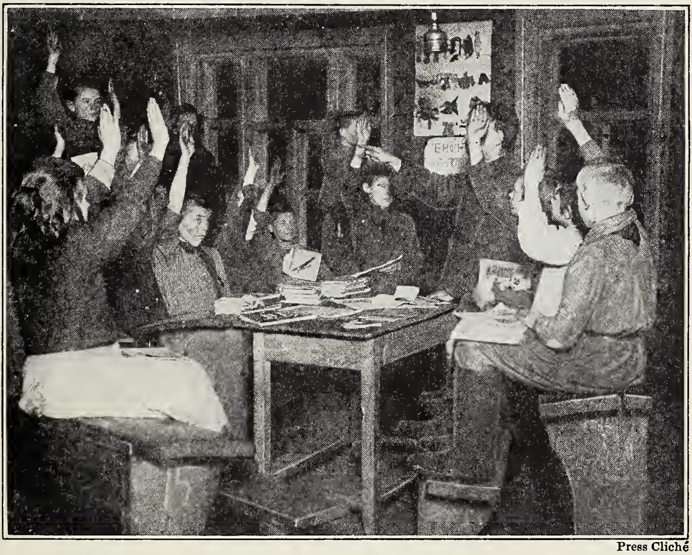
After Lenin's death in 1924 Stalin succeeded in defeating every opposition group in the higher committees. He either imprisoned these leaders or expelled them from office. So determined to continue the dictatorship were Stalin and his associates in the Politbureau that in the fifteen months following January, 1928, they expelled 170,000 members from the party.

This demand for absolute obedience to the orders of the leaders is indeed a stern policy. For example, a member of the party *must* accept any task that is assigned him, no matter how distasteful it may be to him or how much it interferes with his personal life. He may be ordered to leave his trade, profession, or department and go to live in another part of the country. To refuse means expulsion from the party, loss of job, and possible starvation. The control of the leaders over the members of the party is absolute.

The leaders of the Communist party have carefully built up their political organization so as to obtain absolute loyalty. For example, one must *prove* his qualifications for membership by passing through a long trial and observation period, ranging from six months to two years. During this time his every word and act is considered by his superiors. The result is that most of those who are eventually admitted to membership are truly loyal to the Communist party and the communist ideas.

The leaders of the party are also planning for the years to come by carefully training the young people to believe in communism. They have organized two large groups: (1) the *Young Communist League*, called the *Communist Youth*, or *Komsomol*, and (2) the *Young Pioneers*.

The Communist Youth is what might be called a junior auxiliary to the party itself. It includes 5,000,000 young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-three, organized in more than 70,000 cells. These young people, like their elders, are held together under iron discipline. They are taught constantly to serve the state. Younger than the members of the Komsomol are the Young Pioneers — 6,000,000 of them, ranging between the ages of ten and fourteen. This training of the young people of Russia is putting into practice another of Lenin's preachings: "Give me four years to teach the children, and the seed I have sown shall never be uprooted." Thus more than 11,000,000 young people and children are now being actively trained to become communists.



Press Cliché

FIG. 154. A meeting of the Pioneers. These young people are discussing questions regarding the sowing of the new spring crops

In Russia, as in other countries, a political party is the real government behind the scenes

Thus because of such a carefully developed organization and such rigid discipline, a small political party, representing not more than 8 or 9 per cent of the entire population of Russia, has succeeded in imposing its will upon the people. Owing to the fact that the leaders who control the party also occupy the chief positions in the government, *the party is really the government.*

THE PRESENT RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT HAS PASSED THROUGH FOUR STAGES SINCE 1917

To understand the situation today in Russia one must study the recent history of the Russian experiment in government. Since 1917 it has passed through four different stages: First, from 1917 to 1921 the attempt to make a completely communist state was launched. Second, from 1921 to 1928, came the period of the New Economic Policy (called "Nep" for short), in which some of the communistic ideas were given up and some of those of capitalistic countries were tried. Third, the first Five-Year Plan was set up, covering the years from 1928 to 1933. This was a new attempt to establish a truly communist, or collective, state. Fourth, the second Five-Year Plan, beginning in 1933, was adopted. During this period the aim of the leaders has been to make the socialized state operate more efficiently, with a special emphasis upon the everyday needs and wants of the people generally.

THE FIRST STAGE, 1917–1921

The central problem: public ownership of property versus private ownership

When the communists seized the Russian government in November, 1917, they attempted to set up public ownership of all the means of production; that is, farms, factories, mines, power plants, railroads, telegraphs, and the like were to be owned by the state. No one was to be permitted to hire laborers and make a profit for himself. No one was to obtain dividends from stocks and bonds, for there were to be no stocks and bonds. All individual ownership was to be wiped out. Capitalism, as it was known in every other country of the world, was to be killed. This, in brief, was the ambition of the communists, and for nearly four years they did all they could to realize it.

Overwhelming difficulties confronted the government, 1917–1921

The new Russian government, in attempting to set up this entirely new system, met grave difficulties. First, the leaders were stubbornly opposed by the peasants — 100,000,000 strong. Even before the communists set up their government, the peasants had seized the lands of the nobles and of the *kulaks*, the richer peasants; and these they divided among themselves. Each peasant felt, therefore, that his little plot of ground, his house, animals, and implements, were his own. Almost to a man they refused to recognize the right of the communist leaders in the cities to claim ownership of their land. This was a difficulty, indeed, since the peasants controlled the food of the nation. Without their support the city people would starve.

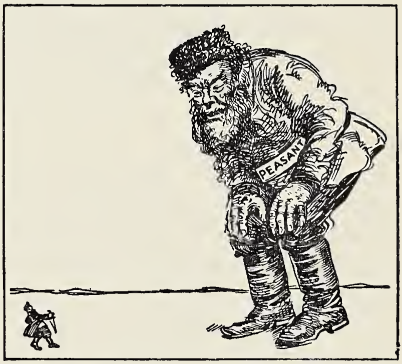


Fig. 155. The cartoonist has tried to show the great difference between the number of peasants and the number of those who tried to convert them. (From the *Evening Express*, Cardiff)

Second, even when the communists succeeded in persuading the peasants to deliver to them the grain, dairy products, and other agricultural supplies with which to feed the city workers, there was almost no means of transporting these products to the cities. The railroads were practically in ruins. To meet the emergency the new government seized all food supplies in the cities and issued food cards to the people. Only those who worked were assured of food, and they only on working days. Members of the Communist party were fed first; other workers, second. If anything was left over, the nonworkers could have it; most of them received very little.

Third, in 1920 and 1921 there came the worst series of droughts in Russian history. Crops failed and famine spread. Ten million people died of starvation. This terrible condition spread over the country at the very beginning of the new government.

Fourth, to make matters still worse, civil war broke out in several parts of the country. When the new government tried to take food from the peasants by force, the latter resisted. A general uprising against the government developed among them.

Early in 1918 the returning armies from the German front and the Cossack troops in the south also rose in civil war against the communists. Other forces rose against them in Siberia. Czechoslovaks who had been serving against their will in the Austrian armies had been made prisoners of war by the Russians, and had been organized later into Russian regiments for service against their former Austrian oppressors. They too now joined the attack upon the communist forces, or Red Army.

In the meantime, in 1918 and 1919, foreign armies had been attacking on the north, on the west, and on the south. By October, 1920, however, the Red Army had succeeded in putting down insurrections and defeating invaders on all sides.

These, then, were the conditions under which the communists attempted to set up a completely socialized government. By 1921 people were dying by the thousands; peasants were refusing to coöperate by giving up food and other supplies; factories and railroads were at a standstill. Then it was that Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and the other leaders realized that to save the situation a new policy must be followed.

THE SECOND STAGE — "NEP": INDIVIDUAL CAPITALISM PERMITTED, 1921–1928

The return to capitalism brought almost immediate results

The difficulties and distress of the years from 1917 to 1921 forced the communists to postpone their attempt to impose socialism on the nation. In its place they adopted a New Economic Policy ("Nep"), which permitted a great deal of private owning and buying and selling. They realized at last that to succeed they had to get the help of the vast number of peasants. So, in order to get this necessary help, they gave these people much more individual liberty. In 1922 the peasants were promised that they could keep the land which they held at that time. Individual ownership was permitted. Persons were allowed to rent land and hire laborers for profit. This return to private capitalism pleased the peasants. They soon resumed the cultivation of their fields and the production of crops (see Tables XXVII and XXVIII).

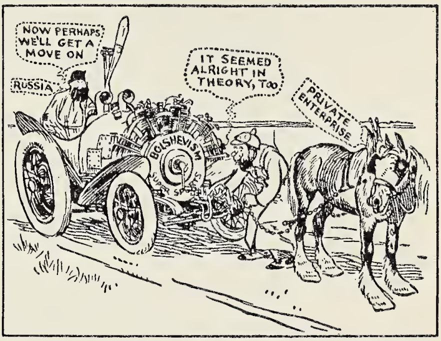

NOW PERHAPS WE'LL GET A MOVE ON
RUSSIA
IT SEEMED ALRIGHT IN THEORY, TOO
PRIVATE ENTERPRISE
BOLSHEVISM

Fig. 156. In this cartoon we see that the old horse Private Enterprise has been called into service to tow the automobile Bolshevism. What does the cartoon imply? (From the *Western Mail*, Cardiff)

In 1927 there were fewer peasants than there had been in 1913; yet by 1927 farm production had so increased that the peasants raised crops equal in value to those of 1913 (Table XXIX). Thus the leaders' new policy revived agriculture. More and more foodstuffs were produced. But, as we see from Table XXX, during the period from 1921 to 1928 *communism made almost no advance among the farmers.* It is true that small experiments had been launched on state farms, but those were not considered by the peasants to be of any significance.

The "Nep" also revived industry and trade in the cities and villages, but by methods different from those used to increase agriculture. Although private citizens were allowed to go into business for themselves and to compete with the state industries, the state rapidly took over control of factories, mines, warehouses, and stores.

TABLE XXVII

Number of Dessiatines (2.7 Acres) of Land under Cultivation in Russia, 1922, 1923, 1927	
1922	49,000,000
1923	59,000,000
1927	83,000,000

TABLE XXVIII

Tons of Grain collected in Russia, 1924, 1926	
1924	35,600,000
1926	72,000,000

During the previous period, 1917–1921, industrial production had fallen so low that it represented only a small proportion of the goods that had been produced in 1913. Industry had declined so much by 1920 that the value of all manufactured goods was only 13 per cent of that produced in 1913. Transportation also had declined.

TABLE XXIX

Total Value of Agricultural Products in Russia, 1913, 1927	
1913	$6,400,000,000
1927	6,400,000,000

TABLE XXX

Per Cent of Russian Farm Land owned Privately and Publicly in 1928	
Privately owned	98
Publicly owned	2

Then came the "Nep," and industrial production began to increase. Table XXXI shows that in 1927 the value of all goods produced by Russian industries had passed that produced in 1913. New power plants were constructed, pipe lines were laid down to transport oil from the fields of the Caucasus to the Black Sea ports; new railroads were built.

Thus industry also was revived under the influence of "Nep." Wholesale and retail trade also picked up. When the New Economic Policy went into effect, nine tenths of the 500,000 buying and selling agencies were *privately* owned. Although at first these were permitted to continue, as the years passed they were gradually suppressed. In 1928 *nine tenths of all the trade of Russia was carried on by the state.* Hence the second stage of Russia's experiment, partly capitalist and partly socialist, showed marked advances in economic life. Part of the breakdown of 1917–1921 had been repaired.

TABLE XXXI

Value of All Goods produced by Russian Industries, 1913 and 1927	
1913	$3,200,000,000
1927	3,300,000,000

TABLE XXXII

Millions of Metric Tons of Coal produced in Russia, 1913, 1927	
1913	29,000,000
1927	30,000,000

THE THIRD STAGE: THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN, 1928–1933

Before the end of the "Nep" stage of the Russian experiment, the leaders were convinced that a Russia half socialist and half capitalist was undesirable. All of them, of course, always believed that complete socialism must be established in Russia. Through such a government, they thought, a strong and sound nation could be built. The first Five-Year Plan was an attempt to bring that about. So in December, 1927, at its Fifteenth Congress, the Communist party announced a momentous resolution: "We must strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalistic countries." As the United States was, perhaps, regarded as "*the* most advanced capitalistic country," this resolution really meant, "We must beat America."

TABLE XXXIII

	Metric Tons of Oil Produced	Meters of Cotton Cloth Produced
1913	9,000,000	2,238,000,000
1927	10,000,000	2,342,000,000

This time Stalin and his associates bore in mind the failure of their first attempt to set up the communist state during the years 1917 to 1921. This time they prepared very carefully. A State Planning Commission, called the *Gosplan*, was established, and a so-called *Five-Year Plan* was drawn up.

The first Five-Year Plan, as well as the second one, was nothing less than a gigantic attempt to plan the economic and cultural life of the whole Russian people. Every aspect was included within it: industry, trade, agriculture, education, social life — everything. It was, indeed, a daring attempt by a large nation *to plan its ways of living.*

TABLE XXXIV

Soviet National Income (Rubles)	
In 1922	20,000,000
Proposed amount to be put into circulation, 1928–1933	65,000,000,000

In most countries, where farming, manufacturing, and trade are carried on by individual persons for private profit, the government as a whole does not *plan* how much food shall be raised, how much coal and iron shall be mined, or how much goods shall be manufactured. As a result, the amount produced has often not been the amount that was needed. Whenever that has happened, serious economic difficulties have occurred.

The Russian government, then, having secured control of industry, trade, transportation, — in fact, of everything except agriculture, — decided in 1928 to try *planning* everything in advance.

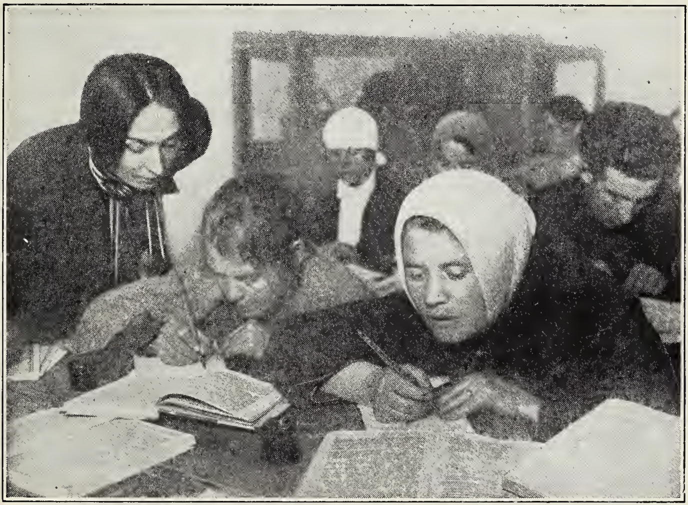
There were two chief aims behind the plan. The first was to transform a backward farming country into a rich industrial one — one in which all wastes in the production and distribution of physical goods would be eliminated, one which would be even more efficient than America. The second was to do away with private capitalism, to set up the completely socialized state.

The first Five-Year Plan was adopted by the Russian Communist party in April, 1929, and by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in May, 1929. Almost two years had been spent considering the many proposals, details, and obstacles. When adopted the plan was to cover the period from October 1, 1928, to September 30, 1933.

It proposed to start Russia, a farming country, on the road to being a leading *industrial* nation. It proposed to *more than double* the goods produced by factories in five years. The amount to be spent on transportation — for railroads, roads, automobiles, and airplanes — was to be tripled. All this, of course, was to cost a great deal of money. (So the plan proposed that enormous amounts of wheat, cotton, oil, manufactured goods, and other products be made available to be sold to other countries.) In that way the leaders expected to raise enough money to finance the plan. In agriculture millions of acres of land were to be used for new cultivation. To speed up production great numbers of new power-driven machines were to be built and used on the farms and in factories. The country's live stock was to be improved and greatly increased.

The first Five-Year Plan was not, however, merely a scheme for economic development. Those who made it were even more concerned with the rebuilding of the whole culture of the people. Since about 80 per cent of the population of Russia lived in small villages, the reconstruction of the village was an important aim of the communists. To bring new and better ways of living to the backward, isolated people of several hundred thousand villages was their purpose. Also, a fundamental part of the plan was the stupendous proposal to educate 160,000,000 people. That this was an overwhelming problem can be seen from the fact that in 1920 approximately *63 per cent* of the people were illiterate, that is, *unable to read or write*. More schools, for adults as well as for children, were needed, and a nation-wide plan for the developement of education and special technical training and study was set up.

These, then, were the most important proposals of the famous first Five-Year Plan, which aroused attention around the world. It was a plan to transform a backward nation into one of the most advanced nations of the earth, and to do so in a very short period. The Russian leaders proposed to do in a generation what England, France, Germany, and the United States have taken 100 years to do.



Press Cliché

FIG. 157. Schools for teaching grown-ups to read and write have already made progress in cutting down the percentage of illiteracy in Russia

DID THE PLAN SUCCEED?

In judging the success of the first Five-Year Plan we must note first that instead of being carried on for a period of five years, it was officially brought to a close at the end of December, 1932. Hence it was in effect for a period of four and a quarter years instead of five. In 1933 the Russian government adopted a second Five-Year Plan.

In the eyes of the leaders the first Five-Year Plan was considered to be very successful. Most foreign observers, sympathetic and hostile, feel that tremendous advances were made in that short, four-year period. They point to the fact that in many respects the actual results exceeded or at least met the demands of the plan. In other respects there were outstanding failures. Perhaps we can best get a picture of the first Five-Year-Plan period by considering several aspects of the plan and some of the actual results.

The development of industry

In one respect, that of industrial development, the period was very successful, despite the fact that in many phases of industry the demands and needs of the plan were not met. Table XXXV illustrates the growth which actually took place. During the period of the plan coal production rose from 35,000,000 to 64,000,000 tons; oil, from 11,000,000 to 21,000,000 tons; pig iron, from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 tons; and steel, from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 tons. These were great advances in such a short period. Also, in terms of the output of ten years earlier the gains were marked. However, in each of these industries the actual output fell short of the figure set in the plan. For example, the plan called for 10,000,000 tons of steel, whereas 5,800,000 tons were actually produced.

TABLE XXXV[1]

PRODUCTION IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES (MILLIONS OF TONS)

	1927–1928	1932
Coal	35.4	64.2
Oil	11.6	21.4
Pig iron . . .	3.3	6.1
Steel	3.9	5.8

However, at the end of the period, 1500 new factories had been erected and were in operation and more than 90 per cent of the plans for manufacturing were fulfilled. The total amount of goods manufactured had been doubled. There was only one important part of the plan which had failed badly to keep pace with the needs of the country. That was the railroads.

As the first Five-Year Plan was carried out, one great change occurred in the location of industries. The center of manufacturing moved from the European part of Russia into Siberia, in Asia. For centuries the city of Moscow had been considered the "heart" of Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized the government, they made Moscow the political capital. But the industrial capital moved to the east where there were vast natural resources.

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[1] The figures are from official Soviet reports on the first Five-Year Plan and on industry in 1932.

On the industrial map of figure 159 find Magnitogorsk and Sverdlovsk in the Ural Mountains. There, about one thousand miles east of Moscow, grew up the new center of industry of the first Five-Year Plan. There the engineers found iron, copper, coal, and other valuable minerals and fuels. There they opened up coal mines. They built huge steel plants and machine shops, and set up coking plants and tractor and automobile factories. There new towns sprang up and population increased. There, around the city of steel, Magnitogorsk, grew the new industrial "heart" of Russia.

But this new Ural region had only a small amount of coal; so the engineers scouted all over Russia for richer deposits. They found them 1400 miles east of Magnitogorsk in the Kuznetsk Basin of central Siberia. Here, around Prokopyevsk, is the largest coal center on the huge continent of Asia. In this region, marked by three new cities, — Novosibirsk ("New Siberia"), Barnaul, and Stalinsk, — the manufacturing center of all Russia is growing. Here we find the Siberian Combine Works, the largest of its kind in the world, manufacturing harvesting machines; the Mining Machine Plant making machines to dig coal and iron and other metals; and other kinds of factories.

The first Five-Year Plan provided for the building of industries in still other parts of Russia, but we cannot tell of them here in detail. One thing had been accomplished — new industries had been erected! Build! Build! Build! was the slogan. And — in spite of the lack of large numbers of engineers and trained, experienced workmen — build they did! When the first Five-Year Plan was brought to a close in 1932 and the second one was started, the Communist leaders could say that, so far as manufacturing and trade were concerned, they were succeeding. But meanwhile what was happening to farming?

The attempt to farm the land of Russia collectively

In 1928 only 2 per cent of the products of Russian farms were produced on "socialized" land; 98 per cent of the farm land was still owned privately by the kulaks — the wealthy peasants and the middle-class peasants — and by the poor peasants. In making the first Five-Year Plan the Soviet leaders decided to substitute power-driven machines for human muscles. And they faced difficulties, indeed. There were 25,000,000 little farms with almost no farm tools and machinery or fertilizers. Farmers knew little about scientific farming. So the leaders decided that the small farms must be given up. All land, horses, cows, farm implements, and fertilizers were put into a common pool and managed as one big enterprise owned by all the people together. Fences and other barriers between existing little private plots of ground were taken out. Plowing, cultivating, harvesting, and the like were done by gasoline tractors, harvesters, and other machines which the new factories were making. Large cow barns, piggeries, dairies, and other farm buildings were built in every section of the wide land. So it was that the little ten-acre plots were combined and farmed as thousand-acre farms. In that way mass production came to Russian farms, as it had already come to some of the farms of America.

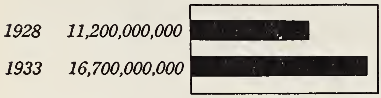


FIG. 158. The value in rubles of all agricultural products raised in 1928, and the planned production for 1933

But we must not forget that there is one big difference between the American plan of mass farming and the Russian plan. In America farms are owned by individual farmers or by private corporations. The Russians provided that as the plan was carried out the farms would be owned by the state. They knew, of course, that public ownership could not be substituted for private ownership all at once; so they drew up three plans of running the farms collectively. First, there was the *sovhoz*, or state farm, which was owned and managed directly by the central government. On these farms giant tractors and other machines did much of the work, and the products raised went directly to the government.

The second plan was that of the *kolhoz*, of which there are various types. The most common is the *artel*, in which peasants pool such things as land, farm buildings, and savings, but own their individual homes privately and keep a cow, a few hens, geese, and the like for their own use.

The third plan to put Russian farms on a public-ownership basis was that of the *tractor service station*, owned and operated by the government. Many of these stations were set up in various districts of the country. They were equipped with modern farm machinery which was rented to villages and artels so that they could more easily plow, sow, cultivate, and harvest their crops.

TABLE XXXVI

Per Cent of Individual Peasant Farms embraced by the Collective Farms

Date	Per Cent of Total Individual Farms Collectivized
1928	2
1929	8
1930	22
1931	35
1933	80

These, then, were the three ways the plan was carried out.

In the summer of 1929 one of the largest crops in the history of the country was produced. No sooner was it harvested than the government started a big campaign to get the peasants to stop their wasteful small-scale farming and work together.

Great numbers of workers were sent into thousands of villages to educate the peasants. They held meetings, gave lectures, showed lantern slides, maps, motion pictures, and placards. With enthusiasm they tried to convince the peasants of the great advantages of pooling their resources, throwing their lands together in great collective farms, introducing tractors and other farm machinery, building collective cow barns and other animal stations, harvesting their crops together and selling them together.

Many poor peasants, who owned little land anyway, joined the collectives first. Slowly but surely the middle-class peasants, who owned perhaps from 10 to 35 acres, also began to join.

The well-to-do kulaks, however, vigorously opposed this "socialization," and in 1929–1930 the Soviet organizers began to use armed force against them. When three quarters of the peasants of any one district had joined a collective farm, govern-

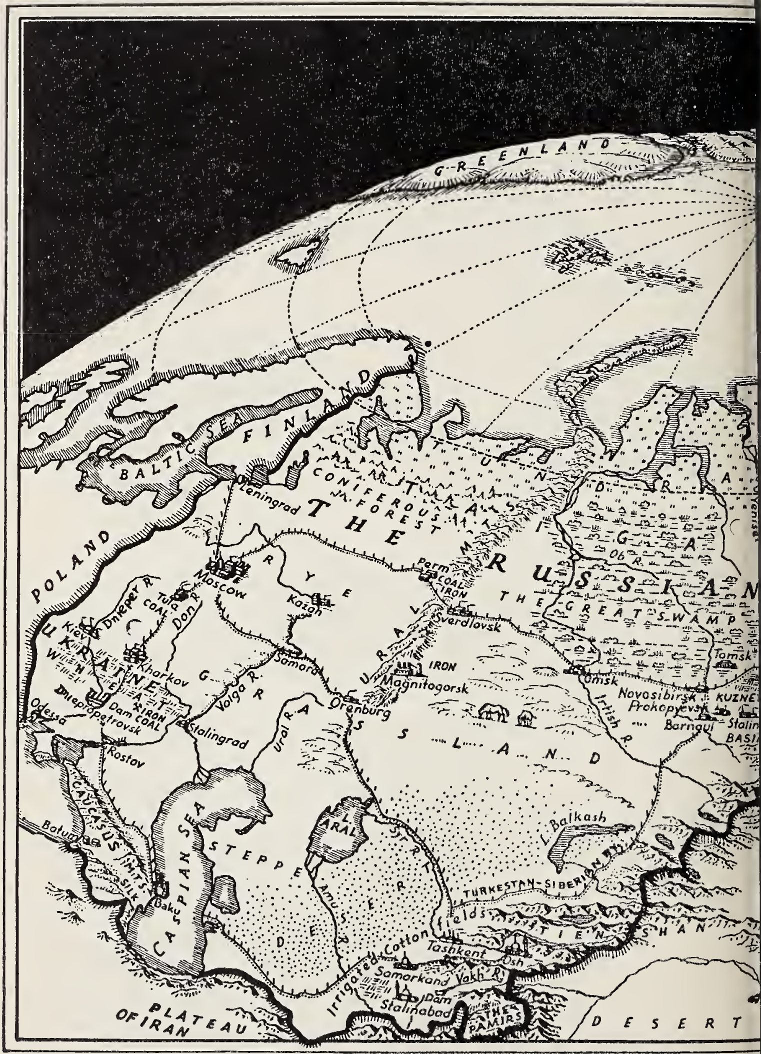
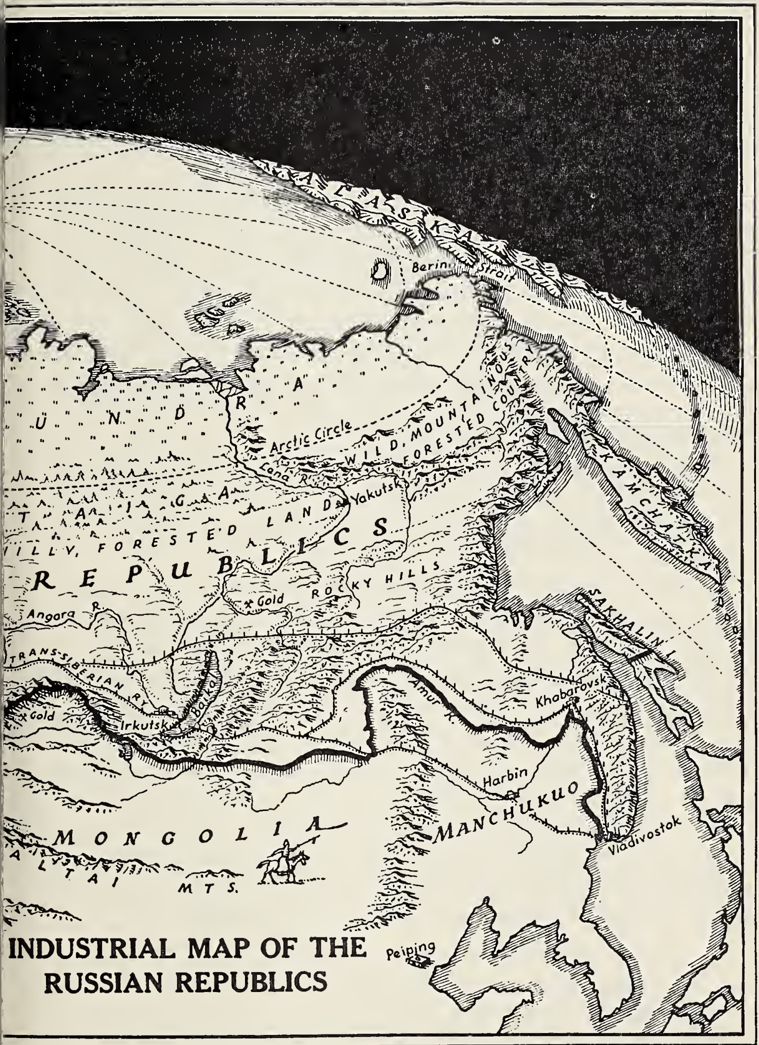

GREENLAND
BALTIC SEA
FINLAND
POLAND
Leningrad
CONIFEROUS FOREST
TUNDRA
TAIGA
THE RUSSIAN
Perm
COAL
IRON
Moscow
RYE
Kazan
Tula
COAL
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Kiev
UKRAINE
WHEAT
Kharkov
Dniepropetrovsk
Dam
COAL
IRON
Odessa
Stalingrad
Rostov
Volga R.
GRASS LAND
Samara
Ural R.
Orenburg
URAL
Sverdlovsk
IRON
Magnitogorsk
THE GREAT SWAMP
Ob R.
Yenisei
Omsk
Irtish R.
Tomsk
Novosibirsk
Prokopyevsk
Barnaul
KUZNE
Stalin
BASI
CAUCASUS MTS.
Batum
Silk
Baku
CASPIAN SEA
STEPPE
ARAL
Syr R.
DESERT
Amu R.
L. Balkash
TURKESTAN-SIBERIAN RY.
TIEN SHAN
Irrigated Cotton fields
Tashkent
Osh
Samarkand
Vakh R.
Dam
Stalinabad
THE PAMIRS
PLATEAU OF IRAN
DESERT

Fig. 159. A picture map of the Russian republics. What does it tell


ALASKA
Bering Strait
TUNDRA
Arctic Circle
WILD, MOUNTAINOUS FORESTED COUNTRY
KAMCHATKA
Lena R.
Yakutsk
TAIGA
HILLY, FORESTED LAND
REPUBLICS
Gold
ROCKY HILLS
Angara R.
SAKHALIN I.
TRANS-SIBERIAN RY.
Baikal
Amur R.
Khabarovsk
Gold
Irkutsk
Harbin
MANCHUKUO
Vladivostok
MONGOLIA
ALTAI MTS.
Peiping

INDUSTRIAL MAP OF THE RUSSIAN REPUBLICS

ut the kinds of land and ways of living in different parts of the country?

ment agents then took possession of all other farms in that district. They confiscated animals and tools and machinery and exiled to one of the various prison stations of the new government those kulaks who still refused to join. Members of their families were separated from one another. If a building was needed by the *kolhoz*, agents took the house of a kulak. He and his family were compelled to find a new place to live.

As a result of these efforts the farms of Russia were slowly brought under social ownership and operation. In 1929 only 8 per cent of the farms in Russia were owned and operated collectively; but a year later the percentage had risen to 22; in 1931 it reached 35. At the end of the plan, in 1933, the leaders announced that 80 per cent of the farm land under cultivation was socially owned and operated. The use of power-driven machinery had also increased. In 1928 there were 26,000 tractors in use; in 1932 the number reached 148,000!

Thus by education, propaganda, and force the Communist party actually succeeded in getting tens of millions of farmers to join with them in setting up a state in which the means of production are owned and operated publicly.

But the success of the "socialized" plan had also brought about serious dangers. Before the kulaks had been forced into the plan, many of them killed their cattle. Because of this, all over Russia the number of horses, cows, pigs, and other live stock declined sharply. To make matters worse, 1931 was a bad crop year. These events endangered the Five-Year Plan in agriculture. Millions of farmers on the verge of starvation opposed the plan; millions of others were indifferent. In late 1932 and early 1933 famine, undernourishment, disease, and death were prevalent in many agricultural areas. Thus although the farms of Russia had largely been taken over on a public-ownership basis, it was done at the cost of great suffering to millions of farm families.

Other effects of the plan on the lives of the people

While the first Five-Year Plan was changing industry and agriculture, the people's ways of living were greatly improved in other respects. Clubhouses for recreation were built in thousands of towns and villages. Radios were provided so that distant villages which had been isolated for centuries could "tune in" on Moscow and other cities having sending stations. Telephone and telegraph systems and new railroad lines were built, connecting the scattered villages with the cities. New schoolhouses were put up all over the country. In 1928 there were only 11,000,000 pupils in elementary and secondary schools; in 1932, only four years later, the number had risen to 23,000,000. Nurseries for little children were established. Owing to schools, the motion picture, radio, newspapers, pamphlets, and books, by the end of 1932 (according to the *Handbook of the Soviet Union*) 90 per cent of the population had learned to read and write.

New kinds of Western clothing were adopted by the people — modern hats, collars, ties, and underwear.

Remember, then, that the first Five-Year Plan included the improvement of every phase of the life of the people — family and community life as well as industry and agriculture.

THE FOURTH STAGE: 1933 TO DATE

The second Five-Year Plan

The fourth stage of the new Russian experiment in government covers the period from the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan, in 1933, to today. While the first plan was still being carried out, the leaders began to draw up the second Five-Year Plan. Since state ownership of industry and agriculture was largely a reality, the problem now was to speed up agriculture and the manufacturing of goods to meet the needs of the people in their everyday living. Huge power plants and factories had already been built and collective farms had been organized, but the people were still not getting enough food, clothing, or other necessities, and the quality of the goods given them was not good. These conditions the new plan must remedy, said the leaders.

And it is in these respects that the second plan is different from the first one. From 1933 on, vast improvements and new experiments in farming have been made. By 1936 nearly 400,000 tractors had come into use, instead of 148,000, as in 1932; and many new tractor stations had been built.

Moreover, a new attitude of coöperation has emerged among the farmers. The government is showing a different spirit also. Instead of demanding that the farmer cultivate all his land for state purposes, the government is allowing him to use part of it to satisfy his own needs. He can have his own little garden and grow things for his own use. Thus the stubborn opposition and hatred of the peasant who lost his land and cattle have diminished. The famine, disease, and undernourishment of the closing years of the first plan are disappearing. Meanwhile industry has made great strides, and there have been substantial gains each year in the production of coal, oil, and pig iron. More and more goods to satisfy the everyday wants of the people are being produced.

As a result of these and many other changes a new Russia is emerging today. There is less hatred among what used to be the warring "classes," chiefly because "classes" have been done away with. Through persuasion, education, propaganda, force, and exile, those who object to the new plan are gradually being eliminated. Thus it is that the leaders of the Communist party have led the people to accept their ideas.

A new constitution, 1936: Is democracy advancing in Russia?

But ever since 1917 all that has been done in Russia has been accomplished under the complete dictatorship of the Communist party; the people generally have not been allowed the rights and privileges of a democracy. Beginning with the early years of the second Five-Year Plan, however, observers note that the people were gradually being given more *economic freedom*. Higher wages were paid to the better workers. Those who contributed most to the state were given the greatest privileges. But the real control of government continued to remain in the hands of a small group of communists. Stalin and his associates issued the commands. Opposition meant punishment.

Finally, by 1935, the Communist party felt that their plans had been carried out far enough to give the people a larger share in government. More than 95 per cent of the national income was being produced by "socialized" enterprises — industrial, trading, and agricultural. The vast majority of the Russian people had become sympathetic to the dictates of the leaders. A spirit of coöperation had replaced forced obedience.

These developments prompted the leaders of the Communist party to grant the people more power. Repeatedly since 1917 they had promised the people a more democratic government. The dictatorship was merely a necessary transition from a capitalistic society to a communistic one, they said.

At last, in 1935, they announced that the time had arrived for a more democratic government, and in the following year they drew up a new constitution. This was adopted by the eighth Congress of Soviets in November, 1936, to be effective in January, 1937. Although it is still too early to see clearly how much democracy this constitution will really give, we can note six of its chief provisions:

1. All persons over eighteen years of age are allowed to vote and be elected to office.

2. Voting is by secret ballot, and the vote of a peasant is now equal to the vote of a city person.

3. A bill of rights guarantees all persons the right to work, rest, and old-age security.

4. More civil rights are granted — more freedom of speech, press, assembly, and public demonstration.

5. Instead of seven federated republics, there are now eleven. The Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is broken up into three new ones — Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, and Armenia. Two parts of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are now separate republics — Kazak and Kirghiz.

6. A new national legislature, called the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R., is set up, composed of two houses, similar to the United States Congress. One body, the Council of Union, is elected for four years by the *direct* vote of the people. In this there is one representative for every 300,000 voters. The second body, called the Council of Nationalities, is chosen by the governments of the republics and autonomous areas. The Supreme Council meets twice a year, unless called into special session at more frequent intervals. Between sessions the Presidium (37 persons appointed by the Supreme Council) does the work of the Supreme Council.

The Supreme Council also appoints the Council of People's Commissars. This body is, according to the constitution, the "supreme executive and administrative organ of state power."

Although it is too early to say just how much real political freedom the new constitution will actually give the people, it does appear that the people are to have a much larger part in determining the nation's affairs. We must remember, of course, first, that the Russian people have had less experience with democracy than any other large Western nation, and second, that the Communist party is still the only political party which is allowed. Undoubtedly Stalin and his associates will continue to rule Russia. So it seems clear that to tell how much democracy the new constitution will give the Russian people we must see how it works in practice for some years.

This, in outline, is the story of the dramatic transformation of Russia since 1917. In two decades the third largest nation in the world has overturned monarchic government, turned its back on democracy, and experimented with socialism.

INTERESTING READING FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Chamberlain, William Henry. Russia's Iron Age. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston. For the best readers.

Dean, Vera Micheles. Soviet Russia, 1917–1933. Foreign Policy Association, New York. A World Affairs pamphlet.

Fischer, Louis. Soviet Journey. Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, New York.

Hindus, Maurice. The Great Offensive. Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, New York.

Huppert, Hugo. Men of Siberia. International Publishers, New York. Stories of the new manufacturing centers.

Ilin, M. New Russia's Primer. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. What the Soviets are doing in new Russia.

Handbook of the Soviet Union. American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, New York. Statistics concerning recent developments.

UNIT VII

INDUSTRIAL EUROPE PRODUCES A NEW CULTURE

INDUSTRIAL EUROPE PRODUCES A NEW CULTURE

The new ways of thinking which developed in Europe after 1500 affected every aspect of modern culture. Two of these aspects have already been studied: economic life and new experiments in government. We turn now to the third aspect of European life which was changed by the new ways of thinking,— to the "lively arts" and the fine arts. This new European civilization produced more than science, machine industry, and a high material standard of living: it produced also increased leisure and more interesting arts with which to enjoy it. It gave the common man many new ways of entertaining himself — the use of the automobile, the motion picture, the radio, and the widespread reading of magazines, newspapers, and books. These we shall study in Chapter XVII.

In Chapter XVIII we shall learn something about Europe's contribution to the fine arts — her architecture and sculpture, her beautiful music and painting, her literature, the dance and the theater.

CHAPTER XVII

THE "LIVELY ARTS" AND THE CHANGING CULTURES IN EUROPE

In 1900 the people of hundreds of little British villages were carrying on their quiet lives in much the same way as had their great-great-grandfathers 100 years before in the same little villages. For years the English countryside and its villages had changed but little. Winding lanes, hedge-lined, along them cottages bowered in roses . . . occasional fishing hamlets, their steep, rocky streets connected by stone steps . . . rambling village streets, shaded by ancient, spreading trees, along which jogged horses drawing phaëtons and carts . . . villagers gossiping together over hedges or outside the shops . . . a village shop itself "with its green-bottle windows and the assortment of licorice, note paper, shoe laces, and soap."

Not only in England but in France and Germany — indeed, in all Europe — most people lived their threescore and ten years in villages. They cultivated their fields, tended their gardens, did their daily work, worshiped in their little stone churches. How quiet and leisurely life was! There were no motor cars with loud horns and screeching brakes, no radios barking from open windows, few trains, no telephones. Occupations, means of transportation and communication, and recreation — all were marked by the quietness of the natural countryside itself.

Of course such ways of living had their disadvantages too. Life was often uniform, even monotonous, and surely isolated. There was little contact with other parts of the world, even with the near-by cities of one's own country. One seldom saw new people or discussed new ideas. Physical life was made difficult by the lack of conveniences and comforts.

Nevertheless, in the late 1800's life for most people in the villages of western Europe was leisurely and uneventful. Their wants were few and easily satisfied.

Then, as in America, came the New Industrial Revolution

Today much of the countryside has changed. Telephone and telegraph wires appear on the landscape between village and city. Railroads draw more and more communities within national transportation systems. Billboards advertising soap, tires, automobiles, hotels, and the latest millinery and hosiery line the roads.

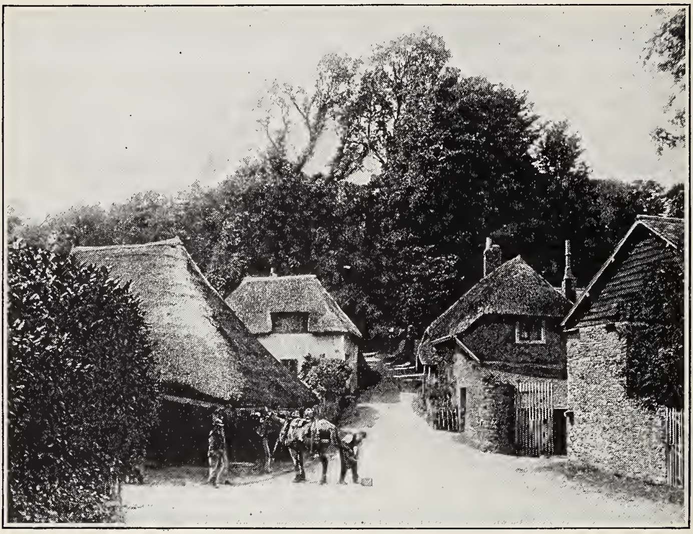


FIG. 160. An unchanged village. Were the two men not shown in this picture, one might almost believe that this little English village had gone to sleep in the 1600's and was yet unaware of the Industrial Revolution which has taken place

How different, too, is life in many of the villages! Power stations, belching forth smoke, light them with incandescent lamps. Down the once quiet streets whiz automobiles and motor cycles. Gasoline stations and garages line the main streets; drug stores as varied as department stores stand on the corners. Cinema theaters — as motion-picture theaters are called in Europe — display colored posters. Even the little villages already show pictures once a week; "soon it will be twice a week, and after that 'the talkers,' as they are called." In the evenings families go to the cinema, or else gather about radio sets, listening to jazz bands playing in London, Liverpool, or perhaps even in America.

Thus the New Industrial Revolution, which swept the United States after 1890, changing all its ways of living, is now rolling back over Europe. As you know, in the 1800's England and other countries invented power-driven machines and Europeanized other continents. Today, in the 1900's, the United States, which has carried the Industrial Revolution farther than other countries, is Americanizing Europe — indeed, the earth. So, at least, declare European leaders, most of whom fear the changes that are coming.

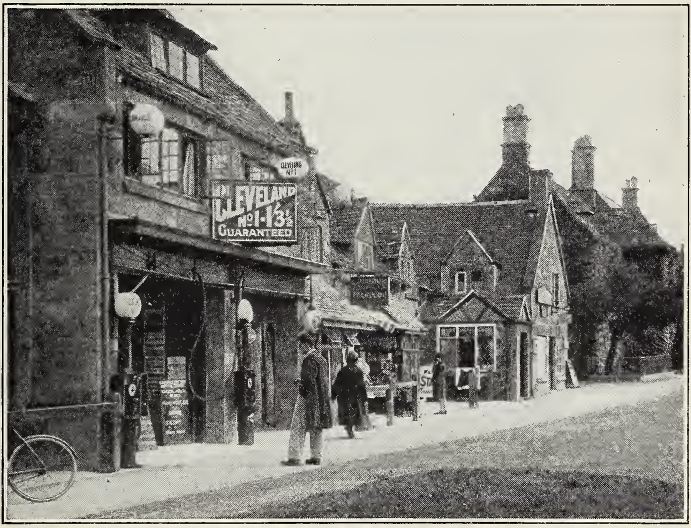


FIG. 161. A changing village. In the days of the Tudors, English earls and squires stopped here to quench their thirst for ale and to gossip of crops and politics. Today, to the same place, motorists bring their "thirsty" automobiles, and the talk centers about the merits of competing cars and oils

You already know the chief characteristics of this New Industrial Revolution:[1]

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[1] See *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture,* Vol. V of this series, Chaps. VIII–IX.

1. The ever-increasing invention of power-driven machines to do the work of men.
2. The invention of practicable and cheap automobiles.
3. The widespread use of the telephone.
4. The improvement of the motion picture and its adoption as the chief form of recreation by the mass of the people.
5. The invention and widespread use of the radio.
6. The rapid increase in the number and kinds of organizations — fraternal societies, neighborhood clubs, business and labor organizations, memorial, patriotic, and charitable societies.
7. The changing attitudes of and toward women — their work, their play, their rapid entrance into occupations outside of the home.
8. The movement toward universal elementary education and an increase in the amount of education received by all.
9. The result of these important changes and developments showing itself in the most astonishing growth of cities that the world has ever known.

Recall that populations had grown swiftly

As in the United States, so also in other countries, population had increased with astonishing rapidity in the 1800's and early 1900's. Figure 162 shows the increase in the larger European nations. Between 1820 and 1920 the Russian population grew from about 45,000,000 to 134,000,000; the population of Germany, from 24,000,000 to 60,000,000; of the United Kingdom, from 21,000,000 to 43,000,000; of Italy, from 18,000,000 to about 39,000,000. Only France grew slowly, as French families continued to be small.

Not only in Europe and America has this growth in population occurred. It is a *world* development. In 1845, it is estimated, the population of the entire earth, in round numbers, was 1,000,000,000; in 1930 it was estimated at approximately 1,900,000,000. The number of people on the earth has almost doubled in 85 years. Why? For many reasons which you have already studied. The chief reason was the world-wide use of scientific knowledge in improving human health conditions. As a result, water supplies were improved, dairies and other centers of food production and distribution were made more sanitary, centers of pestilence were eliminated, and knowledge of surgery, preventive medicine, and the like was spread through the world.

The rapid drift to the cities

But no change that is coming about in European culture is causing more anxiety than the increasing size of cities. In 1800 few of the people of the British Isles lived in the cities; today almost 80 per cent are crowded together in such communities. Only 6 per cent of the people are occupied in the production of food. Of the rest four out of every five work in factories, offices, and schools, on trains and boats, or at like occupations.

In France a somewhat similar transformation is taking place, particularly in the northern industrial sections. In 1872 approximately 70 per cent of the French people were living in towns and rural villages which contained less than 2000 inhabitants; in 1926, only 51 per cent. Furthermore, Table XXXVII indicates that all sizes of towns and cities are now growing.

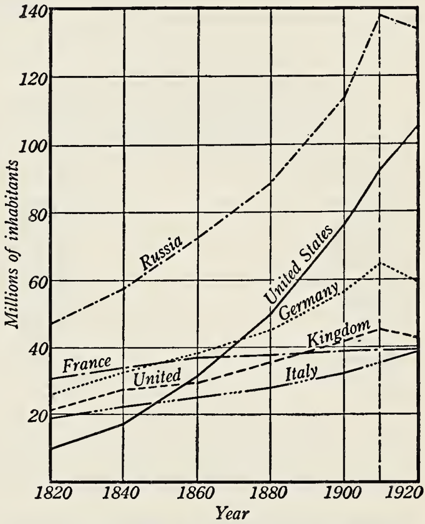

FIG. 162. Increase of population in the principal countries of Europe and in the United States, 1820–1920. (Adapted from *Mankind at the Crossroads*, by Edward M. East. Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons)

That the same thing happened in Germany is clearly illustrated by figure 131. In 1871 about 36 per cent of the German

TABLE XXXVII

Growth of Cities in France, 1921 and 1926		
	1921	1926
Number of communes with 5001–10,000 inhabitants . .	394	429
Number of communes with 10,001–20,000 inhabitants .	175	207
Number of communes with 20,001 inhabitants and over	140	159
Number of towns with over 100,000 inhabitants	15	17

people were living in towns and cities of over 2000 inhabitants; in 1925, about 64 per cent.

Table XXXVIII presents the most recent estimate of this astonishing drift to the cities. It is clear that the countries which have introduced power-driven machinery most completely are the ones in which the most people have left the farms to live in cities.

TABLE XXXVIII[1]

Per Cent of Inhabitants of Various Countries living in Urban Districts (generally of 2000 People or More)	
England and Wales	79.3
Scotland	77.3
Germany	64.4
Belgium	57.1
France	46.4
Denmark	43.4
Czechoslovakia	43.3
Sweden	30.7
Ukraine	19.9
Japan	18.7
Portugal	17.4
Finland	16.1
India	10.2

This, then, is an important fact which we must keep in mind in considering cultural changes in Europe. As the people of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and other countries are crowding into cities as fast as, or even faster than, the people of the United States, we must expect to find somewhat the same changes in ways of working and playing as in our own country.

And that is what we do find. Let us consider some aspects of this dramatic change that is taking place in countries as they adopt industrial civilization.

The Increasing Use of the Automobile

In our earlier studies we found that the basis of the changes that were taking place in the family, neighborhood, and community life of America was the automobile. America played an important part in the invention of the automobile. Here huge factories were constructed to produce automobiles. In 1930 more than 75 per cent of all the automobiles in the world were in use in America. Nearly 9,000,000 were in use in other countries, mostly in Europe. Interestingly enough, after the United

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[1] Based on the most recent census figures.

States, it is the other English-speaking countries (the United Kingdom and its dominions) that have made the most use of the automobile if the ratio of automobiles to population is considered. France has adopted it almost as much as England. However, Germany lags behind, with one car to each 99 people. What a contrast to the United States, which has one car to each 5 people!

TABLE XXXIX

Number of Passenger Automobiles in Use in some of the Leading Countries, January 1, 1930

United States	23,181,000
United Kingdom	1,054,000
Canada	1,018,000
France	930,000
Germany	475,000
Australia	461,000
Argentina	296,000
Union of South Africa	130,000
Brazil	128,000
Spain	127,000

In England and in the neighborhoods of large cities in France and Germany, one sees lines of automobiles on the highways on holidays and week-ends, as in the United States. In many parts of England traffic conditions are indeed very much like those in America. But, except in the very largest cities, other European countries have not yet adopted the automobile so generally. The chief reason is, perhaps, that the people have less money and cannot afford automobiles. Nevertheless, leading students are very much troubled by the rate at which this aspect of Americanization — this whizzing through the country in motor cars — is taking up the leisure time of the people.

With the automobile came the swift improvement of paved roads. Although somewhat more slowly than in the United States, macadamized, asphalt, and concrete roads have been built throughout western Europe. Except for Russia, few have been constructed in eastern Europe. Today there are more paved roads in Europe than in any other continent, even in North America.

One can ride through the British Isles, through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and much of Italy and Austria, on fine macadamized roads. And in increasing numbers people are turning to automobile riding for recreation, as well as for speed in conducting their business.

THE CINEMA — REVOLUTIONIZING THE WANTS AND INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE

After the automobile as an influence in changing ways of living comes the motion picture — the cinema. Utterly unknown in 1890, it is today a leading form of entertainment in western Europe. In the four outstanding countries — Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia — there are today almost 20,000 motion-picture houses, seating more than 8,000,000 people.

TABLE XL

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF MOTION-PICTURE THEATERS AND THEIR SEATING CAPACITY IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, 1930

	Number of Theaters	Number of Seats
United States	21,000	12,000,000
Germany	5,267	1,876,000
Russia	5,200	2,200,000
Great Britain	4,226	2,200,000
France	4,221	2,100,000
Spain	3,000	1,468,000
Italy	2,800	1,800,000
Belgium	930	300,000
Poland	631	203,000
Turkey	104	37,000
Albania	3	1,400

The statistics that are given in Table XL afford a glimpse of the speed with which the new American enterprise is Americanizing Europe. For the cinema is essentially an American institution. The chief inventions which led to the perfection of the motion-picture camera and of other apparatus were made by Americans, and American producers developed the enterprise to its present tremendous size. As a result, today 80 per cent of all the feature plays shown in England are made in the United States. Although German "movies" have achieved international reputation for their creative excellence, more than 60 per cent of all pictures shown in German theaters are made in America. Indeed, it is estimated that 90 per cent of all "movies" made and displayed in the world today are made in the United States. These pictures are shown in more than 60 countries, and their subtitles are now translated into no less than 37 languages.

Note carefully the tremendous influence of the motion picture in transforming the culture of the world. Men, women, and children now sit in darkened rooms in little villages in England, Germany, Norway, Lithuania, Russia, Turkey, South Africa, Argentina, India, China, Japan; in short, in practically every country of the globe. They see the drama of current events in distant sections of their own country, as well as in America and other lands. By way of contrast to the monotony of the life in their own villages, they see the variety of life in great cities and other ways of living. They are bedazzled by new styles of clothing, houses, motor cars, and the like. They witness the breath-taking wonders of totally different civilizations and the greater comfort of the peoples of industrial nations. They note the ease with which goods are produced and distributed. They see broad, well-paved streets, clean, substantial houses, happy youth in schools and on playgrounds, and so on.

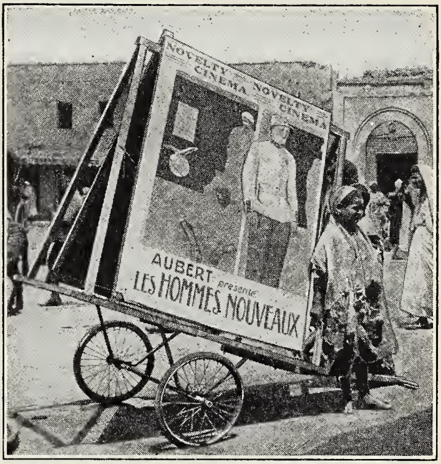

Fig. 163. Through this billboard on wheels a French movie is advertised in Morocco

And more and more they imitate American customs. As one student of the problem says:

> Chinese girls are abandoning pantaloons for short skirts, long hair for boyish bobs. American manners and morals are spreading throughout the world. Peruvians are demanding player pianos and athletic underwear. Yorkshire manufacturers of boots and clothing complain that they have been obliged to alter their plants because the Near East wants vests like Valentino's and [clothes] like Clara Bow's.[1]

Thus we see again that the East is being affected by the West and that movies are playing a part in the change.

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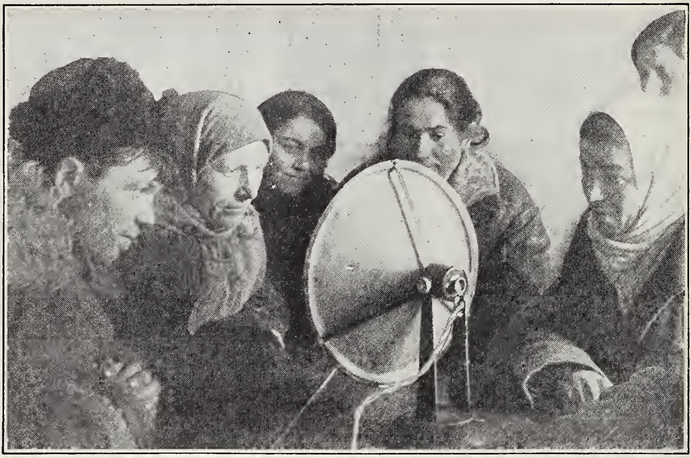
[1] Peter Odegard, *The American Public Mind*, p. 208. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

Is Listening to the Radio becoming a Popular Means of Recreation?

In 1920 there was not a radio broadcasting station in Europe. At the beginning of 1928 there were 200 stations. This increase indicates the rapidity with which the radio is seizing the time and interest of western Europeans. Indeed, if we add the 500 stations (at the beginning of 1928) in the United States, we can see that listening to the radio is becoming a leisure-time activity for the entire Western world.



Press Cliché

FIG. 164. Russian peasants listening to a radio program. For those who cannot read, the radio is a particularly important means of instruction and entertainment

So swiftly did radio broadcasting spring up in the leading countries of Europe that by 1925 it was recognized that there was grave need for international control of the air. Announcers in French, German, and English sent their words out over the boundaries of 30 countries, mixing them with those of Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, and the various Slavic tongues. The air represented a confusion of tongues indeed.

It was necessary, therefore, for European broadcasters to agree upon rules of international control. This they did at conferences in 1925 and 1926. Within a year and a half a pan-European radio scheme was in operation — *another step toward international coöperation.*

While most of the radio sets in Europe are owned by individual families, as they are in the United States, there is also a definite movement to install radios in community centers. Loud-speakers are being set up in hospitals, hotels, cafés, moving-picture houses, and other public places. In many small communities the public squares are now the centers of attraction at various hours of the day because of the loud-speaker, which broadcasts world events, opera music, and lectures. Is it not clear that such an innovation must radically transform the isolated, self-sufficient villages and towns of Europe?

Of what are European programs composed? Mostly of music, as in the United States. Approximately 70 per cent of the radio programs of Great Britain are devoted to music. In the early days, 1923–1925, almost no classical music — symphonies, operas, and the like — were put on the air. Only the lightest and most trivial kind of music was presented.

Then in 1924 and thereafter came sharp changes. Even more than in the United States the public demanded good programs. The result was that more fine singing, instrumental chamber music, and orchestral and choral music were carried into the homes of the British people. As in the United States, the larger symphony orchestras now broadcast their principal performances. Thus at the present time a considerable proportion of the radio programs in Great Britain is devoted to fine music. Indeed, American experts have declared, after comparing radio programs in Great Britain with those in America, that the British programs are distinctly superior to most of the programs given here.

The People of Industrial and Democratic Countries are now Able to Read

No fact of the changing culture of Europe is more important than *the increasing ability of the people to read.* Steadily during the past 150 years literacy has spread. In the Middle Ages even many ruling kings and dukes and counts were unable to read and write. Alfred the Great of England, as you have learned, was a notable exception to the rule. In 1500 not one tenth of all the people could read. In 1700 the fraction was only a little larger. But after 1800, as machine manufacturing was taken up in the western-European countries and as democratic movements spread swiftly, the demand for education also increased. As attendance at elementary school was made compulsory for all children, more and more people learned reading, writing, and simple arithmetic.

TABLE XLI

Per Cent of Population Unable to read and write (according to 1930 Censuses and Estimates)

Industrial Countries		Nonindustrial Countries	
United Kingdom	Less than 1	Spain	54
Germany		Russia (changing in industrialism and in literacy)	49
Japan		China	80
United States	6	Syria	80
France	8	India, more than	90
Belgium	9		

As a result, by 1870 about three fourths of all the people of Great Britain, France, and Germany could read and write. In Germany 90 per cent of the people were literate even as early as 1841; 97 per cent, by 1881; and 99.7 per cent, by 1895. A remarkable achievement, indeed, when we consider that even in 1930 in the United States only 94 per cent of the total population could read and write.

But note, in Table XLI, the sharp contrast between industrial and nonindustrial countries. In 1930 six industrialized countries with well-developed educational systems had almost no people unable to read and write. In five nonindustrial countries from half to nine tenths of the people were illiterate. Is it not clear that the ability to communicate with other people through reading and writing is markedly higher in the countries that have developed or are developing the new industrial civilization?

Increased Reading of Newspapers, Magazines, and Books marked the Changing Culture of Western Europeans

As industrial civilization spread from England after 1800 and as literacy increased, reading became more and more universal among the masses. As early as 1600, newspapers had been in existence in England and in western-European countries. But printing was laboriously done by hand, newspapers were expensive, and circulations were very small.[1] Then, about the middle of the 1800's, the new rotary printing presses were developed in the United States. The linotype and other machines were also invented. As these were used and improved in western Europe the manufacturing of newspapers, magazines, and books became easier and less expensive, and circulations increased. Later the use of the telegraph, the telephone, and railroad express trains increased the facilities with which news could be carried from every spot of the earth into the growing newspaper offices of European cities. The demand of the literate people for better and larger newspapers grew hand in hand with these advances in the method of gathering news.

Let us consider newspapers in the three leading industrial nations of Europe — Great Britain, France, and Germany. Circulations increased greatly in each of these countries, especially after 1875. Great metropolitan newspapers developed. In London were the London *Times*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Daily Mail*; in Paris were the *Matin*, the *Petit Journal*, the *Figaro*, the *Écho de Paris*, and the *Journal des Débats*; in Germany were the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the *Berliner Tageblatt*. In France, indeed, the circulation of such metropolitan newspapers as the *Petit Journal* and the *Petit Parisien* exceeded 1,000,000 before similar papers in the United States had reached such numbers.

As circulations increased, newspapers became Big Business, as the American papers had. Great chains were developed, especially after 1920. Consider, for example, the Rothermere chain of newspapers in England, which includes the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening News*, the *Sunday Dispatch*, the *Overseas Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, and others. This chain has a total capitalization of about $35,000,000. There are also the Beaverbrook chain and the *Daily Chronicle* chain.

But the largest English chain is that of the two Berrys. This enormous concern, which owns newspapers in the larger cities and in smaller communities all over England, has a capitalization of more than $160,000,000. It controls three daily and two Sunday newspapers in London; eight morning, eight evening, and three Sunday newspapers outside of London; and fourteen weekly newspapers. In addition it controls two morning, two evening, and two weekly newspapers and one Sunday newspaper in Scotland.

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[1] See Volume V, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, Chap. XIV.

In France this amalgamation of separate newspapers into great corporate chains has not developed to the same extent. In 1928, in Paris alone, there were 337 general newspapers and 127 sporting newspapers. In all France, outside of Paris, more than 3000 separate newspapers were published.

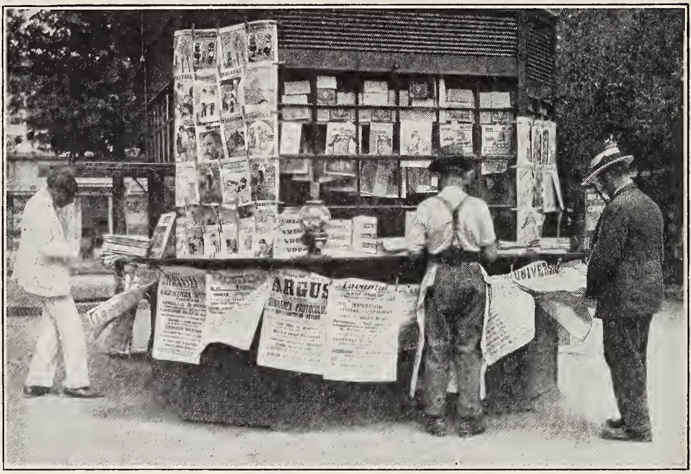

Fig. 165. A newspaper stand in Bucharest, Rumania. The various piles of newspapers which you can see indicate that even in this comparatively small country enough people know how to read and are sufficiently interested in daily happenings to support several newspapers

However, in Germany a few people tend to control the newspapers as they do in England and in the United States. One owner, Alfred Hugenberg, through his control of the ideas published in newspapers, has become almost a dictator. He supplies no fewer than 1600 journals with telegraphic news, and some of the smaller papers which are unable to maintain editorial staffs of their own he supplies with editorial matter. He also owns the leading moving-picture company and an important advertising agency.

Think of the influence over public opinion exerted in Germany by this one man and his few wealthy associates! Hugenberg controls 1600 newspapers, 150 "movie" houses, and the leading news and editorial services of the nation. Will this help the growth of democracy? Will government become really expressive of the will of the people? Will the people form their own opinions or will Hugenberg tell them what to think?

In the smaller European countries also newspapers increased, especially after 1880. Today newspapers in Belgium are published in both French and Flemish. In Brussels alone there are seventeen daily papers; in Antwerp, nine. Newspapers have also developed in the Netherlands. The eight daily newspapers in Amsterdam, the seven in the Hague, and the five in Rotterdam are distributed all over the little country.

In Austria there is a wealthy newspaper press which is concentrated in Vienna. Such leading newspapers as the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Neues Wiener Journal* are distributed throughout Austria and much of Hungary. In Budapest, Hungary, are ten daily newspapers which have large circulations in the provinces outside the city. In Czechoslovakia newspapers developed rapidly after the World War. Every political party — and there are many of them — has its newspaper; but although freedom of the press is guaranteed by the constitution, government censorship is practiced.

THE NEW REVOLUTION IN OUTDOOR SPORTS

Recently a schoolboy in a southern province of France was asked by a foreign traveler to tell who, in his opinion, was the greatest hero in France.

"Jean Bovet," he replied.

Who do you suppose Jean Bovet was? The champion football-player of the local school!

This little episode illustrates a revolutionary change in the attitude of European people, especially of the younger ones, toward sport. Football, bicycling, hockey, cricket, tennis, golf, and hiking are rapidly becoming popular outdoor recreations.

1. *Sports in England.* In England sport has long been a leading activity of the well-to-do. But now Playing Fields Societies for the less well-to-do are springing up in the larger communities. There are, for example, the London Playing Fields Society and the Manchester Playing Fields Society. These societies are building new grounds, providing equipment, and encouraging football, cricket, and other sports among the working classes of British cities.

The extent to which this movement has developed in the British Isles is shown by recent reports of these societies. In London, for example, there are, under the auspices of the London Playing Fields Society, "187 cricket pitches, 104 football grounds, 5 hockey grounds, and 145 lawn-tennis courts." This means that a private organization has provided playing space for more than 10,000 players. Under public auspices there are even more provisions for sports. London alone has provided playing space for tens of thousands of players.

In addition to these agencies, there is the National Playing Fields Association. This has developed football grounds, cricket, hockey, tennis, and other playgrounds in all the leading cities of England and Scotland. On these playing fields, in the late afternoon, the evening, and during week-ends, millions of young Britishers are engaging in sports.

2. *Sports in France.* In France athletic sports and games are a more recent development than in England. However, since the World War the lure of outdoor athletics and competitive games has been felt by the French people more and more. Here too, although not so well developed, are societies for athletic sports, gymnastic societies, and the like. Altogether there are more than 8000 of these, representing football, tennis, hockey, swimming, skating, cricket, gymnastics, winter sports, and rugby. Although it is difficult to estimate the total membership of these societies, it is believed that more than 500,000 people belong to them.

Thus the organized athletic and sports associations provide for a vast amount of outdoor recreation. Increasingly the younger French people spend their leisure time in sports. There is also increasing interest in bicycling, hunting, fishing, and hiking.

3. *Sports in Germany.* In Germany a great change has come since 1914 and the World War. Before that time relatively few

boys and girls engaged in outdoor sports. Students in the universities occasionally played tennis and football; they swam in summer and skated in winter. Army officers hunted and rode horseback. However, there were almost no golf courses and few tennis courts or playing fields. There was little interest in track and field athletics or in boxing. Military drill and exercise in indoor gymnasiums were the chief kinds of athletics.

But now all is changed. With great enthusiasm millions of German youth have taken up outdoor sports. Throughout Germany football fields, tennis courts, and even golf courses are being developed, and playing fields are crowded with people. So swiftly has the demand grown for physical development that almost no child is now allowed to leave school in Germany without having learned to swim.

Organizations have been started in most of the leading cities to develop playing fields. Laws are being proposed and passed providing state and national aid in securing city land for parks and playgrounds. This is necessary because, with the growth of cities, land for leisure-time activities is increasingly difficult to get. It has been estimated that more than 5,000,000 people in Germany belong to athletic organizations, more than 1,500,000 of whom are women and 2,500,000 of whom are over twenty years of age.

A fine example of German public spirit in developing municipal playgrounds is illustrated in the Frankfurt Stadium. This is a public pleasure resort, sometimes known as the "People's Versailles." In the very heart of the great city this play place provides recreation for 500,000 people. Here, surrounded by beautiful public forests, are a stadium for athletics, a swimming pool, bicycle and running tracks, and provisions for skating in winter. Here are large play spaces for little children. Here also are fine clubhouses, broad lawns on which *Turnvereine* (gymnastic clubs) go through their exercises, several football fields, a field on which handball can be played, and a large indoor gymnasium. In this way a great city provides splendidly for public recreation.

Other German cities, notably Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Dresden, and Leipzig, although not duplicating the Frankfurt plan, are developing municipal playgrounds of similar types.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Of all the swift changes in ways of living that have come in Western nations since the close of the World War, none is more important than the changes in the lives of young people. In our earlier studies we have already seen how these changes took place in America as family life changed sharply, influenced by the automobile, the increase in the size of cities, and other phases of the New Industrial Revolution.[1]

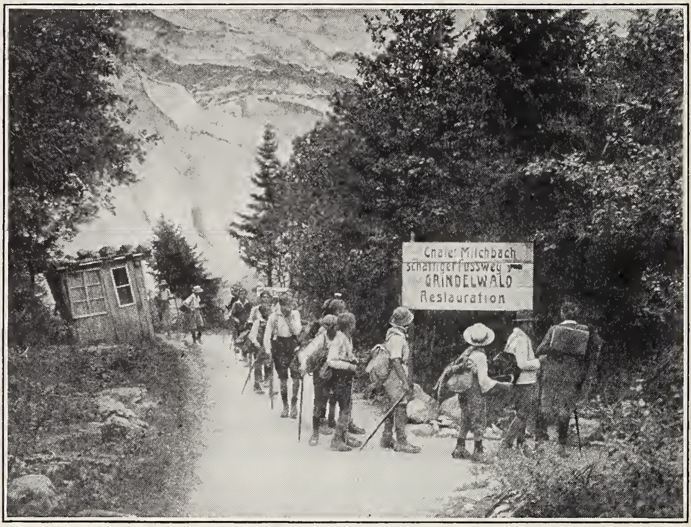

FIG. 166. A hiking club of German boys in the mountains of Switzerland. So popular has the Youth Movement become in Germany that German boys are seen hiking all over eastern and central Europe during the summer months

Even more drastically than in America, the lives of the youth of Germany have been changed by the Youth Movement. This movement was really started a century ago by the wandering, or hiking, clubs that sprang up among young Germans. Throughout the 1800's there were also scattered groups of nature-lovers who spent their leisure time outdoors, away from the towns.

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[1] See Volume V, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, Chaps. V and VI.

But the real Youth Movement did not begin until after the World War, under the leadership of young soldiers who had returned. The terrible experiences through which these young people had passed turned them away from the hurry and artificialities of city life to the simplicity of life "close to nature." Thus they were in a sense followers of Rousseau.

Young people's societies and clubs were formed, resembling in some ways the various youth associations in this country. The members were trained in the simple life. They were urged to avoid smoking, strong drink, and heavy foods. Sports were developed and walking tours were organized. Groups of German young people tramped from place to place, living out of doors in a healthful, moral atmosphere.

Frequently these societies allied themselves with political groups; for example, one joined the socialist group, another the Protestant group, another the communist group, others the pacifist group or the Catholic group.

In 1927 a national Youth Exposition held in Berlin showed how great the development of the movement had been. For example, handicraft products made by the members of the Youth Societies were displayed — woven fabrics, metal work, and cabinetwork. The way in which interest in music, literature, the dance, and dramatics has been increased was also shown. There were samples of magazines, journals, bulletins, and books published by more than 40 houses, which, through these societies, were educating and broadening the culture of young people.

The Youth Movement has helped to revive folk-dancing as it existed in Germany prior to the coming of great factory cities. Folk-song societies have sprung up, as well as clubs for the development of simple handicrafts. Other organizations of young people have developed amateur dramatics; still others, choral singing. In these ways the Youth Movement has been influential in the rebuilding of German culture.

Thus we see that the industrial nations of Europe have come under the same changing influences as has the United States. The New Industrial Revolution in England, France, Germany, and other countries is influencing the culture of the people in many ways, as it is here. It is true that the changes are on a smaller scale than in America. There are fewer pleasure automobiles owned and driven in European countries. Fewer communities and homes are equipped with electric appliances and with the telephone. Then, too, the motion picture and the radio have not made such great inroads upon family and neighborhood life. Because, to date, these new devices are far more characteristic of American culture, this widespread change in the culture of Western peoples is increasingly called Americanization.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Adams, Katharine. Midsummer. The Macmillan Company, New York. Life in Sweden. See also the author's *Midwinter*.

Benson, Edward F. David Blaize. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Also *David Blaize of King's*. Education and sports in English schools and universities.

Charskaya, Lidïya A. The Tartar Princess. Henry Holt and Company, New York. Life in Russia.

Crew, Helen Coale. Saturday's Children. Little, Brown and Company, Boston. Thirteen stories of European children in thirteen European cities.

Haskell, Helen E. Katrinka; the Story of a Russian Child (Little Schoolmate Series). E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Marshall, Archibald. Jimmie, the New Boy. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. Story of English school life.

Williamson, Margaret. John and Betty's English History Visit. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston.

Peeps at Many Lands Series. The Macmillan Company, New York.

CHAPTER XVIII

MODERN EUROPEAN CULTURE AND THE FINE ARTS

Was Art, as well as Science, highly developed by Western Europe?

Has Europe given the world art as well as science and government? It has, indeed. During the very centuries in which scientists were inventing the new ways of thinking and applying them to manufacturing, trade, and government, artists were creating beauty, to make life more worth living.

They developed music the like of which mankind had hitherto not imagined. In literature their achievement is the equal of that of any other time and place in man's history. They learned how to build masterpieces of architecture. They carried dramatic art in the theater and in the dance far beyond the attainments of most earlier peoples.

Thus European culture is distinguished from all others by its twofold success in developing both science and art. Really to understand European culture, therefore, we must study its arts, as well as its industry, trade, and government. We turn briefly to that task now.

How Western Europe developed the World's Finest Music

The modern orchestra and its music

Today, since Western scientists have invented and made usable the radio, tens of millions of families can listen to beautiful music. No longer are such things given only to kings and nobles. The common man can now enjoy one of the finest of the arts.

Consider, first, the wonder of the modern symphony orchestra. There is no finer example of the art of western Europe. In the symphony orchestra from 50 to 100 persons play about twenty different instruments and produce very different kinds of tones. Yet all are artistically woven together by the conductor into the world's most beautiful music.

No doubt you have heard over the radio some great symphony orchestra. Study for a moment the seating plan of such an orchestra in figure 167, noting the kinds of instruments and how they are played. The score of different instruments are grouped in four chief divisions. First, most of them in front, are the stringed instruments — violins, violas, violoncellos (commonly called cellos), and double-basses. Second, in the center, are the wood-wind instruments, in the form of tubes of various sizes — flutes, an English horn, clarinets, oboes, and bassoons. Third, behind and beside the wood wind, are the brass instruments — French horns, trumpets, trombones, and tubas. Fourth, at the rear, are the instruments of percussion — kettledrums (or tympani), bass drums and snare drums, cymbals, triangles, tambourines, castanets, gongs, the glockenspiel, the xylophone, the celesta, and

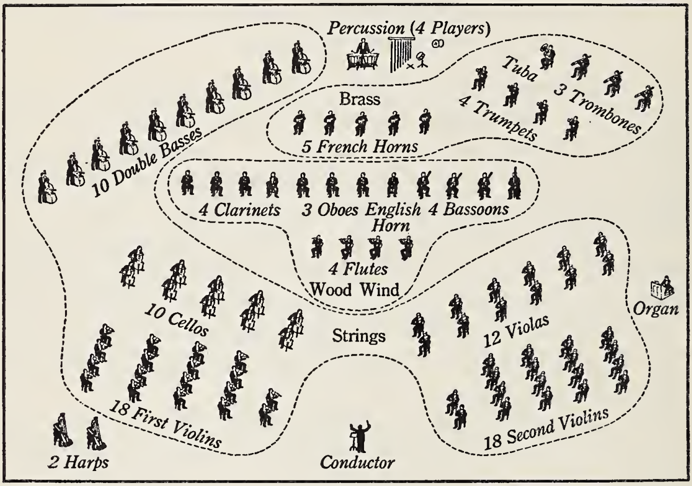
Percussion (4 Players)
Tuba
3 Trombones
4 Trumpets
Brass
5 French Horns
10 Double Basses
4 Clarinets
3 Oboes
English Horn
4 Bassoons
4 Flutes
Wood Wind
10 Cellos
Strings
12 Violas
Organ
18 First Violins
18 Second Violins
2 Harps
Conductor

FIG. 167. Note how skillfully the various instruments of the symphony orchestra are arranged. By this arrangement the music of the loud instruments does not drown the others. To provide against this still further there are also definite ratios between the numbers of the various kinds of instruments in the orchestra

the bells (or chimes). Often one or two harps are included in the orchestra, and sometimes even an organ.

Before such an orchestra could play for you, five difficult tasks had to be accomplished. Thousands of years of effort were necessary to achieve them. Let us note what had to be done. First, instruments had to be invented and perfected. Second, a system of writing music had to be devised. Third, musicians had to be trained to play different instruments correctly. Fourth, knowledge of harmony had to be attained — a knowledge of how to put tones together. Fifth, genius was necessary in composers who, writing for these different instruments, could create fine music.

Difficult tasks, indeed, — tasks not to be mastered in one generation or in one century. The foundation of modern music was not laid until about 1500. Back of that was a long, steady evolution covering several thousand years. In those "Dark Ages" of music a few simple, basic instruments — string, wood-wind, percussion, and brass — were invented, and the art of writing music was slowly devised. To understand later developments let us turn back a moment to this earlier period.

A Brief Glance at Music before Modern Times

The music of the earlier peoples

Music among the Egyptians, Assyrians, Hebrews, East Indians, and Chinese 3000 and 4000 years ago was primitive indeed. Their instruments were very simple. However, they knew something of all four of the principal types known today. For example, they had stringed instruments, such as the lyre and the harp (see figure 168), to which large choruses chanted and dancers danced. They had wood-wind instruments, such as flutes and "pipes"; and brasses, such as trumpets and horns. And they had many percussion instruments — drums, tom-toms, cymbals, gongs, and bells.

But remember that these instruments were not complex, as ours are today. The ancient peoples knew no such intricate and finished stringed instruments as the violin, the viola, the violoncello, or the bass viol (double-bass). They had no knowledge of the piano or of its predecessors, the clavichord and the harpsichord. They knew nothing of such wood-wind instruments as the clarinet or oboe or of such delicate percussion instruments as the kettledrums. Simplicity, even crudeness, marked their instruments.

Similarly, they knew almost nothing of harmony — that is, of putting various tones together in different arrangements. Nor did they know how to write down music. It could be passed on only directly, one person teaching another.

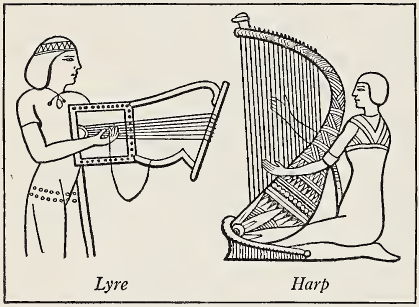

FIG. 168. Two ancient instruments, the lyre and harp. (Drawn from Egyptian wall paintings)

Though most of the instruments that we have named were known in one form or another to all these ancient peoples, different races had their favorite kinds. Whereas the agricultural Egyptians, for example, made greatest use of the lyre and the harp, the warlike Assyrians turned to the horns and trumpets. The Chinese were especially proficient in the making and use of percussion instruments. Perhaps the most important of these was the "king," known almost 4000 years ago. This consisted of sixteen stones hung from bamboo sticks, and was played by hitting the stones with a mallet. Combinations of large bells were also used. In India gongs and cymbals were used among the early Hindus, while religious songs were chanted to the accompaniment of the tambourine.

We see, therefore, that although musical history goes back beyond recorded history, early music was simple and undeveloped. Only the crudest of instruments and the simplest of melodies existed.

Among the Greeks music was the basis of all education

Then came that remarkable civilization of the Greek city-states, especially of Athens. The cultured people among the Greeks were very sensitive to beauty. And they made music the very basis of all education. Music meant not only the playing of instruments and singing but also the dance, poetry, and gymnastics. Indeed, they even used music in their work. It is said, for example, that while temples and other public buildings were being erected, musicians "accompanied" the workers on their lyres.

Although small contributions were made, it cannot be said that the Greeks gave much to modern music. They too used stringed instruments — the lyre and the harp — as well as simple wood wind. They developed choral singing for religious and patriotic celebrations.

Pythagoras, the mathematician and musician, devised a new instrument known as the "monochord" — a single string tightly stretched over a sounding board. In the later history of music this instrument was developed into more complicated stringed instruments. Moreover, the Greeks experimented with *writing* music. Although they lacked clear means of showing pitch and meter, they recorded melodies by writing letters of their alphabet over the words of the songs.

In this way Pythagoras and other Greeks helped to build up the *scientific* basis of music. And, as a result, even 2000 years ago advances were made in instruments, in the intellectual study of music, in choral singing, and in the use of music in connection with other activities.

For more than 1000 years the Catholic Church preserved and developed music

Centuries passed. The glory of Greece declined. Rome rose to power. In 313 A.D. the Emperor Constantine decreed that Christianity should be on an equality with other religions in all the Roman Empire. From that time on, the lives of Europeans came increasingly under the influence of the Catholic Church. The Church was not only a great power in the life and government of Europe but also an important factor in the preservation of world culture.

Almost from its beginning the Church encouraged singing and music. About 595, under Pope Gregory the Great, for example, a school of church singing was started, and a system of musical education was begun. Monks and priests collected melodies and wrote hymns and Masses. Trained choirs developed in Rome and in other religious centers. The festivals of the year became great musical events.

Thus from 600 to 900 music became standardized throughout the Church in Europe. But except for the primitive organs practically no advance was made in the invention of instruments.

Slowly, however, another contribution to the development of music was made through the efforts of churchmen. Men gradually learned how to write down their music. During several hundred years after 900 the staff and other forms of musical notations were invented. The pitch of a note was indicated by its position on a series of horizontal lines and by the spaces between them. In the first attempts only a single line was used, the pitch being indicated by the position of notes above or below this line. After years had passed it was suggested that two lines and the spaces between, above, and below them be used. Still later other lines were added. Thus by 1500, after an interval of 600 years, the five-line staff of today had been developed. From this we see the slowness with which ideas were originated and developed in the Middle Ages. Today, because of the speed of communication, such a process might take place in a generation.

As the years passed there were other developments, both in music itself and in the writing of music. For example, about the year 1000 a Benedictine monk, Guido of Arezzo, named six of the parts of the scale that you use in singing and reading the staff today — ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la. It is also believed that he introduced the sign *F* to represent a clef. Other students developed the idea, and our modern treble and bass clefs resulted.

Two hundred years later (about 1190), in the work of Franco of Cologne, "measured music" — music written according to meter — was developed, and in the 1200's and 1300's students invented ways of representing half-notes, quarter-notes, and eighth-notes and also of showing sharps and flats. Thus knowledge of music-writing grew, and the foundation was laid upon which modern music could rise later.

In the late 1500's a true world genius of music appeared — Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, commonly called Palestrina, from the little Italian town in which he grew up. A child musical prodigy, he was choir singer and cathedral organist while he was a mere boy. Later he composed beautiful Masses, undoubtedly the greatest music of that time and perhaps the greatest Masses of all time. He wrote, in all, nearly 100 Masses, in addition to much other church music. Twelve Popes of the Church ruled while he lived out his long life.

It is clear, then, that the history of music, like that of science, language, and literature, is a story of long, slow evolution through thousands of years.

Outside the Church, bards and troubadours also contributed to the development of music

Turn back to figure 23 and recall the wandering bards and troubadours of feudal Europe. For about 400 years — from about 900 to 1300 — these entertainers of the nobility helped to promote secular, or nonreligious, music. There were many of these minstrels, and not all of them wandered from place to place. Hardly a castle but had its private bard, and larger courts employed several. The minstrels sang of the brave adventures and great deeds of the knights, often accompanying themselves with instruments such as the lyre and the harp. This form of entertainment became so popular that even young nobles learned to play and sing.

A vast library has been written about the development of this troubadour music. Although space is lacking to describe it adequately, at least one group of these secular musicians must be mentioned — namely, the Minnesingers of the German states, lyric poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries the knightly Minnesingers were replaced by the Meistersingers. The Meistersingers were poets, singers, and musicians from the rising commercial groups of the cities and towns.

The art of minstrelsy introduced three things into music: new melodies were improvised, melodies were arranged in parts, and the knowledge of harmony was advanced.

THEN, AFTER 1500, CAME THE INVENTION OF MODERN INSTRUMENTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORCHESTRA

Thus by 1500 the foundation of modern music had been laid. At the very time when modern science began its spectacular development, music also began to emerge as a great modern art. By 1500 Europeans had composed many beautiful national and regional melodies and had developed an elaborate scheme of musical notation and ways of writing down complicated music. They had learned much about harmony. Singing in groups had been highly developed, and melodies were now arranged in parts.

The basis of the new movement in music after 1500 was the invention and perfection of new musical instruments. From the early single-stringed instruments the violin, the viola, the violoncello, and the bass viol were evolved. The wood-wind instruments — for example, the clarinet and the oboe — were developed. The clavichord and the harpsichord gradually evolved into the modern piano. A great array of horns and other brasses were perfected in England, France, and Germany. Many percussion instruments were improved.

Occasional references to crude bows have been found in the early history of India. Later, primitive bows were used by the Welsh for a three-stringed fiddle and by the Moors in Spain, even before 1000, for similar instruments. But the bows with which the new stringed instruments were played were the result of nearly 300 years of work between 1500 and 1800. The modern bow, as we know it, was perfected by François Tourte just before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Tourte made such excellent bows that since his time there has been little improvement upon them.

The forerunner of modern stringed instruments themselves was the "fiedel," which was used about 1100. It was known to traveling troubadours in France, Germany, and the British Isles.

The modern violin really developed in one little community, Cremona, Italy, between 1500 and 1700. Here a few families of talented craftsmen made wonderful violins. The Amati family, for example, made violins in Cremona for nearly 150 years. Stradivarius, the greatest creative craftsman of them all, was a pupil of one of the Amatis. So great did the fame of these instrument-makers of Cremona become that the royalty and nobility of all Europe sent them commissions.

In musical-instrument making we see the finest example of a handicraft which has lasted to our own times. Here is a skill that the machine has not touched and probably can never approach. The perfect violin can be made only by human hands and eyes, guided by the artistic understanding of the true craftsman. Each instrument is a unique thing, the product of a unique human personality. Each of various kinds of wood — maple, spruce, and ash — must be selected and treated with infinite care. The 60 different pieces must be put together in exactly the right way. To make a perfect violin takes time and painstaking care. In a long lifetime of work Stradivarius is said to have made not more than 1000 violins. Today each of those which are still in existence is reported to be worth $20,000 or more.

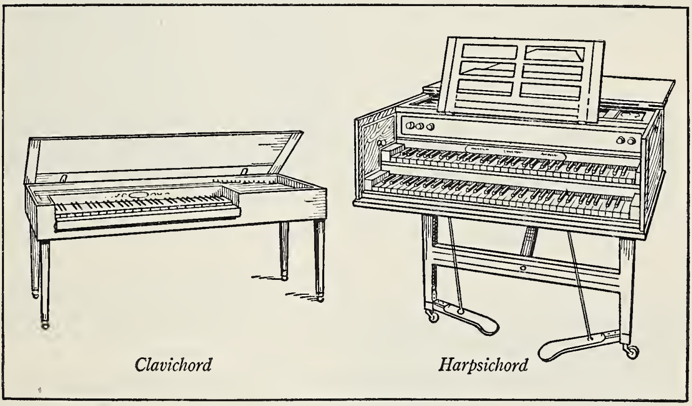

FIG. 169. The forerunners of the piano. What difference between these two instruments do you note? In what ways do they resemble the modern piano?

In the meantime other complicated musical instruments were developed, such as the piano. As we already know, the piano was evolved after 1500 from the clavichord and the harpsichord (see figure 169). The clavichord is believed to have grown from the monochord invented by Pythagoras. One can see how the box containing strings might slowly have become an instrument to be played by hitting keys. The harpsichord was shaped somewhat like our grand piano of today.

About 1710 an Italian, Cristofori, designed an instrument known as the pianoforte, in which the strings were struck by hammers operated by keys. This is the real beginning of the modern piano. From that time on, it was rapidly perfected, and became very popular. More and more it was used by musical geniuses. In the late 1700's and early 1800's great artists and composers on the piano appeared, such as Beethoven, Liszt, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Chopin, and Schumann, to name only a few.

The development of modern orchestral music

As modern instruments were perfected, talented composers and performers appeared. Then the modern orchestra came into being. We can note only a few names in the remarkable history of the orchestra. The first is Claudio Monteverde, who lived and worked in Cremona, Italy, about 1600. Monteverde, living in a great musical center and associating with renowned instrument-makers, composed brilliant orchestral music. He utilized about 40 instruments — the clavichord, lutes, violins, and other stringed instruments, as well as wood-wind instruments.

After Monteverde, at intervals of some years, various orchestra-leaders made variations in arrangement and in combinations of instruments and tones. Scarlatti, an Italian who lived until 1725, is remembered not only for his operas but because he first divided the violins into two groups, called first violins and second violins.

After 1700, however, most of the leaders who developed the orchestra lived in Germany. Among them were Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759), Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), and Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847). Each of these men contributed something new through astonishing orchestral compositions. Some, for example, emphasized the stringed instruments, as most of the earlier conductors had done. Others, such as Bach, made greater use of the wood-wind instruments. Händel used almost every instrument now known, even the organ and the harpsichord.

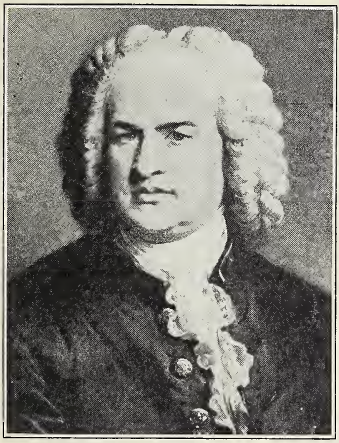

FIG. 170. Johann Sebastian Bach

A boy, scarcely in his teens, was waiting in the dark until the household should be in bed. When the last sound had died away, he crept silently toward a bookcase and, slipping his hand in, drew out a manuscript of music. Straining his eyes to see by the dim moonlight that filtered through the window, he copied from it the works of the great organists of his day. The boy was the musical genius Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), whose brother, both teacher and guardian, was said to have forbidden him the use of the manuscript. At fifteen Johann became a chorister; at nineteen, an organist. He sometimes astonished and shocked the congregation by new harmonies. At twenty he wrote his first church cantata, "God is my King." At twenty-nine he was appointed chief concert master to the Duke of Weimar, and his career as a composer really began. Besides 190 church cantatas he wrote dozens of other musical compositions — concertos, sonatas, and preludes and fugues for the organ, clavier, and other instruments. Four of his sons became musicians. His triumph was complete when one of them was appointed court composer to Frederick the Great

Among the records of the household musicians of the archbishop-elector of Cologne was found the following: "Ludwig Beethoven, of good capacity, still young, of good, quiet behavior and poor." In contrast his father's record reads: "has a completely worn-out voice, has long been in service, is very poor, of fairly good behavior and married." Young Beethoven (1770–1827) entered the court orchestra when he was but fourteen years old, having begun his musical training at the age of five under his father, who was bad-tempered and frequently drunk. At thirteen he had already written three sonatas. When he was seventeen he visited Mozart, who, delighted by the boy's promise, gave him a few lessons. At 22 he moved to Vienna and for a time studied under Haydn; but, more important, he composed. By 1814 he had written many sonatas and the seventh of the symphonies which made him famous all over the musical world. His hearing began to fail, and by 1824 he could no longer hear the deafening applause which greeted him on the concert stage. He died while he was planning his tenth symphony

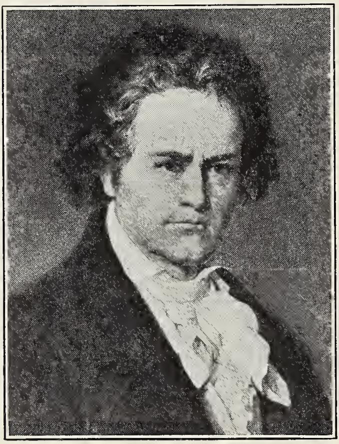

FIG. 171. Ludwig van Beethoven

Great advances toward the modern orchestra were made after 1800. Hector Berlioz, a Frenchman, and Richard Wagner, a German, made important contributions during this period.

The year 1813 may be remembered as the high-water mark of European music. Many composers whose names are famous today were living at this time. We find Beethoven, Weber, Meyerbeer, and Schubert in Germany; Rossini and Donizetti in Italy; Cherubini, Auber, Halévy, and Berlioz in France, to name only a few outstanding figures.

Then came Richard Wagner (1813–1883), the greatest orchestral master in all the history of music. Although he used the ideas of Berlioz and other composers, he also contributed much that was new. Around the great themes of the Minnesingers and the Meistersingers, around the Germanic folk epics of the *Nibelungenlied, Tristan and Isolde, Parsifal,* and others, he composed some of the world's greatest symphonic and operatic music.

Today there are few large cities of the modern world that do not have symphony orchestras. Through a long musical season, extending each year from November to April, the compositions of the musical geniuses we have named are played by talented musicians. These musicians are almost all Europeans; many are Germans and Italians. The genius of Germany and Italy has been especially important in the history of music and musical instruments.

Did the New Industrial Civilization contribute to this Rise of Beautiful Music?

In one sense the new industrial civilization did not contribute to the rise of music; in another it did contribute, although indirectly. On the one hand, music evolved as a great art independent of industrialism. Instrument-making, for example, is a handicraft almost untouched by power-driven machines. Although the instrument-maker uses modern improved tools, nevertheless his instrument is a handicraft product.

Similarly, almost to the present day composers have built up their music from ancient legends, from the world's great epics, poems, and plays, and from the natural beauty of nature. Indeed, the new power-driven machines, the new factory towns, and the new transportation and communication directly modified the art of music very little until 1900.

The new civilization made its great contribution indirectly. For one thing, a growing number of well-to-do upper-middle-class people of education and culture became patrons of the new music. Audiences grew larger. People demanded musicians and music-teachers. Long before 1900 most of the larger cities in Europe had organized local orchestras and choral societies, and the study of music was being introduced into the public schools of most of the Western nations. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that the development of music was inspired and stimulated very much indeed by the general advance in culture. Thus, indirectly, the new industrial civilization provided the setting for the new music.

We must remember that these famous musicians and composers lived in western Europe at the very time that the scientific and intellectual developments described in the earlier chapters of this book were taking place. The new machine civilization was being produced all about them. On every hand the new science was being discussed. It was impossible that they should not have been considerably influenced by the new ideas. The very facts that their music became more intricate and more intellectual and their use of instruments more complicated and skillful illustrate how the scientific and intellectual era of the past 200 years indirectly played an important part in the development of music.

In our day ultramodern music is developing in the new machine age

As we have seen, a new culture is now emerging in western-European countries. Each of the arts is changing sharply. Instead of copying the arts of other peoples or of other generations, artists in Europe are struggling to create original ways of expressing the new ways of living.

So it is not surprising that music, one of the most ancient of all arts, is becoming modern also. Music is now being created that is appropriate to the new industrial civilization.

Whereas the Germans and the Italians made the greatest contributions to music prior to 1870, the Russians and the French led in the development of the new modern music. Outstanding among the former were Tschaikowsky (1840–1893), Mili Balakirev (1837–1910), Modeste Moussorgsky (1839–1886), and Nikolay Rimski-Korsakov (1844–1908).

These modern Russians desired essentially to make the new Russian music express Russian life. Hence under Balakirev they composed their music around old Russian folk songs and melodies.

Rimski-Korsakov was at one time an admiral in the Russian navy. As a leader of naval bands he displayed great musical talent. Eventually he became a professor and composer of music, writing operas and symphonies around the folklore of the Russian people. Thus he succeeded in expressing in his music the characteristic rhythms and melancholy themes of the life of the Russian people.

Then came Alexander Scriabin (1871–1915) and Igor Stravinski (1882–). Scriabin was, and Stravinski is, even more modern than Rimski-Korsakov. These men and other modern musicians attempted and are attempting to reproduce the new sounds and tones of the industrial world as well as to dramatize the customs of the peasants in the villages and the workers in the cities. In doing so they have produced unique, mystic, and colorful music.

Similar experiments developed in France under the inspiration of Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), of César Franck (1822–1890), and of Maurice Ravel (1875–). New combinations of tones and harmony are being used in the effort to interpret the conditions of life in the new industrial environment. Note, for example, Arthur Honegger's "Pacific 231," an attempt to reproduce the sounds of an American locomotive hurtling through space at high speed.

This, then, is a short outline of the long story of music as it developed in Europe. By studying the slow evolution of music before 1500 one realizes the great achievements of the modern Europeans. It is clear that the European artists have produced beautiful and creative music which helps to make life in our hurrying, scientific age more worth while.

EUROPE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD'S ARCHITECTURE

In the buildings of a country, especially in the government buildings, libraries, museums, churches, and railway stations, we can study directly the artistic ability of a people. In the limited space at our command, therefore, let us make a quick survey of the architecture which Europe has given to the world.

The architecture — indeed, all the arts of a people — should be appropriate to their civilization

To judge the worth of a nation's architecture we must ask two very important questions.

First, are the habitations and public structures honest, original expressions of the way the people live? Do the buildings fit the true needs of the people and are they built on original designs by native artists? Or are they mere imitations of the architecture of some other country or of some other period of civilization?

For architecture to be truly appropriate to a civilization the architects must feel the spirit of the people and portray it in their buildings. Each people is unique. The Chinese people have produced a unique Chinese culture, and the Japanese a Japanese culture. Similarly, the Russians, the Germans, the French, the English, and the Spanish have produced unique cultures. Hence each nation should create an architecture appropriate to it alone. If the architects are merely imitators of other cultures, then the architectures of their countries will be found wanting.

A second question must be asked in judging the architecture of a people: Do the industrial buildings measure up satisfactorily to artistic standards of beauty? Are the various materials and parts truly appropriate to the design of the building and to the use to which that building is to be put?

We shall illustrate these two ways of judging a country's architecture in a brief study of three examples. The first is Greek architecture of more than 2000 years ago; the second is that of the Gothic cathedrals of the later Middle Ages; the third is the architecture of the industrial civilization that is predominant now in the Western world.

THREE EXAMPLES OF CREATIVE ARCHITECTURE IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

1. More than 2000 years ago the Greeks developed one of the most original architectures in world history

As one reviews the architecture of ancient peoples — for example, the Aztec buildings (see figure 214), the Egyptian structures, and those of Assyria, Babylon, and the Near East — one finds occasional examples that measure up well by our simple standards. But when one comes to the Greeks, one is thrilled by many true masterpieces of building construction.

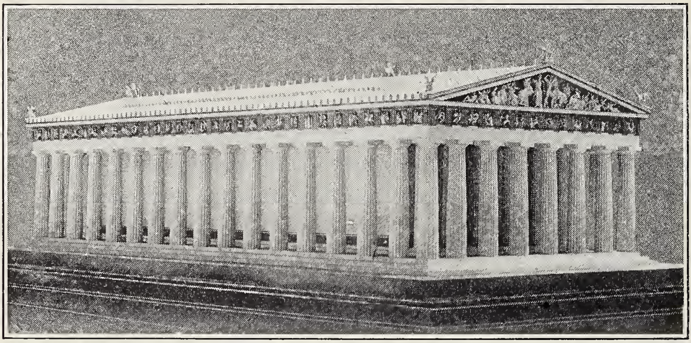

FIG. 172. A reconstruction of the Parthenon at Athens. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

For example, study figure 172, a reproduction of the Parthenon, which is supposed to have been finished about 438 B.C. Here is a beautiful, simple building. Consider it in terms of the design and arrangement of two fundamental parts — the circular, tapering columns and the lintels laid across the top. Note how appropriately the columns are designed to hold up the massive roof and how *all* the structural parts are designed in proportion to one another. Note also the broad, easy approach to the building, the wide mounting steps, and the unified appearance of the whole structure. Even the decoration, which some critics find a little overdone, is essentially a real part of the building.

To understand the true beauty of this sort of building, contrast it with the building in figure 173. In the latter there is no single plan of design from the base to the roof; the whole structure is a mixed-up combination of several types of architecture. Note the hodgepodge of lines. Several kinds of arches are used on the second story, and differing proportions of window arrangement on the third. Superimposed on the whole is a conglomeration of ornament and design. Columns tacked on the outside plainly hold up nothing. Projecting balconies and curious designs of iron latticework are put on with no thought of symmetry.

What a contrast between these two buildings! How much more beautiful is the simple Greek plan! Indeed, for 2000 years these remarkable Greek buildings have been models of inspiration to the world. It is distressing to record, however, that most of the architects who came after the Greeks copied their designs indiscriminately instead of being inspired by them to create new buildings appropriate to their own times and to their own cultures.

2. The great Gothic cathedrals of the Middle Ages

For our second great example of creative architecture we must pass over 1000 years of the Middle Ages until we come to the Gothic cathedrals. No more appropriate buildings have ever been designed and constructed in perfect harmony of stone, brick, wood, and glass (see figures 49 and 50).

Lacking the steel and reënforced concrete which twentieth-century builders have at their command, the architects of the Middle Ages were forced to design new forms of construction before they could build high buildings. The two principal things which they designed to meet this need were the Gothic arch and the flying buttress. With the aid of this arch and the flying buttress to reënforce the massive walls, they were able to build to far greater heights than would otherwise have been possible.

But, besides the architects, other artists contributed to these cathedrals. Workers in glass, marble, and stone made stained-glass windows and sculptured ornaments appropriate to the buildings. Thus the Gothic cathedral at its best became a marvelous unity of massive strength and exquisite beauty of color and design.

Then, in the 1800's, came the new industrial civilization, but little creative architecture

We have no space in which to tell the struggle of men in the developing Western nations to produce characteristic styles of architecture. Each country — England, France, Germany, and Italy, for example — built houses for its families and larger structures for public uses. Each produced characteristic designs. Occasional examples of rare beauty in building can be found, but no great new form of architecture developed in all the period from about 1500 to about 1900.

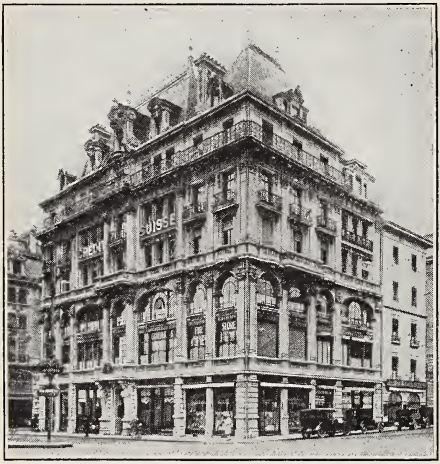

Fig. 173. The Crédit Suisse, a bank built in Geneva, Switzerland, in the 1800's. (From Sheldon Cheney's *The New World Architecture*, published by Longmans, Green & Co.)

While industrialism swept onward through western Europe, architecture continued to be a mixture of designs copied from other buildings. This is plainly shown in figure 173. In England, France, and other European countries architects continued to combine various kinds of construction in making one building. They did not create structures which were in themselves simple, unified expressions of beauty and of the new civilization.

3. But in the 1900's a new creative architecture emerged

Then, just before 1900, a new school of architecture was born. A few great creative artists appeared who sensed what the Greeks and the medieval church-builders had achieved. They saw that the buildings of a people must honestly portray the life of that people. They realized that the designs must be original and appropriate to the ways in which buildings were to be used. They saw that each building must have unity and must not be a mixture of unrelated things thrown together. As a result they began to produce honest and creative architecture. A new world order had come, and at last a new world architecture arose appropriate to it.

Thus after 1900 a new architecture began to appear in Europe, especially in Germany. Note that simplicity of line was developing, as shown in figure 175, the Tietz Department Store, Düsseldorf, Germany, built in 1908. It lacks the tremendous height of our American skyscrapers, but there is an appropriateness, a simplicity, and a true unity that are utterly lacking in most of the buildings of the 1800's. So it was that even before the World War a new architecture was appearing in the Western world.

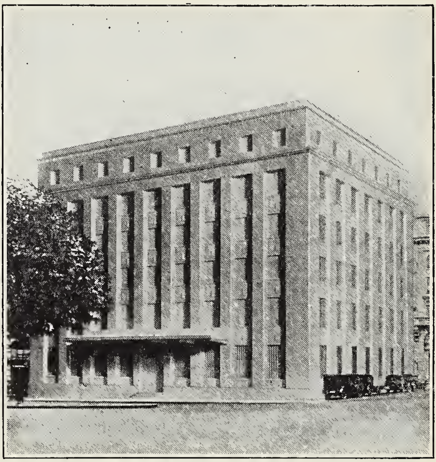

Fig. 174. The model for the new Crédit Suisse. (Maurice Turrettini, architect. From Sheldon Cheney's *The New World Architecture*, published by Longmans, Green & Co.)

Look at figures 173 and 174, which show the nineteenth-century Crédit Suisse building in Geneva, Switzerland, and the model for the new building. These figures show clearly the contrast between the two types of architecture — the one imitative, a mixture of many styles and designs, essentially an ugly thing; the other as simple and unified as a Greek temple.[1]

Let us turn now to a very brief review of the development of modern writing.

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[1] No school should be without Sheldon Cheney's *New World Architecture* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1930). This book stands alone in its assembly of examples of the modern architecture now developing in various Western countries.

LITERATURE IN WESTERN EUROPE SINCE 1700

1. *England's great contributions to modern literature.* The first really new contribution of Europeans to literature after 1700 was the novel. This form of writing, developed largely under the influence of English writers, was comparatively new to the world. It is true that short tales had been produced several hundred years before by Boccaccio and others, but the novel, as we know it, had not been developed.

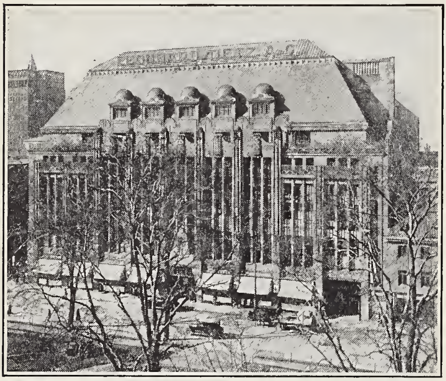

FIG. 175. The Tietz Department Store, Düsseldorf, Germany. (Courtesy of the German Tourist Information Office)

Several authorities regard *Robinson Crusoe*, by Daniel Defoe (*ca.* 1661–1731), as the first real novel. This book obtained international and historic renown. It has been translated into most known languages and has been read by millions of young people throughout the world. Other authorities consider Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) to be "the father of the English novel." In 1740 appeared Richardson's *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*; in 1748, *Clarissa, or the History of a Young Lady.* Richardson, a typical moralist of his times, used the novel to teach how the passions "move at the command of virtue."

During the same decade there appeared an even greater writer of novels, Henry Fielding (1707–1754). In 1742, stimulated by Richardson's *Pamela*, he published *Joseph Andrews.* Then, in 1749, came a book which attained international renown — *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling.* In this story of England in the middle of the eighteenth century we find the modern novel assuming shape.

In the early part of the nineteenth century appeared the novels of Jane Austen (1775–1817) and Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832). Jane Austen, in such novels as *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice,* wrote simple stories which were a true reflection of English life. Sir Walter Scott, on the other hand, was the supreme writer of romances. Scott produced 32 novels, two thirds of which deal with Scottish scenes and themes. Many are historical, although very inaccurate from the standpoint of modern scientific scholarship. Among them are *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *Rob Roy* (1817), and *Ivanhoe* (1819), which every schoolboy and schoolgirl knows. Scott certainly accomplished what he himself wanted to do. He said that he would be repaid if his

> scenes . . . have sufficient interest in them to assuage in one corner the pain of the body; in another to relieve anxiety of mind; in a third place to unwrinkle a brow bent with the furrows of daily toil; in another to fill the place of bad thoughts or to suggest better; in yet another to induce an idler to study the history of his country; [in brief] . . . to furnish harmless amusement.

In the later 1800's came other important novelists. Charles Dickens (1812–1870) wrote such novels as the *Pickwick Papers, Oliver Twist, David Copperfield,* and *A Tale of Two Cities.* William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863) produced *Vanity Fair, Pendennis, The Newcomes,* and other novels. Famous among the women novelists were the sisters Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855) and Emily Brontë (1818–1848). Charlotte's masterpiece was *Jane Eyre,* in which for the first time the heroine of a novel was both homely and poor. Emily is remembered by *Wuthering Heights.* Mary Ann Evans (1819–1880), who wrote as "George Eliot," is known all over the world for such novels as *Adam Bede, Romola, Silas Marner,* and *Middlemarch.*

We must turn from the novel to less unique forms of literature that developed in England from 1700 to the end of the nineteenth century. Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729) wrote essays on the life and manners of the time in two newspapers called *The Tatler* and *The Spectator.*

Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), the outstanding literary figure of the eighteenth century, is remembered because of his striking personality rather than because of his literary work. Like Addison and Steele, Johnson wrote essays in a publication called *The Rambler*. Although Johnson is mentioned here as an essayist, it must be kept in mind that he wrote also poetry, a novel, and his famous *Dictionary*.

Three more really important essayists stand out in the remarkable literary group that developed in England in the 1800's: Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), Thomas Macaulay (1800–1859), and John Ruskin (1819–1900). All three wrote critical essays and history. Carlyle will live long in literature for his searching studies of the new industrial civilization and for his historical studies. Sometime you should read his *French Revolution*, *Sartor Resartus*, *Past and Present*, and *History of Frederick the Great*. Thomas Macaulay's *History of England* is a classic, as is John Ruskin's great work *Modern Painters*.

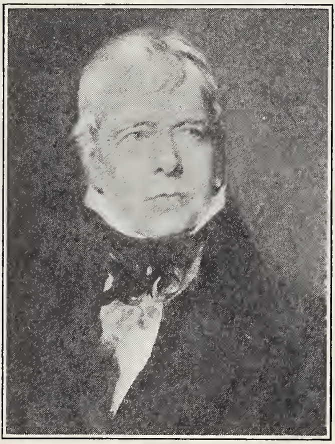

FIG. 176. Sir Walter Scott

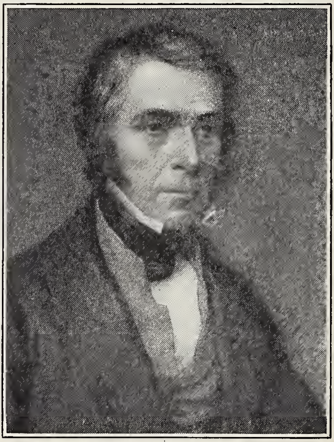

FIG. 177. Thomas Carlyle

England produced also great poets. In the 1700's Alexander Pope (1688–1744), "one of the greatest versifiers of all ages," wrote his *Essay on Man*, and Thomas Gray wrote his "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard." A little later Robert Burns (1759–1796), the greatest of Scottish poets, wrote such well-known works as "Tam o' Shanter" and "The Cotter's Saturday Night."

Many of his poems have been set to music. Who does not know such songs as "John Anderson, My Jo" and "Auld Lang Syne"?

In the 1800's came several important poets. William Wordsworth (1770–1850) is famous for "Tintern Abbey" and "Intimations of Immortality." Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) is known to every school child for his "Rime of the Ancient Mariner." William Blake (1757–1827) not only wrote poetry — for example, *Songs of Innocence* — but was also an engraver and a painter.

One of the figures in this period, interesting both for his poetry and for his personality, was George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824). Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* "lifted him into a dazzling fame in a single day." His long epic, *Don Juan,* is now equally famous.

Among the great singers of the world you must remember Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) and John Keats (1795–1821). They both made great contributions to English poetry — Shelley with "To a Skylark," "Adonais," and *Prometheus Unbound,* and Keats with "The Eve of St. Agnes," "Ode on a Grecian Urn," and *Endymion,* to mention only a few of their greatest poems.

Two other poets must be mentioned: Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), whose *In Memoriam* and *Idylls of the King* are read in many high schools today, and another famous Victorian, Robert Browning (1812–1889), who is known for such poems (among others) as "The Pied Piper of Hamelin" and *The Ring and the Book,* and for such a play (really a dramatic poem) as *Pippa Passes.*

2. *Great French writers.* While Englishmen were making their contributions to poetry and prose, Frenchmen were doing likewise. We have already seen how Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Diderot helped to bring about the French Revolution.[1]

Then, in the early 1800's, came the two supreme novelists of France, Alexandre Dumas the Elder (1802–1870) and Victor Hugo (1802–1885).

If you consider Walter Scott, with his 30-odd novels, a mighty worker, what about Alexandre Dumas, with his reputed 300 closely printed volumes! Although the writer of many plays, he is remembered especially for his historical novels and for such adventurous characters as D'Artagnan, in the famous *Three Musketeers.* Other well-known books by him are *Twenty Years After* and *The Count of Monte Cristo.*

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[1] See Chapter VIII.

Victor Hugo, the outstanding figure in the French literature of that period, was both poet and novelist. There has never been a greater French lyric poet than he. You probably know his novels better; for example, *Les Misérables, Notre-Dame de Paris,* and *Les Travailleurs de la Mer.*

Another French writer, Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), planned a series of 150 novels to be known collectively as *The Human Comedy.* Although many were never written, he succeeded by prodigious work in producing a vast list. Many are widely read today; for example, *Le Père Goriot, La Peau de Chagrin, Le Curé de Tours,* and *Eugénie Grandet.*

One French woman of the 1800's achieved a place as a creative writer, — Amantine Lucile Aurore Dudevant (born Dupin) (1804–1876), who wrote under the pen name of "George Sand." Among her works are *Indiana* and *The Devil's Pool.*

3. *A great German, Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832).* If the German people had produced no other great men of letters than this one—Goethe—they would have made an enduring contribution to the world's literature. There were, of course, others: Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805), poet and dramatist, author of *William Tell* and other great plays, and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), writer of an essay, *Laokoon* (one of the most important books in the language), besides several plays. Even in so brief an account as this, one should not fail to mention the poet Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), whose beautiful lyrics have probably been more widely read abroad than any other German literary product of the nineteenth century.

But Goethe was, perhaps, the greatest mind of the nineteenth century. A great critic of his own age regarded him as "Europe's sagest head." Great he was, indeed. The most famous of his works is, of course, *Faust,* on which he wrote for 58 years. Another of his better-known works is *Wilhelm Meister,* the product of 52 years of work.

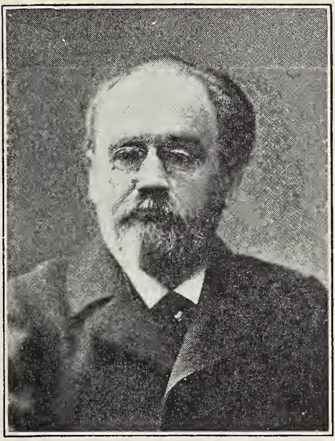

FIG. 178. Émile Zola

The life of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) had its real beginning in 1770, when he met Johann Herder, poet and philosopher. Through Herder he learned the meaning of Gothic architecture (which he already loved), was introduced to the works of Shakespeare, and was shown the beauty which lay in German folk songs. To Herder's influence and Goethe's love for the daughter of a village pastor we owe the early inspiration which made Goethe the greatest of the German poets. Exquisite lyrics began to flow from his pen, and in *Götz von Berlichingen,* his first important drama, Goethe introduced to the German stage the Shakespearean form of drama, which gained immediate popularity in Germany. From then on he wrote poetry, into which he put all his emotions, his experience, and the result of his thinking. In *Hermann und Dorothea* we have one of the most beautiful poems ever written, and in *Faust* a drama in poetry that has made his name immortal. His poetry is rich because of his interest in so many phases of life. He was a lawyer, he studied art and political economy, and he wrote a few important scientific works. We can say of him, as did Napoleon Bonaparte, "Here is a man"

Early in October, 1902, more than 30,000 people in Paris followed the hearse containing the body of Émile Zola (1840–1902), critic, novelist, and defender of the downtrodden. In Paris, amid the most frightful poverty, Zola began to write. His work held little promise at first; but in 1867 his second novel, *Thérèse Raquin,* created a real stir in the literary world. Then he began his monumental cycle of twenty novels, in which more than 1200 characters appear, each based on painstaking observation of the places each of them "would inhabit, the air he would breathe, his daily life, down to the most trivial occupation." In 1894 Dreyfus, a young French officer accused of betraying his country, was sentenced to prison, and in 1898 Zola, convinced of his innocence, wrote a scathing denunciation of those who had withheld important information bearing on the case. For this Zola was put on trial and condemned. He fled to England, but was afterwards able to return. A few years later he died. His friend Maupassant asked: ". . . who fought more furiously for his ideas? Who attacked more violently what he believed to be unjust and false? Who triumphed more brilliantly, first over indifference and then the hesitant resistance of the vast public?"

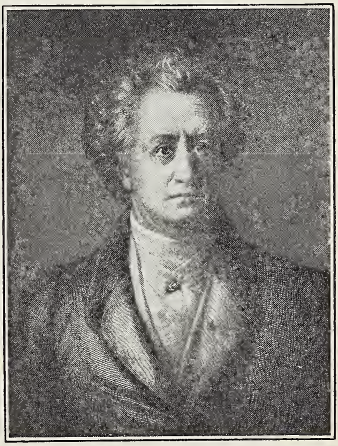

FIG. 179. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

How Drama became One of the Fine Arts

It is spring in Athens in the year 535 B. C. The whole population is moving toward the Acropolis, near which Pisistratus, who governs the city, has recently laid out a great new theater. Here the festival of the god Dionysus is to take place. Citizens, women, children, and slaves are all moving toward the great bowl which lies at the foot of the hill. This theater is not a building like the modern homes of the drama. It is a circle of earth, well tamped down, in which there is plenty of room for the participants to dance. Where the hill begins to slope upward, tiers of seats surrounding about two thirds of the circle have been placed to accommodate the audience.

For years these festivals of singing and dancing have taken place, but today something new is to be added. Thespis has written a drama which calls for a leader of the chorus and for an *actor* who will impersonate several characters. The audience is all agog with excitement.

The actor appears in the circle. He wears a different mask for each character he plays, and he and the leader of the chorus carry on the dialogue, which has been written in the form of poetry. This part of the program is very short, but the day has seen the first recorded actor and the first recorded drama. It is the birthday of a new art.

We have no record of Thespis's play. We merely know that it was a tragedy and that it must have appealed to the popular taste, for it was soon followed by others. Out of a host of these Greek dramatists the names of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes come down to us as writers of tragedies and comedies for the Dionysiac festivals. Aristophanes stands above all others as master of the classic comedy — Aristophanes, who dared to make fun of Socrates, the grave, dumpy philosopher, through an impersonation which showed the little man suspended in a basket between heaven and earth.

Under these Grecian dramatists tragedy and comedy began to take on plot, and they improved and modified the model which Thespis had given them. More actors were added, and the chorus became larger and better trained, though less important. The play itself began to deal less with the gods. Then the Greek theater spread to Rome, where it became even less religious in character.

During the early Christian Era the theater became so corrupt that the Catholic Church finally decided to suppress it. But the spirit which made the festivals popular could not be suppressed. Wealthy lords attached actors to their households for entertainment, and the people still celebrated their festivals in dance. Finally the Church wisely permitted certain forms of drama — miracle plays and mystery plays based on stories from the Bible or on the lives of the early saints and martyrs. In medieval Europe even the churches and cathedrals in the cities were used as places in which to present the plays. Traveling troupes also

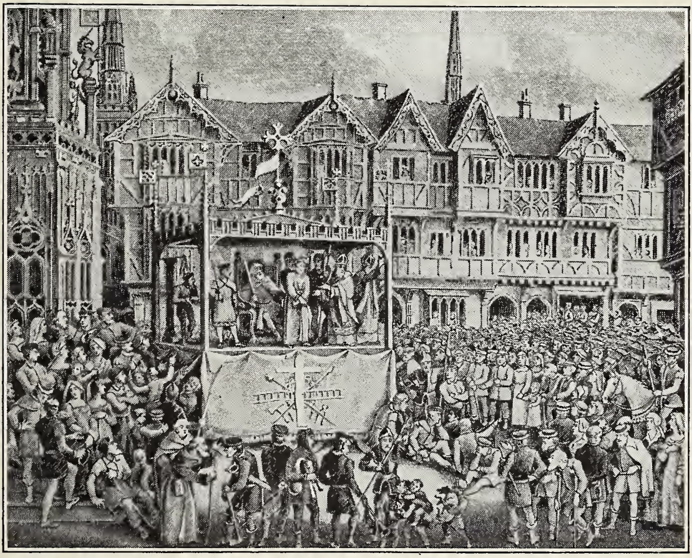

FIG. 180. The performance of a religious play during the Middle Ages. The stage was part of a vehicle which carried the players and their properties from place to place. (From Thomas Sharp's *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry*, 1825)

acted these religious plays in the small towns, often using their carts as stages.

In Italy, at the beginning of the Renaissance in the 1300's, however, there was a revival of Greek and Roman plays, and new theaters were built on old Greco-Roman models. Thus the drama again found a permanent roof over its head. As kings, dukes, and lords became patrons of the art, stages, drop curtains, and scenery were added, and more attention was given to costumes. New playwrights appeared, and comedy became especially popular.

Into France, Spain, the "Germanies," and England the revived and renewed art of Italy spread. At first Italian companies were imported into these countries, but soon local companies began to be formed. The theater was slow in coming, however, and performances were often given in the tavern yards. When Elizabeth became queen of England in 1558, there was not a single theater in London, and by 1600 there was only one in Paris. Yet the next 50 years saw theaters springing up all over Europe.

Between the late 1500's and the end of the 1600's we find such names among the playwrights of Europe as the following: Cervantes and Lope de Vega in Spain; Corneille, Racine, and Jean Baptiste Poquelin (whom you already know under his stage name of "Molière") in France; and William Shakespeare, John Dryden, and Christopher Marlowe in England. Hundreds of others were writing for the European stage; but in these playwrights the drama of their day reached its height, and in Shakespeare it has never been surpassed.

Germany lagged behind the other important European countries in original drama as she did in government, but she was the first country outside England to recognize the worth of Shakespeare by making his plays a "national pastime." Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was Germany's first playwright of prominence, and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who followed him, "remains even today the latest in the list of unquestioned world geniuses in the field of stage literature." Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller is best known for the last play he wrote, *William Tell.* Another of his better-known plays is the trilogy of *Wallenstein.*

In spite of one setback after another through the 1600's and 1700's, due to the Puritan influence and the general unrest in Europe, the theater, the drama, and acting continued to improve. Stages were now lighted by candles, and machinery for shifting scenery was introduced. The theater was roofed over, and the auditorium became horseshoe in shape. In Puritan England, however, actors were classed as vagabonds, and it was charged that the theater emptied the pews of churches and led to idleness, and even that it was the cause of the great plague! In 1642 the playhouses were all closed by law and were not opened again until after the Restoration.

By this time another change had taken place — women had entered the field of acting. Before this young boys had taken the female parts; but now we find, during the late 1600's and the 1700's, besides the names of such prominent male actors as David Garrick, Thomas Betterton, Colley Cibber, and Barton Booth, the names of Nell Gwyn, Peg Woffington, and Kitty Clive. In France, also, Adrienne Lecouvreur was "living" each part she played and was pleading for more sincerity, more naturalness, on the stage.

Until the late 1800's plays were largely of two kinds — sentimental comedy and heroic tragedy. Among the first class such plays as *She Stoops to Conquer*, by Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), and *The School for Scandal*, by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), have achieved lasting fame.

In the 1800's democracy was in the air. People were more concerned in experimenting with new forms of government than in experimenting with new forms of art. Until late in the century, therefore, we find no names comparable to those of the great dramatists who had "made" the theater. However, in most of the European capitals were theaters supported by the government. These theaters were overornamented; the stages were overcrowded with scenery and properties. Regal pomp prevailed. In order to compete with them, privately owned theaters followed their lead. The theater became a world of make-believe which had no relation to life itself.

After the middle of the 1800's, in many European countries, actors began to break down the rules set by earlier forms of acting and to bring realism into their art. In Italy there were Adelaide Ristori (1822–1906), Tommaso Salvini (1829–1915), and Eleonora Duse (1859–1924); in France, Rachel (1821–1858), Sarah Bernhardt (1845–1923), Benoît Coquelin (1841–1909), and Gabrielle Réjane (1857–1920); in England, Henry Irving (1838–1905) and Ellen Terry (1848–1928).

Dramatists, too, protested against "fictitious morals and fictitious good conduct, shedding fictitious glory on robbery, starvation, disease, crime, drink, war, cruelty, cupidity," and began to inject truth, as they saw it, into their plays.

Fig. 181. Sarah Bernhardt

The earliest of the great realists was Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) of Norway. Following his lead were George Bernard Shaw (1856–) of England, Eugène Brieux (1858–) of France, Anton Chekhov (1860–1904) of Russia, and Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931) of Austria. By this time much of the earlier artificiality had already been dropped; that is, plays were no longer written in poetic form, and Indian princes were not portrayed in the French costumes of the time of Louis XIV. But this was not enough. These dramatists felt that plays should be made out of life; that their characters must dress, speak, and act as they would in real life.

The fight for realism affected the theater itself. Showy, wasteful buildings began to give way to simpler, more honest expressions of architecture. Under such leaders of design as Adolphe Appia, Gordon Craig, and Max Reinhardt simplicity and beauty enhanced by perfect lighting of the stage began to accompany the production of plays.

And still another movement was put on foot. Groups of professional and amateur actors began to form all over Europe.

These groups upheld the pioneers of realism and simplicity and waged a war on the commercialized theater with productions so expensive that the common man could not patronize the drama.

In France, as early as 1887, André Antoine, a clerk in a gas company, pushed properties and scenery through the streets of Paris in a little handcart toward the garret which he had hired as a theater and which later became the famous Théâtre Libre. In the same city, before the World War, Jacques Copeau opened the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier and began to develop new methods of stagecraft, encouraging playwrights who were experimenting with the new techniques.

Led by France, Germany established the *Freie Bühne* (Free Theater) and the *Volksbühne* (People's Theater). The latter is owned by the subscribers, and excellent plays can be seen for very little money.

In Russia, in 1895, the Moscow Art Theater was founded by Danchenko and Stanislavski to give expression to the thoughts of the younger generation of Russia — to their aims and their criticism of life. The founders said, "We declare war on all the conventionalities of the theater wherever they might occur — in the acting, the properties, the scenery, or the interpretation of the play." This declaration of war gave the world the plays of Chekhov, who, until then, had found no means of producing the kind of plays which he felt to be "true."

In Ireland, before the World War, the Irish Players were organized. Under their encouragement J. M. Synge wrote *Riders to the Sea* and *The Playboy of the Western World*, portraying the life of the Irish people and, through brilliant satire, pointing out their weaknesses.

In the suburbs of London other groups formed. At Barnes, for instance, a vacant moving-picture house was converted into a theater by Philip Ridgeway. Under the direction of Komisarjevsky of the Moscow Art Theater, with the simplest of properties, stage, and scenery, some of Chekhov's plays in translated form rivaled anything being played in England at the time.

Encouraged by these successes other "free" theaters are springing up all over Europe. Today the new movement is bringing about reforms in the art of the drama all over the world.

In this short sketch of the drama much has been omitted. We see, however, that the drama has a three-thousand-year history, that it has departed long since from its religious character, but that even today in Europe the play, the acting, the stage setting, the very theater itself, are still undergoing change. Perhaps in all Europe we may look toward Russia and Germany for the theater of the future — a real "art of the drama."

Painting and Sculpture

In Chapter VI we learned that from the 1200's through the 1600's the arts of Europe were slowly reborn. It was between these years that such masters as Giotto, Dürer, Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, El Greco, Velásquez, and Murillo gave the world new forms and new techniques in painting and sculpture.

During the 1700's and early 1800's few names were worthy of a place beside them. Spain, however, produced its Goya (1746–1828), who carried on the tradition of Velásquez. France produced its François Boucher (1703–1770) and Jean Greuze (1725–1805), who portrayed the artificial grace of French aristocratic life, and Jacques David (1748–1825), who painted epics of history in heroic style on great canvases — *Marat murdered in his Bath*, the *Coronation of Napoleon*, etc. In England the Puritan influence still found expression in Hogarth, in such moral tales on canvas as *The Rake's Progress* and *Marriage à la Mode*. In figure 89 we have already seen his portrayal of the political corruption of his day. But in Joseph Turner (1775–1851) we see again an experimentalist, trying new color effects, — catching rainbow colors to put into his skies, using mist to soften harsh outlines, — and in William Blake we see another — a mystic, translating poetry of depth and power onto canvas.

Only these last two had really freed themselves from the traditions. But the revolt which was making itself felt in the other arts was spreading to painting as well. Even sculpture, which was still working from classic models (Perseus, Venus, Cupid, Psyche), began to feel the need for expansion, for new expression, for truth — truth that would produce *emotion* through the eye of the beholder.

In France, Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) combined a well-developed mind with artistic skill. Disdaining the somber colors used by his contemporaries, he flooded his canvases with light and bright colors and used his brain to give dramatic meaning to his great historical paintings. So different was his work from others that when he exhibited *The Massacre of Chios* a respected painter of the older school called it "The Massacre of Painting." Delacroix said, "I became the abomination of painting. . . . I was [therefore] enchanted with myself."

Other French revolutionaries, such as Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) and François Millet (1814–1875), breaking away from the classic school, found romance in the life of their time and their people. They, however, did not depart as far from the standard of their day as did a group of young artists who met frequently at one of the cafés in Paris to discuss their theories. The eldest of this group was Édouard Manet (1832–1883). Others were Hilaire Degas (1834–1917), Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), Claude Monet (1840–1926), Berthe Morisot (1840–1895), who is credited with being the most original painter of her sex, and Pierre Renoir (1841–1919). They were popularly dubbed Impressionists. Of them all only Monet was truly and solely an impressionist. He *suggested* a fleeting mood or scene on canvas, permitting the imagination to fill in the minute details. Monet boldly challenged the world of art to use its eyes. In essence he said: "The leaves of that small tree we *know* are green; but see how the shadow which the hill sheds upon them makes them *look* blue to us. Paint the leaves blue, therefore,— paint what you *see*."

Cézanne adopted the principle laid down by Monet, but he attained greater strength through almost primitive simplicity of design. To Monet and to Cézanne modern art owes a great debt.

Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) also turned to the primitive for his inspiration, but he carried his idea farther, even using primitive people and primitive surroundings in his pictures.

In our day Henri Matisse (1869–) horrified the world of art by the use of distortion in drawing to gain certain effects, and the Spaniard Pablo Picasso (1881–), the founder of cubism, created an equal sensation not so many years ago. In launching the new movement Picasso discarded the natural form of a thing and replaced it by a symbolic representation of what the thing stood for. For example, if the cubist wished to paint a bustling industrial city he might show a confused mass of conflicting lines and a maze of colors which seemed to whirl. Thus the spirit of a thing rather than the photographic representation of it is the aim of this late school.

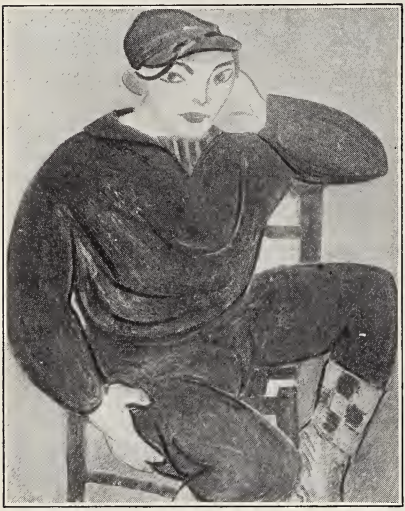
FIG. 182. A painting by Matisse. Note particularly the face, where distortion has been used for effect

Many schools of painting have grown up in Europe since the turn of our century — naturalism, cubism, futurism, Dadaism, and others. Their final value cannot yet even be prophesied, but the experiments all illustrate a groping toward truth.

Sculpture too has witnessed changes since Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) broke away from the classicists of France and sought to give natural, unidealized form and simple mass treatment to his sculpture. Like European painting, European sculpture today is also groping for new expressions that will be strong, simple, and true, and out of it are coming all sorts of forms — forms still as close to the classical as figure 183 and as far from anything before produced as that shown in figure 184.

THE ART OF DANCING

The dance is far older than painting or sculpture, the theater or literature — older even than music. Through the story of the drama you already know the important part dancing played in the ancient days. Long after the drama had been established every tragedy ended with a dance. Dancing as an art owes much of its life to the theater and to opera.

The ballet — that is, the pantomimic dance which tells a story — is the highest form of the art. About 1900 every important European city in which opera was given had its own opera house and its own school of ballet. In these schools young boys and girls entered at a very early age to receive their training. For instance, Anna Pavlova (1885–1930), whose grace and charm on the stage has perhaps never been surpassed, began her training at the Royal Opera House at Moscow when she was ten years of age.

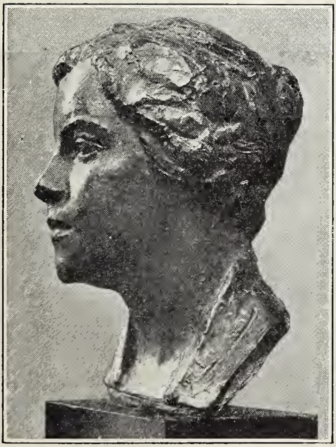

Fig. 183. This sculptured portrait of a woman shows the work of one modern school. It is so faithful to life that it is almost photographic. Is it not the face that interests you, rather than the woman's characteristics? (From a bronze by Charles Despiau. Courtesy of the Weyhe Gallery, New York)

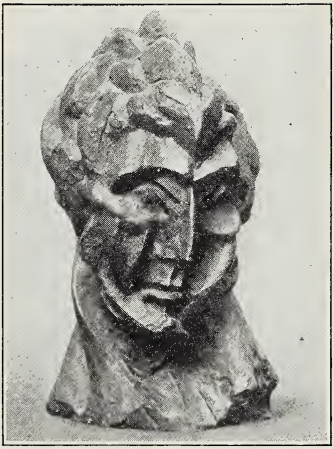

Fig. 184. This sculptured portrait of a woman represents the work of another modern school. The artist is not trying to make a photographic likeness. He is trying to tell what he thinks the woman's characteristics are. (From a bronze by Pablo Picasso. Courtesy of the Weyhe Gallery, New York)

By 1900 many conventions had grown up around the ballet. Dancers spent long and painful hours learning to dance on the tips of their toes. Clothes were tight and impeded free motion. Whatever was old was right; anything that was new was incorrect. Artificiality and bodily stiffness hampered every natural movement.

Then, in the first decade of the 1900's, an American woman appeared on the stage of Europe, — a woman with a theory of dancing so old that it was new. She was Isadora Duncan (1878–1927). She drew her inspiration from nature and from ancient Greece — from the movement of the wind, the birds, and the trees, and from the classic poses revealed by Grecian vases, where the body, freed of close-fitting clothes, assumed a natural grace. She had looked on all these, and she saw in them natural rhythms. She applied what she saw and produced a new classic form of dancing. The Russian ballet adopted some of her theories, and the blend of these two forms of dancing produced something which was finer than either of them had been. In Michel Fokine, Tamara Karsavina, and Anna Pavlova of the Russian ballet the new art was brought to perfection, and it spread rapidly to other countries of Europe.

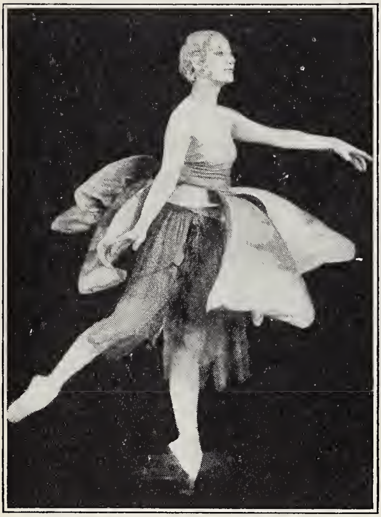

FIG. 185. Anna Pavlova, whose dancing typified the best of the older school of Russian ballet

Other members of the Russian ballet, such as Vaslav Nijinsky, were influenced by Jacques Dalcroze. Dalcroze, a Swiss, worked out a theory of the harmony of mind and body — eurythmics. Dalcroze's ideas found their way to Germany, where a new school of dancing grew up under Rudolf von Laban. Von Laban inspired his pupils to creative effort, and from this work have come such unique interpretative dances as, for example, those given by Mary Wigman. In the meantime Isadora Duncan's sister, Elizabeth, carried on the dancer's ideas in a stimulating school for the dance which she established in Germany and Austria. The influence of this school has already spread to France, the United States, and other countries.

Still other dancers, like Harald Kreutzberg of the State Opera House in Berlin, see merit in both the older and newer schools. However, the stiff poses of the older ballet are gradually giving way to flowing movement in which the whole body is in rhythmic harmony.

FIG. 186. Isadora Duncan

Thus we have seen that while scientists and inventors were producing clever machines and changing Western civilization with them, and while other frontier thinkers were developing new experiments in government, sensitive musicians, architects, poets, novelists, painters, sculptors, and dancers were producing startling changes in their arts. There can be no doubt that in the fine arts, as well as in science, industry, and government, Europe made a great new contribution to the world.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

AUSLANDER, JOSEPH, and HILL, FRANK ERNEST. The Winged Horse: the Story of Poets and Poetry. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.

BAUER, MARION, and PEYSER, ETHEL. How Music Grew from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

BROWER, HARRIETTE MOORE. Story-Lives of Master Musicians. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

CATHER, KATHERINE D. Boyhood Stories of Famous Men. The Century Co., New York. Includes Mozart, Chopin, Stradivarius, and Mendelssohn.

CATHER, KATHERINE D. Younger Days of Famous Writers. The Century Co., New York.

CHENEY, SHELDON. The New World Architecture. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Very valuable.

Conway, E. A. and Sir W. M. The Book of Art for Young People. The Macmillan Company, New York.

LaPrade, Ernest. Alice in Orchestralia. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. All about the modern symphony orchestra.

Macy, John. The Story of the World's Literature. Horace Liveright, New York.

Marshall, Henrietta E. English Literature for Boys and Girls. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

Whitcomb, Ida Prentice. Young People's Story of Art. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.

Whitcomb, Ida Prentice. Young People's Story of Music. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.

UNIT VIII

THE SPREAD OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AROUND THE WORLD

THE SPREAD OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AROUND THE WORLD

With Unit VIII we turn from the study of the changing governments and cultures of Europe to a similar study in Asia and other parts of the world. Between 1800 and the outbreak of the World War the industrial nations Europeanized the earth. They introduced their machines, railroads, telegraphs, and business methods into every continent. We have already learned how the economic life of people was changed by trade with England, France, Germany, and other countries. Now in Unit VIII we shall see how government and culture in general changed in these same regions as European modes of living were imposed upon them.

In Chapter XIX we shall sum up what we have already learned about the geography of Asia and the contrast between the several civilizations of Europe and the agricultural-handicraft civilizations of the Far East. This will prepare the way for the study of the changing cultures of China, Japan, and India.

In Chapter XX we shall witness the collapse of the world's oldest and largest civilization, that of China. In Chapter XXI we shall see the struggle for democracy in Japan which paralleled the astonishing industrialization of that country after 1870. In Chapter XXII we shall witness India's march toward self-government. Finally, in Chapter XXIII we shall note the sharp contrast between the way industrialism influenced Mexico and its effect upon the nations of the Far East.

CHAPTER XIX

THE WESTERN WORLD TURNS TOWARD ASIA

About 1500, while searching for an easy water route to Asia, western Europeans discovered America. Except for Mexico and Peru, where the Spanish conquerors were able to lay their hands upon fabulous quantities of gold and silver, this new continent at first had little attraction for the Europeans, whose imaginations still turned toward the wonderful Far Eastern countries of which Marco Polo had written. In the 1600's and 1700's, however, the colonization of America played an increasingly important part in the history of the leading European nations, and in the late 1700's Europe, already enriched and strengthened by the resources of the New World, entered upon the development of its modern industrial civilization.

During these three centuries the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the English, and the French had all attempted, with varying degrees of success, to carve out for themselves empires in the Far East, but in the 1800's European business men turned toward Asia with fresh energy. With their power-driven ships, their armies of commercial men, their new business methods, and their accumulated capital they "captured" Asia. They sold to the people of Asia great quantities of machine-made goods. They built factories, railroads, and telegraphs, opened up mines, and established banks. As a result several hundred million Asiatic people, although remaining politically independent, became "subjects" in the expanding empire of European business and contributed to the profits of European business men.

Today not merely the business men but all the people of the world are beginning to discover Asia. The headlines of our daily papers are filled with dramatic news from the other side of the world. Even the man on the street, in America and Europe, takes an interest in the latest revolution in China, in Gandhi's struggle for Indian freedom, and in Japan's activities in Manchuria.

EASTERN ASIA, THE HOME OF HALF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

Take a map of the world and put the point of a divider on Singapore. With a radius of 3500 miles swing an arc of about a fourth of a circle, including Japan on the northeast and India on the northwest. Now draw the radii connecting the end points of the arc. Do you know what you have done? You have marked out a region in which live more than 850,000,000 people, nearly half the people of the entire world. Nowhere else on the earth can you find such a thickly populated region — not in Europe, nor in America, nor anywhere. In three countries alone — China, India, and Japan — there are more than 830,000,000 people. In the first two countries there are not less than 770,000,000 people, six times as many as in the United States.

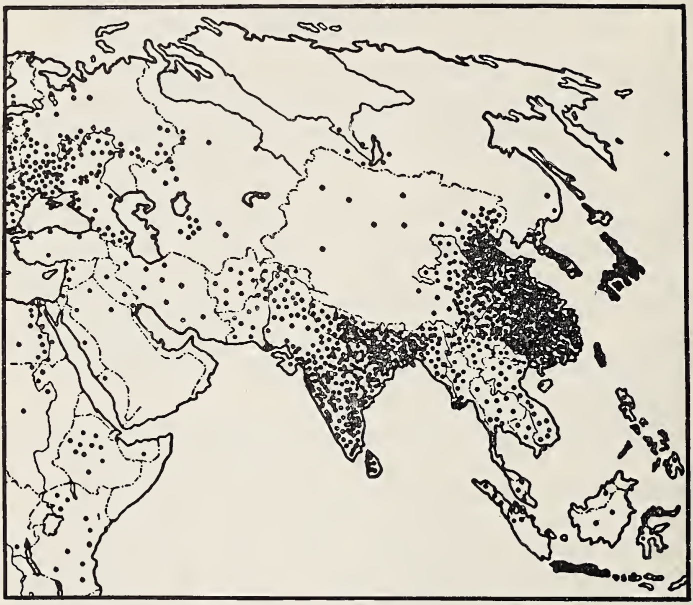

FIG. 187. Each dot represents the place where 10,000 people live. Note especially those areas which are so heavily populated that they must be shown as solid black

South and east of these three countries are the Malay peoples, 100,000,000 strong, scattered over the mainland and countless islands. And far westward in the ancient crossroads of the world — the Near East — are five more Oriental countries: Persia with about 9,000,000 people, Turkey with 17,500,000, Iraq with 2,850,000, Syria with 2,832,000, and Arabia with 7,000,000 — in round numbers approximately 1,000,000,000 human beings! This is Asia, the home of ancient man. Here a civilization rose and fell long before the industrialism of the West was created.

Western eyes turn again toward the East

Today the attention of educated Western peoples is directed to what is happening in Asia — in China, India, Japan, and in that great country that straddles both Europe and Asia — Russia. There, in that gigantic block of territory, new history is being made. There the governments and cultures are changing more drastically than anywhere else on the earth. In China today, even more radical changes in ways of living are taking place than in Russia. Indeed, the culture of half the people of the entire world is being uprooted.

Hence it is upon Asia (including Russia) that we must concentrate our study if we are to understand the changing modern world and America's relation to it.

Sharp Contrasts between the Civilizations of Western Europe and of Eastern Asia[1]

1. Contrasts in geography

In these books we have illustrated again and again the close relation between geographic factors and the civilization and culture of a people. What are the chief geographic factors? First are the climatic factors: the temperature, winds, and rainfall. Second are the topographic factors: the mountains and valleys and the "lay of the land." Third are the natural resources:

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[1] At this point you might scan quickly pages 23–25 of this volume. See also Chapters V, XVIII–XXI, inclusive, and XXV and XXVI of *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*. This present chapter merely summarizes significant ideas illustrated in the earlier study.

soil, forests, and other forms of vegetation, and deposits of minerals. Fourth is the character of the coast line: whether or not it is indented with bays and inlets which provide harbor facilities. Fifth is the shape of the land mass, the distances from the interior to the coast, and the natural facilities for transportation — for example, rivers and valleys. Sixth is the location on the earth's surface with respect to other centers of population and the developing trade routes of the world.

a. Contrasts in climate

Study carefully the colored map following page 56. Great Britain, Germany, and most of France — indeed, the greater part of Europe except Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the Balkan countries — lie north of 45 degrees north latitude. But the temperature of Europe is not so cold as we should expect from this fact. As you have already been reminded earlier in this book, the warm Gulf Stream from across the Atlantic courses along the northwestern coast of the continent. There are almost no high mountains in the entire distance from the British Isles across the central and northern parts of the continent. Hence westerly winds, blowing across the Gulf Stream and bringing warmth and moisture, penetrate far into the continent, moderating the temperature and giving Europe a rainfall of from 20 to 40 inches a year. Because Europe is, for the most part, a great plain, the population is rather uniformly distributed.

Now note on the map of figure 187 how humanity has crowded together along the coastal plain in Japan; in the valleys of the Yangtze, the Canton (or Chu), and the Hwang in China; and in the valleys of the Ganges and the Indus in India. Here the climate is warmer than it is in Europe, and the rainfall averages 60 inches or more. Much of Asia is not so fortunate. There are great stretches in which only from 10 to 20 inches of rain fall during the year, and other great stretches in which the rainfall is less than 10 inches. Do you think rainfall helps to account for the massing of the Asiatic population in the river valleys and along the coastal plains? Is there a direct connection between rainfall and food products?

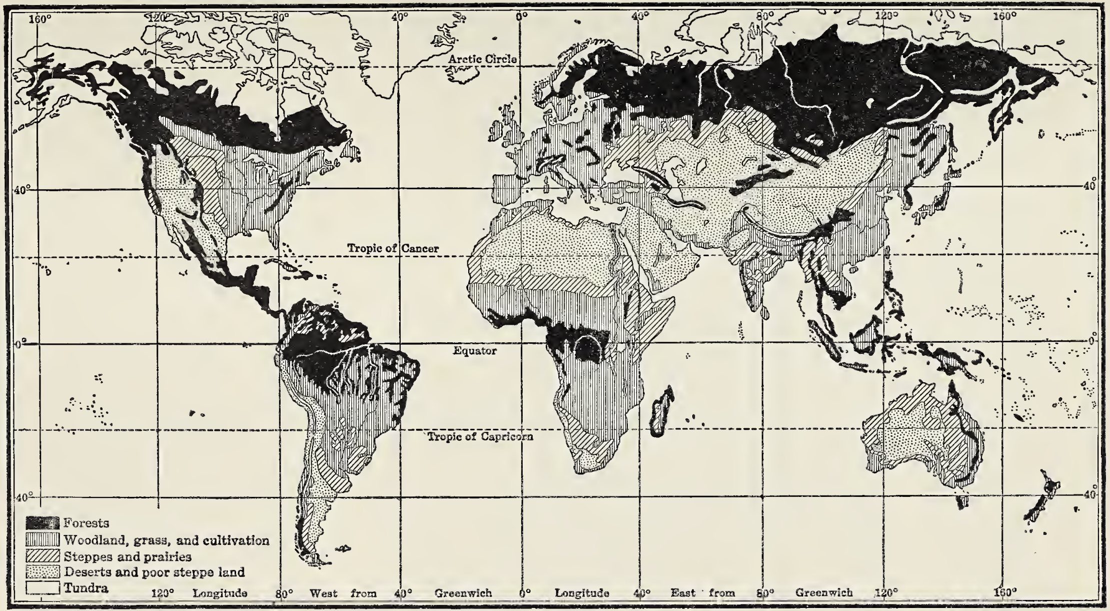
160°
120°
80°
40°
0°
40°
80°
120°
160°
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
40°
0°
40°
Forests
Woodland, grass, and cultivation
Steppes and prairies
Deserts and poor steppe land
Tundra
120° Longitude 80° West from 40° Greenwich 0° Longitude 40° East from 80° Greenwich 120° 160°

FIG. 188. With the help of the key in the lower left corner of the map you can contrast the areas of fertility in Asia and Europe. Note the large proportion of Europe which is especially fertile — the woodland, grass, and cultivation area

b. Sharp contrasts in topography

Now compare the colored maps of Europe and Asia following pages 56 and 520. We have already stated that there are almost no high mountains across the central and northern parts of Europe. With the exception of the great stony Alps and scattered lower mountains, this part of the continent is a vast level plain.

But how different is the topography of Asia! As you can see from the colored map of Asia, approximately half the continent consists of tremendous mountains and great plateaus. Note the vast plateau of Tibet, with an average of about 16,000 feet above sea level, and the broad, cold, arid deserts of Mongolia. Note the huge ranges of mountains — the Hindu Kush, the Altai, the Sayan, and, highest of all, on the northern boundary of India, the Himalayas. Here, then, is much waste land, so difficult to farm that only a few daring pioneers attempt it.

Compare the population map of figure 187 with the colored topographic map of Asia. Note the great concentrations of humanity on the broad, low coastal plains and in the river valleys and, in contrast, the sparse population of central Asia, where the mountains, plateaus, and deserts almost defy human habitation.

Differences in topography, then, accompany differences in climate, helping to determine where people live and how they live in the two separated parts of Eurasia.

c. Contrasts in natural resources

One of the great reasons why Europe produced the new industrial civilization was her vast natural resources. Especially important were the fertile soil and the great and easily accessible mineral resources — tremendous deposits of coal in the British Isles, in important centers in France, in Germany, and in southern Russia; and those of iron on the boundary between France and Germany, in Spain, and in Sweden. Here, in a territory approximately 2,660,000 square miles in area, is undoubtedly one of the greatest agricultural plains in the world — a garden spot of the earth. This land, well watered and warmed, produces not one kind of crop but a dozen or more, several of which are the basic foods of the modern world — wheat, potatoes, rye, the sugar beet, corn, etc.

Are there such natural resources in Asia? There are, indeed, large amounts of fertile land. For example, note the large acreage in the rich valleys of the Hwang, the Yangtze, and the Canton (Chu). But remember that, as compared with Europe, the waste lands of Asia are considerable (see figure 188), and the proportion of tall, rocky mountains, high, arid plateaus, and broad deserts is great. Moreover, in still further contrast with conditions in Europe, note the fact that even the rich valleys of Asia are subject to frequent and destructive floods. It is interesting to compare figures 187 and 188; for the map of world vegetation illustrates why the population of the agricultural continent of Asia is found closely concentrated in some places and why it is sparse in others.

Are there coal and iron? Estimates of the supplies in Asia vary greatly. European and American engineers have frequently made careful explorations of Asia, searching for deposits of minerals. The general belief among them is that there are fairly large deposits of both coal and iron, especially in China. Japan also has a moderate supply of coal, estimated at about 8,000,000,000 tons; but since she lacks iron she turns for it to Korea and to India.

There are other minerals in the Far East. In southern China are the world's largest deposits of antimony and very large deposits of tin. As you know, these are indispensable in the making of modern steel. Similarly with respect to tungsten, another ingredient of steel, China now produces more than any other country. Japan mines large amounts of copper, silver, sulphur, and gold.

Thus, although the mineral deposits of Asia are undoubtedly enormous in the aggregate, their inaccessibility and unfavorable distribution have prevented anything like the full use of these resources that has long been possible in Europe. The very fact that we do not know with any degree of accuracy how great the mineral deposits of Asia are shows clearly that, so far as *effective* natural resources are concerned, Asia is at a disadvantage in comparison with Europe.

d. The contrast in coast line

One of the reasons for the commercial supremacy of Europe is its low, well-indented coast line. Twelve of the 24 leading seaports of the world are on this coast. The Mediterranean Sea, with its branches the Adriatic, the Ægean, and the Black; the Baltic Sea, with its arms the gulfs of Bothnia, Finland, and Riga; the many navigable deltas and estuaries of "old" river valleys, — all these permit a vast volume of sea-borne traffic to penetrate far into the hinterland. No city of Europe is very far from the sea.

What about the coast of Asia? Only from the Yellow Sea around to India is it really well indented. Leaving the island empire of Japan out of account, it is here that the best Asiatic harbors for ocean-going ships are to be found — Tientsin, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta, and Bombay. Outside of the limits just mentioned the coast is relatively unbroken and is characterized by narrow coastal plains. Even within these limits long stretches of land present no opening to the sea.

Europe, with less than one fourth the area of Asia, has a coast line one and a half times as long. In all the vast continent of Asia, including Japan, there are only five of the 24 great ports of the world.

e. The contrast in the ease by which warm-water oceans can be reached from the interior

Now compare the size and shape of the land masses of the two parts of Eurasia — Europe and Asia: Europe about 3,872,000 square miles; Asia about 17,000,000 square miles, more than four times as large!

But the difference in shape is more significant than that in size. Note the narrowness of Europe; not one point in the interior is more than 600 miles from a fairly warm sea. Furthermore, Europe is provided with the world's best arrangement of river valleys. Note on the colored map of Europe how the Danube runs east through central Europe into the Black Sea. In addition, the Rhine and the Rhône provide man with easy water transportation from the two sides of the Alps. One leads northward into the North Sea, the other southward into the Mediterranean. Note the lesser rivers — the Vistula, the Oder, the Elbe, the Weser, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Po. In huge European Russia there are the Dnieper, the Don, the Volga, and other broad rivers. In the great valleys of these rivers roads, canals, and railroads have been built. Thus no place in Europe is out of easy reach of the sea.

But what a contrast in Asia! Here is a huge land mass with most points in the interior 1500 to 2000 miles from a warm sea. To be sure, there are long, broad rivers on the coastal plains, — for example, the Hwang and the Yangtze; the Mekong, which feeds the plains of Indo-China and Siam; and the famous Ganges and the Indus, which water the great rice-raising regions of northern India. But two facts are to be noted: first, that these rivers are widely separated; second, that the lower reaches of some of the largest rivers are so choked with shifting sands that they do not afford entrance to ocean-going vessels. The rivers flowing north into the Arctic — the Ob, the Yenisei, and the Lena — suffer as commercial waterways because, for a large part of the year, they are blocked with ice.

From these facts it is clear that, especially when due account is taken of the difference in area, Europe and Asia are in sharp contrast as regards accessibility by sea. The vast central plains of Asia are out of reach of the warm-water oceans of the world — oceans on which sail the merchant ships of all nations.

f. The contrast in location with respect to other centers of population and to the world's trade routes

Finally we come to a most important contrast — namely, in location for world trade. The map of figure 8 shows that western Europe is in the very center of the trading world. Out from her ports radiate the great freight routes: first, to the ports of North America; second, through the Mediterranean; and third, to South America.

What about China, Japan, India, and the other parts of the Orient? They are far from these larger centers of world trade. They lie opposite the western coast of the United States and Canada, on which are only three large ports, and of Central and South America, which have few good harbors. Thus the trade of the broad Pacific cannot compare with that of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, upon which Europe depends. It is true that the countries of Asia and the Pacific islands constitute a center of trade in themselves. However, this trade is insignificant in volume compared with that which crosses the Atlantic and passes through the Mediterranean.

2. The industrial civilization of Europe contrasted with the agricultural, handicraft civilization of Asia

So much for contrasts in what nature has provided for man in Europe and in Asia. We, of course, are more concerned with how man has taken advantage of the provisions of nature. Let us contrast the industrial civilization of western Europe with the agricultural, handicraft civilization of Asia.

1. *Man's use of power.* We have seen how men learned to make mechanical power in the Western world — to use giant steam and gas engines and electrically propelled motors. How different is the power that men still use in many parts of Asia!

There the tired muscles of human backs, arms, and legs provide the power which does the work for nearly 1,000,000,000 persons. Long hours of hard work, bodily fatigue, and short lives mark the story of work in the Eastern world. Hence the low standard of living revealed in the scarcity of goods, the humbleness and poverty of houses and furnishings, the lack of clothing, the almost complete absence of comforts and luxuries. First, then, is the contrast in power — mechanical power versus human-muscle power.

2. *Tools versus machines.* On the great agricultural plains of the Western world, giant gasoline tractors plant, cultivate, and harvest grain for its hungry millions. In huge factories powerful, clever machines lift, pound, heat, temper, weave, spin, and sew the goods of the Western world. Indeed, Europe is solving the problem of producing necessities, comforts, and luxuries cheaply and in huge quantities.

But in most parts of Asia the peasant grubs at the soil with the same crude implements which his ancestors employed centuries ago. With such tools garments are made, buildings are erected, and roads are built by many of the Asiatic people.

3. *Transportation and communication.* In the industrial countries of the West, people and things are transported by rapid and efficient trains, boats, automobiles, motor cycles, electric cars, and elevators. Instantaneous electrical communication is established between distant centers, even with different continents.

In the nonindustrialized regions of Asia, however, men depend on primitive, natural means of transportation — on the wind-propelled sailboats along rivers and coasts, or on the wheelbarrow or "carrying-pole" in the towns and cities. In rural areas lumbering oxen slowly haul loads over almost impassable roads. The well-to-do still travel in elegantly ornamented sedan chairs, transported by the sweating muscles of human carriers.

4. *Handicraft production versus mass production.* In Europe huge quantities of things are made by standardized, power-driven machines, with men acting largely as starters and stoppers. Great corporations — with huge amounts of wealth invested in factories, mills, shops, office buildings, warehouses — are producing, in a complicated, interdependent way, more goods than the world ever dreamed of before.

In Asia, on the contrary, everything is produced on a small scale. Millions of Chinese, Indian, and Japanese peasants put in their rice plants one by one. Millions more do the multitude of things necessary for the production of silk. Everywhere human hands are making things. Chinese craftsmen produce carefully ornamented articles of pottery. Indian workers spend weeks on the embroidery of a single shawl. Cabinetmakers, carpenters, decorators of household furniture, and other craftsmen turn out their special articles. Every household is its own craft "factory," the family making most of its own tools and implements, cloth garments, and shoes.

In this unit on Asia we shall study only three countries — China, Japan, and India; but these three are the outstanding civilizations of the Orient.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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Carpenter, Frank G. Asia. American Book Company, New York.

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CHAPTER XX

CHINA: THE BREAKDOWN OF A CULTURE

Chinese government was comparatively democratic during the centuries of one-man rule in Europe

Throughout this book we have been studying the long struggle of men for democratic government. Even today, as we have seen, the West is far from attaining its ideal.

However, during much of the time when Europeans were struggling, the Chinese people really had a kind of democracy. Indeed, the Chinese people had far more to say in the regulation of their affairs than did the people of Europe. Let us see how this was possible.

OLD CHINA: MANY INDEPENDENT VILLAGES, NOT A NATIONAL STATE

First we must note that the great mass of the Chinese people, 80 per cent or more, live not in cities but in thousands of small villages. The great coastal plain and the broad, fertile river valleys are literally dotted with these villages, often less than half a mile apart, and each of them, under the old imperial system, a tiny self-governing republic. Each tiny republic regulated its own local affairs — maintained its own school, settled the disputes between its people, and even, in most cases, tried and punished its own criminals. Like the manors of medieval Europe, the little village communities were, in economic matters, practically self-sufficient, and only a small portion of the products of their labor was carried off to the cities to be exchanged for "outside" commodities.

Thus China did not develop a national state. Although there was a single *written* language for the whole country, the people of each region *spoke* their own local dialect, all the important affairs of life were regulated by the village leaders, and the loyalty of the Chinese villager was concentrated upon his family and upon the village of which he was a member.

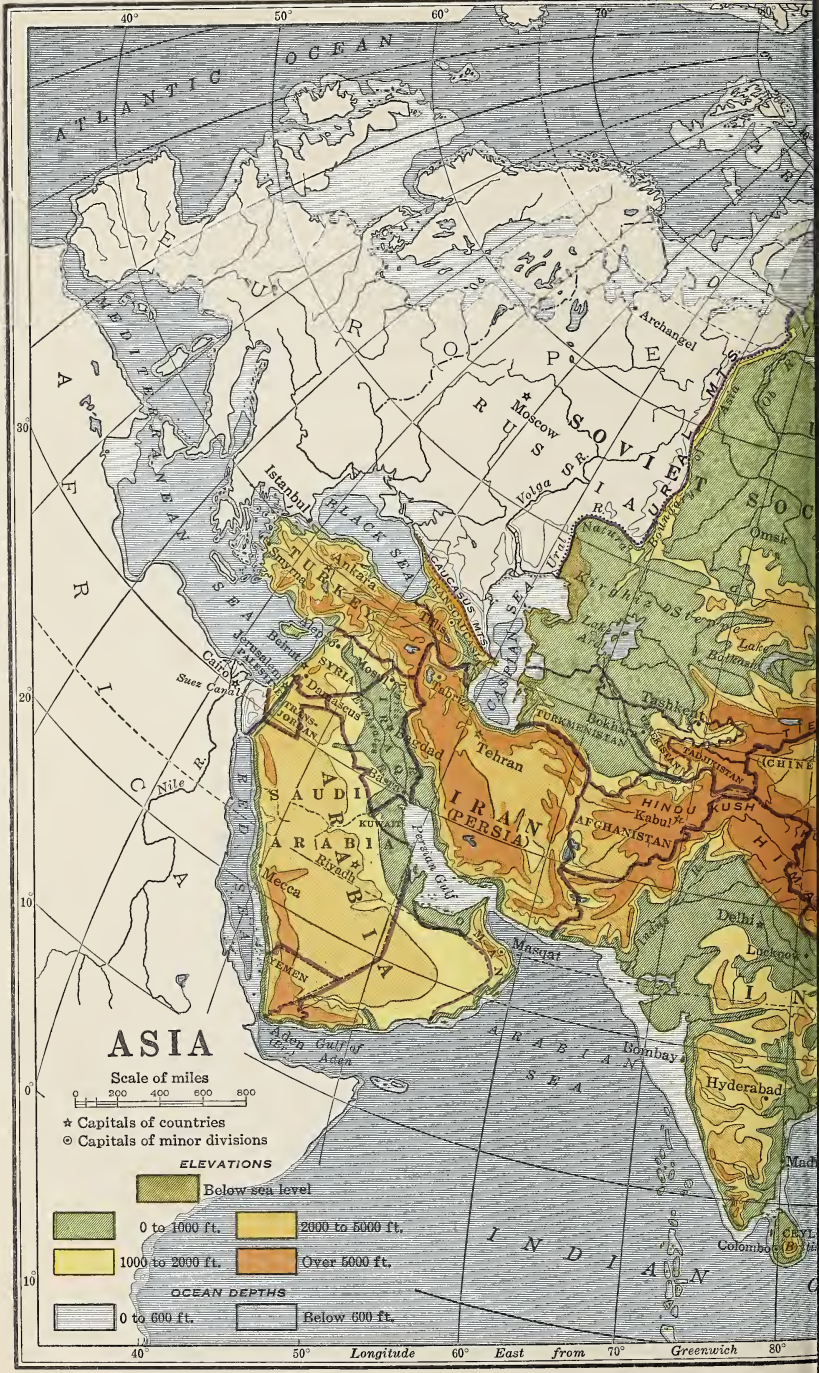
There was, of course, a Central Imperial Government

This is not to say that there was no central government in China. Centuries before the opening of the Christian Era the whole country had been united into an empire. On several occasions this empire had fallen into disorder and disunion, but since the middle of the thirteenth century it had remained united and practically unchanged except for two transfers of the imperial power.

At the head of this central government was the emperor. He was surrounded by a retinue of courtiers and assisted by the officials of a number of imperial "boards." Over the eighteen provinces, into which the empire was divided, were governors and provincial treasurers appointed by the emperor. The provinces, in turn, were divided into "prefectures," and these into districts, or *hsiens*, the "prefects" and the magistrates of the *hsiens* also being appointed by the emperor.

This pyramid of imperial governing officials had its foundation, then, in the magistrates who represented the emperor in the districts. Theoretically, therefore, these men were the real governors of the people. The magistrate decided what taxes each family should pay in support of the emperor's court and his officials. He collected the taxes. He was supposed also to police the community and to act as judge of the court. Actually, the only contact most of the people had with him was when he assessed and collected taxes.

Thus as far as *central* government was concerned, China was an empire. It was governed by one man — the emperor. In theory it was as absolute and "divine right" as any government of Europe. Actually, however, government in China had almost nothing to do with the emperor and his officials. It was local, not central, and was probably more democratic than that of any large country of the world.


ASIA
Scale of miles
0 200 400 600 800
☆ Capitals of countries
⊙ Capitals of minor divisions
ELEVATIONS
Below sea level
0 to 1000 ft.
1000 to 2000 ft.
2000 to 5000 ft.
Over 5000 ft.
OCEAN DEPTHS
0 to 600 ft.
Below 600 ft.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
RUSSIA
SOVIET
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Archangel
Moscow
Volga R.
Ural R.
URAL MTS.
Istanbul
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS MTS.
TRANSCAUCASIA
Tiflis
CASPIAN SEA
TURKEY
Ankara
Smyrna
Aleppo
Beirut
SYRIA
Damascus
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
TRANS-JORDAN
Cairo
Suez Canal
Nile R.
Mosul
IRAQ
Bagdad
Basra
KUWAIT
Persian Gulf
Tabriz
Tehran
IRAN (PERSIA)
SAUDI ARABIA
Riyadh
Mecca
ARABIA
YEMEN
Aden (Br.)
Gulf of Aden
RED SEA
OMAN
Masqat
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
TURKMENISTAN
Bokhara
UZBEKISTAN
TADJIKISTAN
Tashkent
HINDU KUSH
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Indus
Delhi
Lucknow
Bombay
Hyderabad
Colombo
CEYLON (Brit.)
Kirghiz Steppe
Lake Aral
Lake Balkash
Omsk
Ob R.
CHINE
HIMA
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40°
50°
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70°
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30
20
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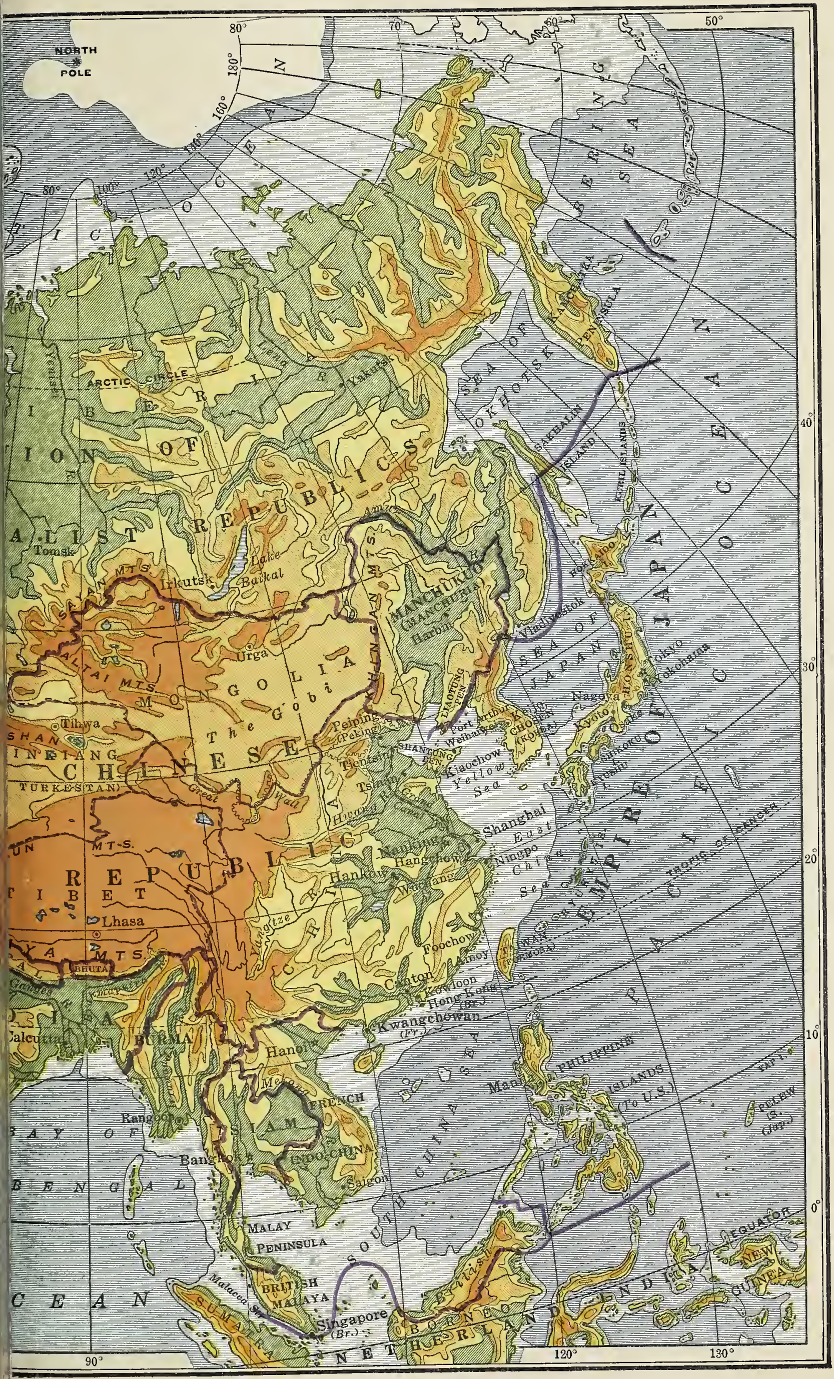
Longitude East from Greenwich


NORTH POLE
ARCTIC OCEAN
BERING SEA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
KAMCHATKA PENINSULA
SAKHALIN ISLAND
KURIL ISLANDS
UNION OF SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
SIBERIA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Lena R.
Yakutsk
Yenisei
Tomsk
Irkutsk
Lake Baikal
SAYAN MTS.
Amur R.
KHINGAN MTS.
MANCHUKUO (MANCHURIA)
Harbin
Vladivostok
HOKKAIDO
SEA OF JAPAN
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
HONSHU
Tokyo
Yokohama
Nagoya
Kyoto
Osaka
SHIKOKU
KYUSHU
MONGOLIA
Urga
ALTAI MTS.
The Gobi
Tihwa
SINKIANG
TURKESTAN
CHINESE REPUBLIC
Peiping (Peking)
Tientsin
Tsinan
Great Wall
Hwang Ho
Grand Canal
LIAOTUNG PEN.
Port Arthur
Weihaiwei
Keijo
CHOSEN (KOREA)
SHANTUNG PEN.
Kiaochow
Yellow Sea
Shanghai
Nanking
Hangchow
Ningpo
Hankow
Wuchang
East China Sea
RYUKYU IS.
Yangtze R.
CHINA
Foochow
Amoy
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
Canton
Kowloon
Hong Kong (Br.)
Kwangchowan (Fr.)
TROPIC OF CANCER
PACIFIC OCEAN
TIBET
Lhasa
KUN LUN MTS.
HIMALAYA MTS.
BHUTAN
Ganges
Brahmaputra
INDIA
Calcutta
BURMA
Rangoon
BAY OF BENGAL
Hanoi
Mekong
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
SIAM
Bangkok
Saigon
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Manila
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (To U.S.)
YAP I.
PELEW IS. (Jap.)
MALAY PENINSULA
BRITISH MALAYA
Singapore (Br.)
Malacca Str.
SUMATRA
BORNEO
NETHERLAND INDIA
NEW GUINEA
EQUATOR
INDIAN OCEAN
80°
70°
60°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
90°
100°
120°
130°
140°
160°

THE FAMILIES AND THE GUILDS OF THE COMMUNITIES REALLY GOVERNED CHINA

The supreme rôle of the family in China

To understand how the family really governed in China, we must realize the differences between families there and in the West. In the West the family consists merely of father, mother, the children, and, occasionally, other relatives. Each generation tends to live by itself. This we call an individualistic way of living.

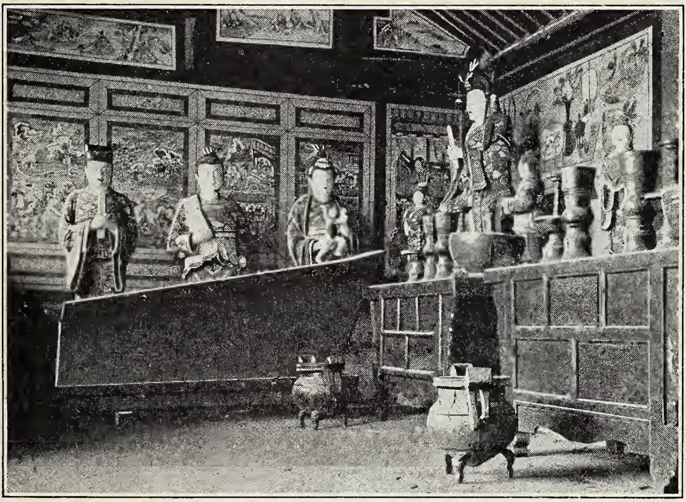


FIG. 189. So important a part does "family" play in the life of the Chinese, even today, that their religion is based upon ancestor worship. Should the living members of a family fail to do honor to their ancestors by regularly performing certain rites at the family graves or family temples, the Chinese believe misfortune would overtake them. This photograph shows a family temple. Note the coffin at the left

In China, however, the family includes all the relations of the father and the wives and children of the married sons: great-grandfather and great-grandmother, grandfather and grandmother, fathers and mothers, children, paternal uncles and their wives, and the unmarried paternal aunts. Frequently, because there are many children, these families are very large and are little communities in themselves. Some villages, indeed, consist of only one family; a majority of the villages have only two or three families.

Thus, in old China, most of the people in a village were related to one another. Furthermore, property — land, buildings, implements, animals — was owned by the family, not by the individual, as in Europe. Here, then, was a type of communism that was in operation for thousands of years. Furthermore, it was very different from the plan of western-European countries, in which each man had the right to own property.

The family was ruled by the eldest male, aided by the counsel of the other elder males. These elders decided everything for each individual member. They decided what his schooling should be and what occupation he should enter. They chose the wife for each young man, and the husband for each young woman. Individual choice was not permitted, for the mature judgment of the old men of the family was regarded as better than the personal desires of the young people.

In short, as all matters were settled within the family, there was very little need for central government as we know it today. Indeed, the representatives of the imperial central government really had little to do with the personal life of the Chinese.

In one respect, then, the government of the villages was indeed democratic. Everyone in each small group knew everyone else. Hence all "public" questions were settled through the most democratic discussions. Even in matters of legal dispute the imperial government had little occasion to act.

However, looking at the matter from the point of view of our Western ways of thinking, this may not seem like democracy. Perhaps you are thinking that it is a very autocratic way of living, since the individual has so very little independence. But there is another side of the matter. As one student of China says:

> What the individual loses in freedom of will he gains in protection. The collective resources of the family always stand behind him. If he is out of work he is lodged and fed, if he is ill he is taken care of, as a matter of right, not charity. . . . When he is old he must be taken care of by his children, who do so automatically, for he still has his place

in the home. There is poverty in China, bleak, bitter poverty, as everywhere in the East; but there is less of insecurity than in the richer, industrialized West.[1]

In the towns the guilds governed economic life

Although the vast majority of the Chinese people lived in villages and occupied themselves primarily with agriculture, some 20 per cent of the population dwelt in towns and cities, where they engaged in commerce or in various specialized industries. In the towns, as in the villages, the individual was governed, in all personal and social matters, by the family; but in the towns the control over his economic activities was exercised by trade guilds instead of by the village council. These corresponded fairly closely to the medieval guilds of Europe. There was a guild for every occupation, and practically every worker joined one.

These organizations governed the economic life of the country. For example, they set the prices for goods so that all would have at least a minimum of the available food, shelter, and clothing. All might nearly starve, but no one should be allowed to prosper while they did so. For in matters affecting human livelihood, China, unlike western Europe, did not believe in competition — each man for himself.

As a result, only in the more profitable merchant guilds of the larger towns and cities were there large profits and great inequalities in wealth, and it was more difficult for one individual to accumulate a fortune than in European industrial countries and in America.

The guilds also fixed wages, hours of work, and labor conditions. All these things were done through much more personal discussion by the members than was practiced in the competitive Western countries. One student of Chinese culture has given us a typical picture of how labor disputes were settled among the Chinese.

> The writer witnessed [this] many years ago in the Chinese city adjoining the International Settlement at Shanghai. There was a wage dispute among the carpenters and a strike had been called. A meeting

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[1] Nathaniel Peffer, *China: the Collapse of a Civilization*, p. 37. The John Day Company, New York, 1930.

had been summoned at the guild hall on the day that it was to go into effect. The hall seethed. The meeting opened, a bedlam. For a few minutes it settled to decorum, with appointed spokesmen presenting the case for each side. But the atmosphere was too overpowering, the Chinese habit of extracting the full histrionic value of every situation too irresistible. The speakers became rhetorical, then dramatic, then passionate. They were interrupted, not only by opponents, but by supporters, too full of words for restraint. Soon more than one was talking at a time, then many at a time. Both volume of noise and tensity of passion waxed to a crescendo. Nothing appeared to be left except physical violence, when suddenly servants entered bringing tea and cakes and sweetmeats. As suddenly the scene died down and was metamorphosed into an amicable, gossiping party. Tea things were cleared and the debate was resumed. It moved quickly again from decorum to passion, rose to crescendo, to the border of fracas; then when all hope seemed gone for any conclusion but catastrophe, certainly for a peaceful settlement, a compromise emerged and was accepted. The men were given a raise but less than they demanded.[1]

So it was that, outside of personal and family life, the guilds really governed the community, because they controlled the trade. Instead of laws passed by a council of representatives of the whole town or city, laws were made and enforced within the respective guilds. Economic disputes were settled within them, as personal disputes were settled within the family in the village. Westerners sometimes forget this, and maintain that there was no legal system in China. There was really a most effective one.

As representatives of the people of the towns the guilds also dealt with the officials of the imperial government. Thus the individual citizen had no direct relations with the latter.

We see that instead of being a nation in the Western sense, China was essentially a multitude of self-sufficient communities and groups. Practically everything needed to carry on life was produced within the local community.

Was there patriotism in China? loyalty to "country"? No; loyalty was to the family and to the guild — perhaps to the local community. Little patriotic feeling could be experienced under such a way of living. It was difficult to make the people grasp the idea of China as a nation, as "my country."

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[1] Nathaniel Peffer, *China: the Collapse of a Civilization*, p. 28. The John Day Company, New York, 1930.

Life under such conditions tended to be uniform. Each year was essentially like any other year. Customs were handed on from one generation to another practically unchanged. Furthermore, the people were incredibly poor. Food was hard to get and was of the simplest. Someone has described it as "rice and beans for breakfast, beans and rice for supper." Indeed, it was not much more extensive or varied than that. Comforts, few and far between, were almost unknown to the rank and file of the people. But, in spite of the poverty, government was more nearly democratic than in Western countries.

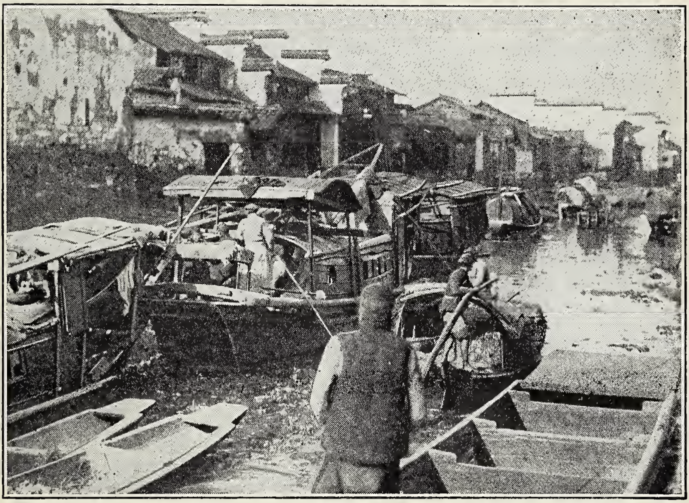

FIG. 190. The slums of China. As city populations grew in China thousands of poor people were crowded into ramshackle dwellings along the water front or into houseboats on bays, rivers, and canals. Most of these people lived in appalling poverty, among unpleasant odors, noise, and filth

For thousands of years, in spite of foreign invasion, this old culture persevered

We are not sure just how long the Chinese people have lived in this family-guild way. Certainly it has been a long time.

In the larger towns and cities the Chinese achieved a very high level of civilization. Indeed, when Genghis Khan conquered northern China, and when his grandson Kublai Khan ruled the vast Asiatic empire, the civilization was distinctly higher than that of Europe. It was marked by fine architectural design, vast engineering construction, beautiful painting, sculpture, and carving, and fine handicraft.

Repeated invasions did little to change customs. In each case the Chinese, more numerous and slower to change, assimilated the invaders. This happened to the Mongols in the 1200's and to the Manchus in the 1600's. For about 250 years the latter ruled the millions of people without altering their habits or interests. Manchus, like Mongols before them, became "Chinese," although the Chinese, even in 1911, regarded them as foreigners.

Thus in the hundreds of thousands of Chinese villages, even in the larger towns and cities, Chinese culture went on much as in former centuries. Population grew and governors came and went, but customs and ways of living changed but little.

THEN CAME THE TRADERS AND THE MISSIONARIES OF EUROPE, PRESSING THEIR WARES AND THEIR IDEAS UPON THE CHINESE

Then, for the first time in 4000 years, came invaders who had the power to change the culture of the people as well as to conquer their government. These were the Europeans — the British, the French, the Germans — and, later, the Americans.[1]

These came not only with warships and armies of well-equipped soldiers, but also with new ideas. They offered the isolated Chinese easier and more attractive ways of living. For example, they showed them cloth for garments made quickly and cheaply on machines, various new kinds of food, oil, lamps, fine tools and implements, and engines running on tracks, and trains carrying huge numbers of people. More important still, they brought them new ideas of education and of religion, of health and of sanitation. Thus they did something that all previous invaders had failed to do: *they changed ways of living, and did not merely govern.*

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[1] A more detailed account can be read in Chapter XIX, "The Changing Chinese," in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World.*

This change did not come quickly. It took nearly 100 years. You probably know the story from your earlier studies. Let us recall it quickly.

In the 1600's and 1700's the British East India Company built up a valuable trade in India and succeeded in conquering about two thirds of the people. One of the richest prizes of trade which the company seized was a monopoly on the cultivation of poppies and the manufacture and sale of opium. Opium, as you probably know, is a vicious drug which undermines the health and mentality of those who contract the habit of using it.

Before 1800 few of the Chinese people used opium. But after that date the sale of the drug increased swiftly. Soon it constituted a real menace to the health of the people. As profits from this terrible business grew, the Chinese government made more and more determined efforts to check it.

The efforts of the Chinese authorities to check the opium trade resulted in stern measures against the British merchants, who were bringing to Chinese ports the greatest amount of the drug. The British government, regarding these measures as cruel and unjust, promptly took steps to defend its merchants. Two wars were fought, the first in 1840–1842 and the second in 1856–1860. Each time the British, with their powerful modern army and navy, made short work of the Chinese junks and small guns. After each of these wars the Chinese were compelled to surrender important rights to their conquerors. They handed over the island of Hong Kong, upon which the British have since built a great commercial city; they opened a number of their ports — Shanghai, Canton, Hankow, and others — to foreign trade and granted the British the right to establish at these places self-governing foreign settlements; they surrendered the right to levy a customs duty in excess of 5 per cent upon imports from foreign lands. Except for the cession of Hong Kong, all these rights and privileges were soon given to France, the United States, and other Western countries, which hastened to sign treaties with the defeated empire.

One concession demanded from China by the foreign powers was that foreigners who got into legal difficulties could have their cases tried in foreign courts. This amounted to a charge that Chinese law and judicial procedure could not be depended upon, which was naturally humiliating to the Chinese. There has been much trouble between them and the Europeans because of this fact.

Somewhat later the French established themselves in Indo-China, seizing territory and trading concessions as the British had done in China. By the 1860's they too were demanding privileges in China. At Shanghai, where a number of British and American merchants were residing on land that had been specially set apart for foreign residence, the French secured a special grant of land for themselves. These two areas gradually increased in size, and "foreign" Shanghai — the French Concession and the International Settlement — is now a great Western city in which life is more French, British, and American than Chinese.

As the years passed, more and more French, British, German, and American traders established themselves in the cities and towns of China. The sale of opium continued, and manufactures developed under the leadership of Western business men. Step by step China was opened up to the Western nations. The isolation of thousands of years was ended. The traders were changing the culture of the people as well as conquering the government.

There were also attacks from one of China's own Asiatic neighbors — Japan. Between 1860 and 1890 Japan swiftly transformed her industry and business, adopting the power-driven machines of industrial civilization. She built railroads and telegraphs, set up a great system of world trade, and developed a modern army and navy. Then, feeling strong enough to do so, she joined the Western powers in attacks upon the helpless Chinese. In 1895 she defeated China in a short war, forced the Chinese government to recognize the "independence" of Korea, took the island of Taiwan (better known as Formosa), and obtained a large indemnity.

Now, too, the Russian migration across Siberia had brought that empire up to the very doors of northern China. Russian emigrants penetrated into eastern Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria, finally taking the region of which the city of Vladivostok is the chief port.

As the powers established themselves within China, railways were built and operated under forced leases. The Russians built the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria, shortening their Trans-Siberian Railway. Russia also obtained the Liaotung Peninsula and control of the cities of Dairen and Port Arthur. The Germans obtained control of the land about Kiaochow Bay, developed the seaport city of Tsingtao, and built railways through the province of Shantung. In the meantime Britain and France also forced China to grant them the right to build railways. These railways were nominally Chinese; but they were built with money borrowed from abroad, and the control of the railways was to remain in foreign hands until the loans were paid off.

In this way most of the important regions of China were practically under the control of one or more of the European powers before 1900.

Western missionaries also undermined the Chinese culture

It was not merely the construction of factories, railroads, and telegraphs and the introduction of new kinds of food, clothing, and conveniences that affected Chinese culture. Although these were important, there was another influence that affected it even more — the new education of the West. Increasing numbers of young Chinese were educated to a new way of living by missionaries of various churches sent into China from England, Germany, and other parts of Europe, and from America.

By a treaty made in 1860, missionaries were permitted to reside anywhere in China, to establish schools, churches, missions, and to educate Chinese in the Christian religion. This in itself was a revolutionary change, for up to that time foreigners could live only in certain places and could do only certain things. Furthermore, these missionaries were governed by the laws of their own countries, not by those of China. All these concessions gave the missionary freedom to spread propaganda which would radically change the most fundamental Chinese customs.

Soon mission schools were set up in various centers of China. Although not modern in the sense of the 1930's, they were revolutionary to the Chinese culture. Education in China had long consisted in studying the writings of the great Chinese poets, philosophers, and historians. The curriculum included little geography, no history of the world outside China, and none of our modern scientific subjects. The mastery of the ancient classics, moreover, required many years; hence, although almost every little village had its own school, only a very small percentage of the Chinese people ever learned to do more than read a few simple characters.

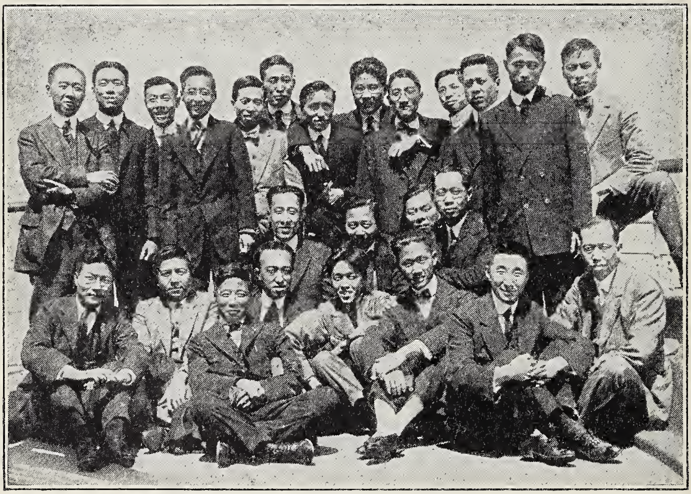

Fig. 191. Young Chinese, educated in the United States, on their way home

The Chinese children really needed a modern school like your own, one that taught them reading, writing, and arithmetic, the history and geography of their own country and of other parts of the world, and the scientific knowledge which had begun its development in Europe during the 1600's. They needed to understand their own conditions, the real problems of their country, and the relation of the Far East to the West. They needed to be able to read and understand their own literature and help to create a new one.

But neither from their own schools nor from the Western mission schools did they obtain this kind of education. In the mission schools they were taught Western languages instead of their own. The American and British missionaries, for example, taught them to read and write English. They read English and American literature. They studied European and United States history. In short, instead of building a course of study to fit the civilization of China, the mission schools imposed upon the Chinese the curriculum of American and European schools.

In the 50 years after 1860, hundreds of thousands of young Chinese were educated in the ideas, ideals, and customs of the West. When they graduated from mission high schools they went either to mission colleges in China or to colleges in the United States, Europe, or Japan. By the time they were 25 most of these young people were imbued with Western culture and were determined to introduce it into China.

It was not merely in external things — such as clothing, hair cuts, diet, household furniture, and the like — that the young Chinese began to want to live in a different way. Their more fundamental customs also began to change; for example, their family life, their attitude toward women and children, and their guilds, their education, and their philosophy.

THUS WESTERN TRADERS AND MISSIONARIES, SUPPORTED BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS, BROKE DOWN THE POWER OF THE MANCHU GOVERNMENT AND PREPARED THE WAY FOR REVOLUTION

As the later decades of the nineteenth century passed, the younger native leaders determined to oust the Manchu rulers. The greatest leader among them all, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, says in his autobiography, "From 1885, that is, from the time of our defeat in the war with France, I set before myself the object of the overthrow of the . . . dynasty and the establishment of a Chinese republic on its ruins."

And later, describing how the foreign powers put down the

Boxer uprising of 1900 and got control of Peking (Peiping), he said: "All intelligent Chinese began to understand that China was on the brink of destruction. From this moment a new revolutionary wave began to grow up."

Revolution and the First Republic, 1911–1912

Grow up it did, indeed. In the 1890's, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other Western-educated Chinese, revolutionary groups developed in various centers. So influential did they become that the imperial government took harsh measures. Sun Yat-sen himself was forced to flee from China, a price upon his head.

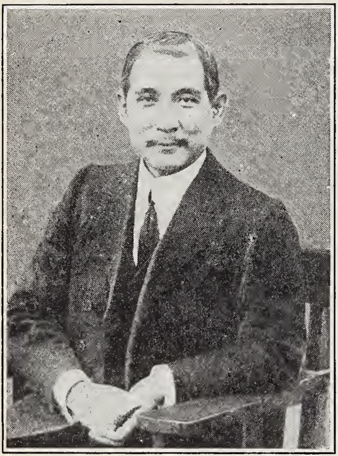

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Fig. 192. Sun Yat-sen (1867–1925)

However, the spirit of revolution continued to grow. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other leaders secretly traveled from place to place, organizing the revolution against the Manchu government. Sensing the impending danger, the government itself made "reforms." In 1905 the antiquated system of educational examinations was abolished. Year by year more modern schools were established; by 1910 nearly 1,600,000 children were attending these schools. It was in that year also that slavery was abolished.

During the same years commissions of political leaders went abroad to study government in Western countries. As early as 1906 the Manchu imperial officials promised a parliamentary government. Elections were held in 1909, a small, selected property-owning class being allowed to vote. In October, 1910, a national assembly met. The Throne promised to call a parliament in 1913 which should have certain powers over lawmaking.

But the revolutionary leaders would not wait. In October, 1911, a mutiny against the Manchus arose in Wuchang. Like wildfire the long-smoldering rebellion spread from city to city and from province to province. By December, fourteen of the eighteen provinces of China proper had declared against the Manchu rulers, who were deposed. On New Year's Day, 1912, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected first president of the Chinese Republic. He served, however, only two months, resigning in favor of the leading military general of China — Yuan Shih-kai. It was hoped that Yuan Shih-kai could bind together the many separated factions.

What a historic event this was! China, a multitude of isolated villages, proclaimed a republic and launched on a career of nation-building! Could it be done? Could this gigantic illiterate mass of humanity be welded into a modern nation? This question was in all thoughtful minds.

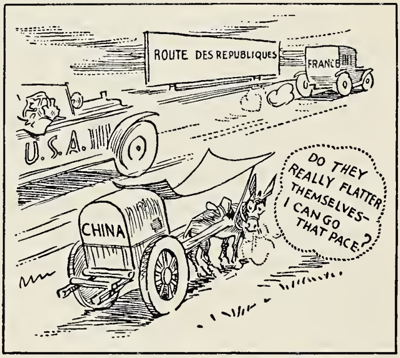
ROUTE DES REPUBLIQUES
FRANCE
U.S.A.
CHINA
DO THEY REALLY FLATTER THEMSELVES— I CAN GO THAT PACE?

FIG. 193. A cartoon of three republics. What does the cartoon imply? (From the *North China Herald*, Shanghai)

THEN FOLLOWED TWENTY YEARS OF TURMOIL

What were the tasks confronting Yuan Shih-kai, Sun Yat-sen, and their associates? Overwhelming ones indeed! In brief, they would have to set up a strong central government which should have (1) a well-disciplined and well-equipped army to keep order, to put down the bandits who were springing up in every quarter, and to keep rival military leaders in subjection; (2) a large staff of educated and loyal officials to represent the central government in the eighteen provinces and the smaller districts; (3) a uniform and sound system of currency and a way of raising money by fair taxation; (4) modern systems of roads, railroads, telegraphs, and postal service to bind the scattered villages and cities of the vast territory together into a loyal nation.

Finally, absolutely basic to the whole future building of a stable country, was the fifth necessity — the establishment of a nation-wide system of modern schools. Some way had to be found to construct school buildings, train teachers, and bring 99 per cent of the Chinese children into modern schools.

It was an overwhelming problem, indeed — surely not one that could be solved in a few years. Nevertheless Dr. Sun Yat-sen, General Yuan Shih-kai, and the other leaders heroically attempted the task.

A NATIONALIST POLITICAL PARTY — THE KUOMINTANG — TOOK THE LEADERSHIP IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT

At the outbreak of the revolution, in 1911, no political organization prepared to cope with problems of government was in existence. Hastily Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his associates formed a "party"— the Kuomintang, or Nationalist party. To perfect such a complicated organization, however, requires many years of work; hence during the first ten years of the Kuomintang the leaders had no plan and no party machine.

So chaotic did government become that in 1913 Yuan Shih-kai dismissed the assembly of the party and attempted to rule China as a dictator, announcing a new "constitution" in 1914. During the next two years several rival war lords rose against him. These set up their own independent governments in different sections of the country, collecting taxes at will, quartering their armies on the people, looting property, and oppressing the inhabitants. Government completely broke down in many sections. When Yuan Shih-kai died, in 1916, chaos increased. The country fell into indescribable disorder. From 1916 to 1926 civil war ruled China.

In the meantime the Kuomintang, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, launched one new provisional government after another from their headquarters in the southern city of Canton. Instead of being satisfied to govern merely the local district, establishing order in that region and gradually extending their control over a larger and larger area, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Nationalist party attempted to govern all China.

In March, 1925, Dr. Sun died and his successors at the head of the Kuomintang quickly embarked upon a campaign for the unification of the country. By the summer of 1927 they had established their government at Nanking, on the Yangtze River; the next summer saw the Kuomintang in nominal control of all the provinces south of the Great Wall; and on the last day of 1928 the military dictator of Manchuria hoisted the Nationalist flag as a sign that he acknowledged the authority of the Nanking government. In this unification of the country, Sun Yat-sen, although dead, played an important part, for the Kuomintang program was based largely upon his book *Three Principles of the People* (*San Min Chu I*). These three principles were (1) a better standard of living for the people, (2) democracy, and (3) recovery by China of the rights which have been granted to foreigners.

THE NATIONALIST PARTY BECAME A DICTATOR GOVERNMENT, PATTERNED AFTER THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Shortly before the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen the Russian Communist party entered the scene. Representatives of the Soviet government, led by Michael Borodin, flocked to China to spread their propaganda. Russian military officers helped to train the new Nationalist army, and Russian politicians helped the Kuomintang leaders to perfect a party organization. For a time many in the Western world were convinced that the Chinese would adopt a communistic form of society, for the new Kuomintang was patterned very closely after the Russian Communist party. No other parties were to be permitted in China. Government was to be frankly a party dictatorship.

Note how closely the Chinese party in 1930 resembled the Russian model, which is shown in figure 153. There was a National Congress at the head, composed of delegates from the various districts of the country, elected every two years *by party members*. The real work, however, was done by the Central Executive Committee of 36 members. These, in turn, delegated their powers to a Standing Committee of from five to nine members. There was also a somewhat larger Central Political Council and a Central Supervisory Council.

That the National Government itself was a dictatorship of the Kuomintang is shown by the fact that the Central Executive Committee appointed the Central State Council of the government. The chairman of this council was president of the National Government and commanded the army and navy. There was also a Central Military Council and a Central Research Council. The members of these, too, usually belonged to the party. Moreover, the legislature could not pass a law until the leaders of the party had approved it. Thus the Standing Committee — a little oligarchy of from five to nine men — was the real sovereign over the people, at least so long as its armies were in control.

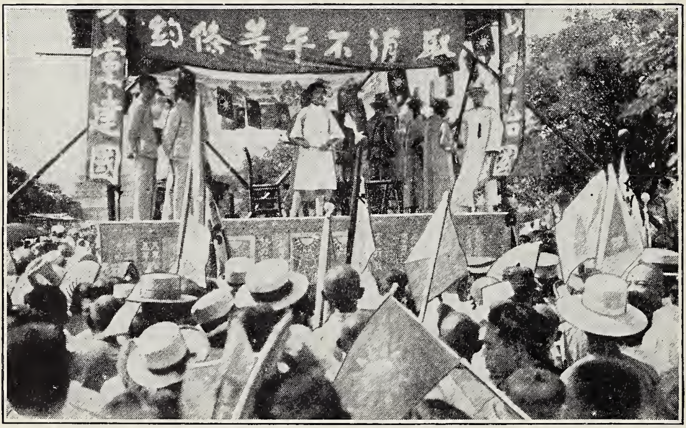

Fig. 194. Campaigning for the Nationalist party. It is a woman who is addressing the crowd. A generation ago such a sight would have been impossible, for women then took no part in public life

The Nationalists said frankly that they proposed to maintain their dictatorship until 1935. They claimed that only thus, under the existing conditions of turmoil, could a strong central government be established.

In the meantime, while central and county governments have been in turmoil, what about local government in the villages? Although the control of the family and its elders is weakening there, it has not yet been destroyed. These leaders continue to govern their little communities much as they did before. They are at the mercy, however, of raiding bandits and of the successive waves of advancing and retreating armies which have ravaged Chinese communities in many parts of China proper during the past thirty years.

WHETHER FOR GOOD OR FOR ILL THE OLD CHINESE CULTURE IS BREAKING DOWN

1. The Chinese are beginning to adopt industrialism

China, like Russia, like India, like other great sections of the world, is beginning to adopt European industrialism. In 1925 there were 400 electric-light and power plants in China. The larger cities had street-car and bus lines and were connected by the telegraph. By 1930 there were also more than 7000 miles of railroads and more than 1000 power-driven factories. Almost three fifths of all the factories are in the textile industry. In 1928 there were 120 cotton mills, with approximately 250,000 workers. Two thirds of them were owned by Chinese capitalists. Modern steel mills have also been built in several centers, and up-to-date shipyards are being developed.

These industries are, of course, concentrated near a few large cities. Almost half the cotton mills are near Shanghai, and many others are located in such cities as Tsingtao, Tientsin, Wusih, and Wuhan. Wuhan is a large industrial district on the Yangtze River and includes Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang.

Other industries are growing also. More flour is being manufactured, especially in Manchuria, near the grain-raising plains. Certain phases of silk-manufacturing are being carried on now by machines. Many match factories have also been built.

Thus China has already begun to adopt the West's industrial way of producing things. Only a small beginning has been made, of course; most of the villages are still untouched. But the change is really under way. After thousands of years of resistance to all foreign influence the Chinese are succumbing to the easier and more profitable ways of manufacturing and business characteristic of Western industrial countries.

As they do so they are building up a rich industrial capitalist class, as each of the Western countries has done. A new division of Chinese society is taking place. For example, bankers are rising to power. Since 1918 more than 200 banks organized on the pattern of Western banks have been formed. Unfortunately, many of these enterprises have been set up by political leaders, principally to enable them to carry on their schemes and make great profits. However, about one third of the banks are sound institutions. As in Europe, the bankers are playing a very important part in the new government.

2. The change in family life

While these industrial changes are occurring in the largest cities, another fundamental change is taking place in the family.

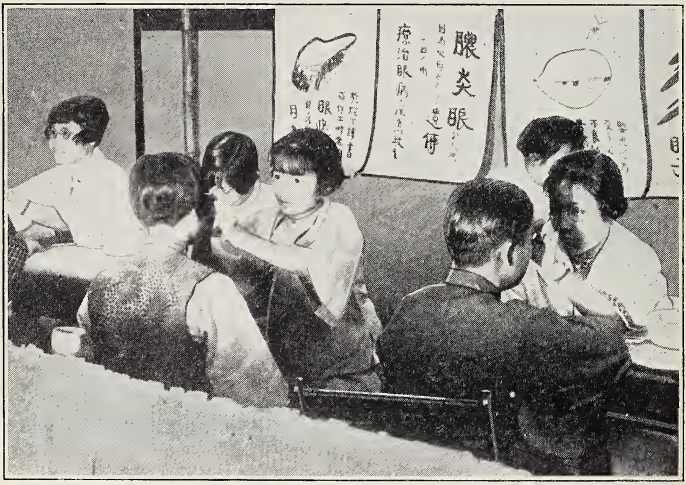

Fig. 195. An eye clinic conducted by the doctors and students of the women's medical college at Canton. This picture illustrates but one profession in which the young women of China engage today

Family life, influenced by European countries, is becoming individualized. Young men educated in Western schools are demanding the right to choose their own wives; young women are demanding the right to choose their own husbands. More important still, however, is the fact that the newly married couples insist on living alone in their own houses. They are breaking away from the old community home. Thus the control of the elders over the young people is breaking down, and it is difficult to perpetuate old ideas and customs.

In the second place, there is a radical transformation in the attitude of the Chinese women toward their part in the world. Young Chinese women are demanding homes of their own because it gives them personal independence. Instead of being a nobody in the home of her husband, the woman now becomes mistress of her own destiny and the leader of her children in her own home. Furthermore, women are entering the new occupations and are working outside the family. They are going to school, are learning to read and write, and are being educated in modern ideas.

3. The revolution in education

Under the influence of the West has come a new educational revolution. In the first place, there developed what is known as the "literary renaissance." This movement aimed to discard the classical language in which writing had been done for centuries and to substitute for it the common speech, or vernacular, generally used. In the vigorous controversy that developed between the older, conservative scholars and the younger, radical scholars, drastic changes were proposed that affected not only the language but the whole educational system.

As a result of the agitation of young educators a whole new curriculum is being introduced into the new schools which are springing up over the country. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People* is now beginning to be taught in place of the old Confucian philosophy. Courses are given in modern Chinese and world history, in geography and current problems. The elementary subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, and science are to be found in the new curriculum of the lower schools. In the meantime Chinese classical literature is practically ignored.

Note the swift rise in modern schools. In 1911 a minister of education of the Peking (Peiping) government stated that 52,000 modern schools had been set up, with 1,600,000 students in attendance. It was estimated in 1923 that there were more than

6,500,000 children in the new government schools. It is believed that today the number exceeds 10,000,000.

Another sign of the change in Chinese culture is the recognition of the need for universal education. At the time of the establishment of the first republic (1911), although statistics are unreliable, it is probable that 95 per cent of all the adults in China were unable to read and write. Imagine a population of 325,000,000 human beings, most of them totally unable to read and thus practically unable to keep in touch either with developments in their own country or with the world outside!

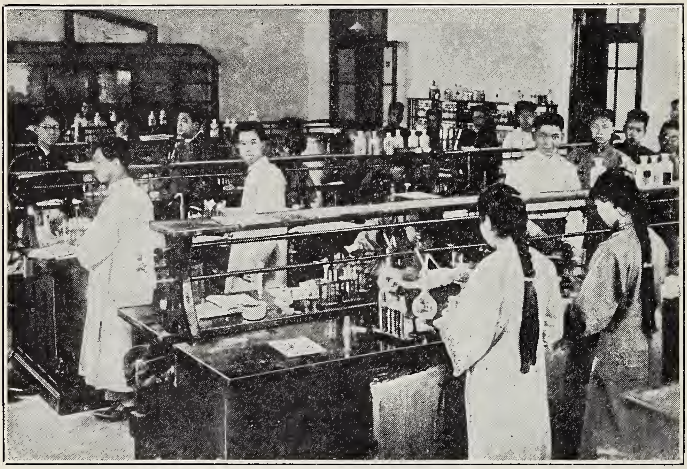

FIG. 196. Illustrating some of the work which is going on in Chinese higher education. Except for the fact that the occupants of the laboratory are Chinese, there is nothing in the picture to distinguish it from the chemical laboratories of American educational institutions

Recognizing this fact, brilliant young Chinese trained in Western schools set up a most important experiment known as "Mass Education," under the leadership of Y. C. James Yen. These leaders organized classes in Hunan province for the education of adults. They prepared textbooks written by means of a simplified alphabet of 1300 characters in place of the complicated and lengthy alphabet of several thousand characters. The rudimentary subjects of reading and writing and vocational and citizenship training appealed to the interests of the people of the community. Men and women of all classes enrolled, business men and leaders as well as peasants and craftsmen. Volunteer teachers offered their services. By 1924 the enrollment exceeded 150,000.

After several years of successful experiment the Mass Education Movement has concentrated in one county unit near Peiping. This unit provides a model which demonstrates to the 1834 other counties how adult education can be developed.

Thus it is that the Whole Chinese Culture is Changing

At last the barriers separating China from the West are breaking down. Every aspect of life is being changed. Factories are running machines; some of the old handicrafts are disappearing. Railways, smooth roads, telegraphs, even telephones and radios, are slowly tying separated regions together.

A national government is being set up, as yet no more than a dictatorship, but at least an attempt at a more national representation than the old empire of the Manchus provided.

But underneath all these external signs of change in civilization are the deeper changes in the culture of the people. A modern educational system is slowly taking shape, Western forms of family life are appearing, women are working at occupations outside the home, the control of the elder community leaders is weakening, and old philosophy and customs are disappearing.

No one can predict what will come in China in the next few years. But one thing is certain: the old China is disappearing, and a new one is taking its place. And no one can tell now whether this radical change is for better or for worse.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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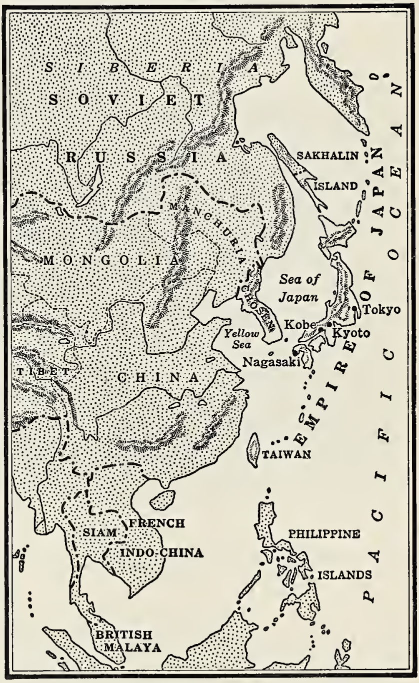
CHAPTER XXI

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN

Across the Yellow Sea, a day's sail from the east coast of China, the mountain-peaked islands of Japan extend 2500 miles along the coast of Asia. Here, in an area much less than the American state of Texas, live more than 70,000,000 people.



SIBERIA
SOVIET
RUSSIA
SAKHALIN
ISLAND
MANCHURIA
MONGOLIA
Sea of Japan
CHOSEN
Tokyo
Kyoto
Kobe
Yellow Sea
Nagasaki
TIBET
CHINA
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
TAIWAN
SIAM
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
BRITISH MALAYA

Fig. 197. Japan, the empire of mountainous islands near the mainland of Asia

In 1854 there were 30,000,000 Japanese people living enslaved under feudal nobles. They produced food, shelter, and clothing in the primitive ways of their remote ancestors. Fifty years later, in 1904, these same people, some 50,000,000 in number, were one of the world's leading industrial nations. They were engaging the armies of Russia in modern warfare and had built up a vast trading empire. Transportation by means of jinrikisha or kago was being replaced by modern express trains, airplanes, and automobiles. Little coastwise sailing ships were giving way to powerful motor-driven ocean liners plying the seven seas. This is one of the world's most astonishing transformations.

For 200 years the Japanese had tightly closed their doors against all Western trade. Then, in a period of little more than 75 years (1854–1930), they adopted power-driven machines, built railroads, erected factories, developed great corporations, opened up coal and iron mines, and built a world-wide system of trade. So swiftly did the transformation take place that it was almost incredible to other peoples. Only the development of Germany could at all compare to it.[1]

Japan and China: a review of sharp contrasts

Thus the story of changing government and changing culture in Japan is very different from that of China. It is different in every respect — in size of territory, in speed of industrialization, in form of government, and in ways of living.

Note on the colored map of Asia the difference in size of territory. Great, sprawling China is more than 25 times as large as the mountainous islands which make up Japan. Contrast also the population — 450,000,000 in "China proper" against 70,000,000 in Japan. But note that the 450,000,000 people live in 1,500,000 square miles in China, and the 70,000,000 in about 150,000 square miles in Japan. In which country are the people crowded together more closely?

Especially must we note that in China feudalism was abolished 2500 years ago, but that in Japan feudalism existed even to 1850. While the people of England and the United States were experimenting with industrial democracy the Japanese lived under a feudal system like that of the later Middle Ages in western Europe. On vast baronial estates they were controlled in the most exacting ways. Each person was born into a particular caste and could not rise above it through his own efforts. Thus a person could not win for himself a better standard of living and could not associate with people more cultured or educated than those belonging to the class into which he was born.

Peasants were not permitted to sell their land nor even to use their land for new kinds of agriculture. They were not allowed to move from one village to another without the permission of the government. They were restricted also even in little everyday affairs. What a man could wear was regulated; for example, silk was reserved for the so-called highest classes. The size of a man's house was fixed by law. It was even decided how much he could spend at festivals. Penalties for violation of decrees were severe, the death penalty being inflicted for trivial offenses.

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[1] If time permits you might read Chapters XX and XXI of *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World.*

At the head of the Japanese feudal system was an officer called the Shogun, an official who had all the real power, whereas the emperor (or mikado) was a mere puppet. In 1603 the office of Shogun was bestowed upon the powerful Tokugawa family, which still held it when Japan was opened, in 1854, to intercourse with the outside world. During the entire period of the Tokugawa Shogunate the population of Japan remained practically stationary, as you can see by referring to figure 199; the Shoguns maintained peace throughout the country, and the farmers were able to work in the fields without fear of ravaging armies. Japan's agricultural resources were able to provide food for only about 30,000,000 people; when the population increased beyond that limit a famine occurred in some part of the empire and swept away hundreds of thousands by starvation.

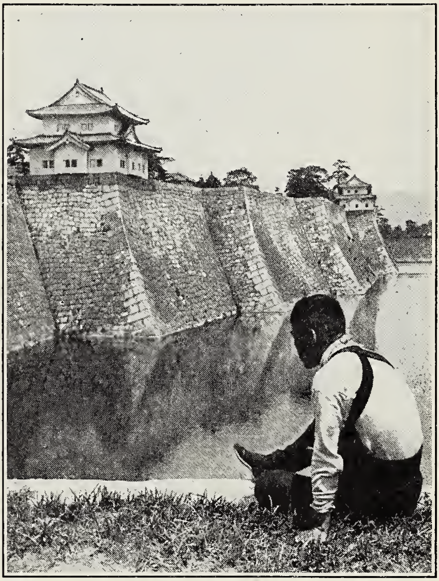

Fig. 198. A Japanese feudal castle. Note the strong walls and the moat beside them. Many feudal castles of Europe were protected in this way

THEN CAME THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF JAPAN AND THE APPEARANCE OF HER MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM

Then, after 1854, came the adoption of power-driven machinery. With astonishing rapidity the population increased. Note from figure 199 how it nearly doubled in a half-century. There were no famines. The standard of living rose. More children were born. The government definitely encouraged large families through widespread propaganda. As a result of all the new conditions the number of inhabitants in Japan is increasing now at the rate of practically 1,000,000 a year.

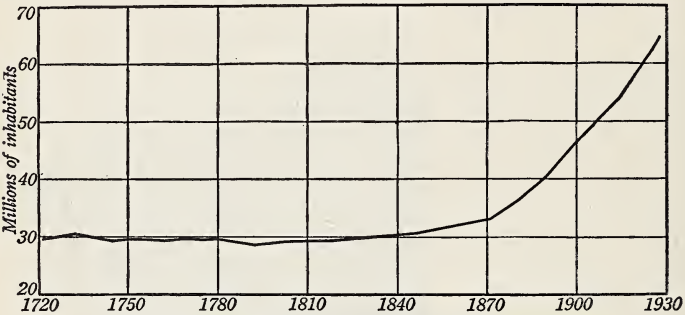

FIG. 199. The growth of Japanese population, 1721–1928

For a while the food supply increased, and the diet became more varied. As industrialization advanced, more and more people became educated. Farmers were taught how to make better use of their land; crops became larger. For example, the increase in rice production proportionately paralleled the increase in population. For a while all looked safe, and the prospect of Japan's becoming a great and prosperous nation seemed assured.

Then the same things happened in Japan that had taken place in other countries where machine manufacturing had been adopted. The machines lured people away from the farms. As factories sprang up cities grew more rapidly than ever before. Around the factories developed terrible slums, in which people lived under the most degrading conditions. Frazier Hunt has described one slum quarter of the new manufacturing port city of Kobe:

> . . . tiny crooked alleys, less than four feet wide, banked on both sides with narrow, wooden dog kennels, six by eight feet square and probably five feet high. Here twenty thousand outcasts live like homeless dogs; each human kennel crowded with squalling, quarreling creatures of filth and vermin, rotting with crime and tuberculosis and disease. Outcasts of all kinds — whites, blacks, Eurasians, Chinese — dregs of an old, old East.[1]

Thus the history of industrialism in Europe repeated itself in Asia. There were large cities, long hours of work for pitifully small wages, and miserable working and living conditions. And — most serious of all — there was overpopulation and the danger of starvation for millions of human beings.

In spite of gains in the food supply Japan is confronted by the very serious problem of overpopulation: 70,000,000 people are crowded together on little islands to a degree not equaled anywhere else in the world. In the industrial centers, where city factories are located, from 4000 to 5000 people are living per square mile. In fairly large areas around these there are districts where from 400 to 1000 people are living per square mile. On the whole there are in Japan today about 400 people to each square mile of cultivated area.

Japan, an Overpopulated Island Empire, is increasingly Dependent on the Outside World for Food

In several respects modern Japan is duplicating the history of modern England. First, it is a small island nation of limited territory. Second, it has adopted industrialism. Third, its population has multiplied at unprecedented speed. Fourth, it has attempted to build up an empire outside of its home territory. Fifth, it is experimenting with representative government.

From some of these characteristics came Japan's most serious problem; namely, the rapidly growing dependence upon the outside world for food. The entire Empire of Japan totals only 260,000 square miles, and Japan proper is only 147,000 square miles. The entire empire is less in size than our one state of

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[1] Frazier Hunt, *The Rising Temper of the East*, p. 98. Copyrighted and published by The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1922. Used by special permission.

Texas. In this little area there live today more than 70,000,000 people where 75 years ago lived not much more than half that number. Furthermore, only one eighth of the land is level or fertile enough to produce food. Hence, if the Japanese ever again had to depend entirely upon their own food supply, they would have to produce it all from about 20,000 square miles of land.

During the past generation the Japanese people have steadily confronted the growing danger of starvation. A few handfuls of rice alone must even now suffice for the day's diet of many of the workers.

Japan has tried to solve her problem as England has tried to solve hers: first, by manufacturing and selling enough goods abroad to pay for food for her people; second, by encouraging emigration.

Consider Japan's attempt to build up foreign trade. As more and more of her people moved into the cities and turned to the manufacturing of goods, larger and larger quantities of these goods were sold to other countries. With the income from this trade, food and needed raw materials were bought abroad and were imported into Japan.

All is well in a little island manufacturing country so long as it can sell as much goods abroad as it buys. But *danger impends when its imports seriously exceed its exports.* That is what is happening now to England and what is happening to Japan also. Having turned to manufacturing as her chief resource, Japan now finds herself competing with England, France, Germany, the United States, India, southern Russia, and with other hitherto undeveloped regions which are also taking up manufacturing.

In recent years the foreign trade of Japan has grown to the sum of 4,000,000,000 yen ($2,000,000,000) annually. But the imports of food, iron, coal, oil, and other raw materials are increasing even more rapidly than the exports of manufactured goods.

Hence we see at once Japan's supreme problem — to provide food and goods enough for a rapidly growing population. Her leaders see very clearly that they must either reduce the population or increase the food supply. Since it will be almost impossible to increase the food supply substantially, some way must be found to reduce the population. Two ways are possible: (1) reduce the size of families; (2) encourage emigration.

Overpopulation and Empire-Building in Japan[1]

Confronted by the danger of too many people, the Japanese government has followed the example of the Western industrial nations and has sought to obtain territory in other parts of the Far East. She too has adopted the militaristic tactics of empire-building. Note her attempts:

1875 Took the Ryukyu Islands.

1895 Defeated China and secured Taiwan (Formosa) and the Pescadores Islands.

1904–1905 Defeated Russia, secured certain economic rights formerly held by Russia in southern Manchuria, established a protectorate over Korea (Chosen), and recovered the southern half of the island of Sakhalin.

1910 Annexed Korea (Chosen).

1919 At the close of the World War received the German rights in Shantung[2] and at the same time got from China certain other rights which Germany had never had; and obtained a mandate over German islands in the Pacific.

This sums up briefly Japan's attempt to build an empire in the past 50 years. Altogether her possessions make up about 44 per cent of her entire small empire.

The government has done its best to encourage emigration to these new regions and other less-settled Japanese possessions, but without great success. Consider the attempt, for example, to get people to emigrate to the "Japanese Northland"— Hokkaido and other northern islands. Free land (12 to 24 acres per family) was given to families who would settle and homestead it. It is true that a fairly large number emigrated, and that the population of this northland of Japan grew from less than 60,000 in 1870 to 2,500,000 in 1925. To some extent this meant that Hokkaido was being settled by pioneer frontiersmen.

But, you exclaim, what are approximately 2,450,000 emigrants compared with a 30,000,000 increase in population in Japan? A small portion indeed. Moreover, the entire northern islands could not accommodate more than the increase in population in Japan during two years alone.

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[1] See also Chapter XXVI.

[2] Shantung was returned to China in 1922.

Then there are other islands to which emigration has been encouraged; for example, the southern half of Sakhalin. But into this region also only a few thousand settlers are moving each year.

To the southward is Taiwan. The Japanese conquered the natives of this island and have done their best to get Japanese to emigrate there. But out of approximately 4,000,000 inhabitants in the large island only 5 per cent are Japanese. Furthermore, the entire number which the island could take in would be a small fraction of the Japanese population.

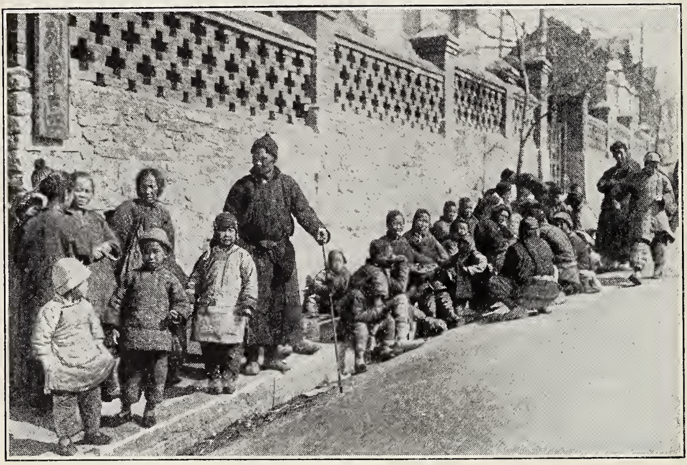

FIG. 200. Only a few thousand Japanese migrate to Manchuria yearly. Chinese, however, are settling in Manchuria at the rate of 1,000,000 a year. This picture shows a group of these Chinese immigrants waiting for the train that is to take them to their new home. (Courtesy of the South Manchuria Railway Company)

There is also the peninsula of Korea, or Chosen, which the Japanese annexed in 1910. The southern portion of this peninsula has about the same climate as much of Japan (see figure 197) and should be attractive to immigrants. Nevertheless, only some 500,000 Japanese have moved there. Moreover, the region is already heavily populated.

Finally, there is the great region of Manchuria. In 1905, after her war with Russia, Japan secured a lease of the Liaotung region, in southern Manchuria, together with control over the South Manchuria Railway. Here the government urged the Japanese people to settle. At the end of the first quarter of a century of control, however, not over 10 per cent of the people in the Liaotung territory were Japanese; the remaining 90 per cent were Chinese. It is estimated that today there are about 800,000 Japanese out of a total population of 30,000,000 in Manchuria. Thus the entire Japanese population of Manchuria does not make up more than 3 per cent of the total. *In the meantime Chinese pioneers are moving north and are settling Manchuria at the rate of 1,000,000 a year!* Here is one of the greatest international sore spots of the world.

The Japanese government has also tried to encourage emigration to other countries, but with equally little success. Up to the time of their comparative exclusion from the United States in 1907, not more than from 10,000 to 15,000 Japanese were coming here each year. A few emigrants are now going to Brazil and to other regions of Latin America. However, almost as many Japanese return to Japan from other countries each year (approximately 15,000) as emigrate to those countries. In 1926 one official reported that only about 500,000 Japanese were residing in other countries.

This, then, is the dangerous situation of the Japanese today: too many people; growing dependence on the outside world for food: imports growing more rapidly than exports.

The Swift Change in Government from Feudalism, in 1850, to Experiments in Representative Democracy

The government of Japan, as well as its industry and population, has been transformed in the past half-century.[1] As late as 1867 Japan was still ruled by the Tokugawa Shogunate. But in that year the leaders of four southwestern feudal clans, jealous of the Tokugawa power, brought pressure to bear upon the ruling Shogun and forced him to surrender his administrative powers into the hands of the emperor. This "restoration" of the imperial power was quickly followed by the abolition of the feudal system and by the establishment of a strong centralized administration controlled by the emperor — or rather by his advisers.

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[1] For the early history of Japan see *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, Chaps. XX, XXI.

The Japanese, like the English, have retained their royal ruler because of sentiment and tradition. The sentiment and tradition surrounding the Japanese emperor, however, are incomparably stronger than those which maintain the British monarch on his throne. The national patriots in Japan maintain that for more than 2000 years a descendant of the original emperor, "Jimmu Tenno," has sat upon the throne. The people are taught that the original emperor was a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess. Thus a halo of reverence surrounds all emperors.

An oligarchy — the Elder Statesmen — controlled Japan after 1867

In 1867 the emperor, Mutsuhito, was a fifteen-year-old boy who had only recently ascended the throne. The real power in the new government was exercised not by the boy emperor, but by the small body of intimate advisers who surrounded him. These men all believed in the necessity of reform; and as the distinguishing name for the young emperor's reign they adopted the motto *Meiji*,— "enlightened government," — by which it was to be known.

Some of this little group of ardent reformers were members of the old court nobility; but most of them were men — usually young men — from the four southwestern clans of Satsuma, Chosun, Hizen, and Toso, which had forced the last Tokugawa Shogun to surrender his power. These men of the four clans — the so-called Sat-Cho-Hi-To combination — were "commoners," but they promptly received titles of nobility and became a bureaucratic oligarchy controlling the army, the navy, legislation, and the civil administration of the empire.

At first there was no intention of setting up a constitutional or parliamentary government, and for nearly a quarter of a century the people, even the well-to-do industrial class, had no voice in the government. However, the Charter Oath of the young emperor, in 1868, contained the following important passage: "Deliberative assemblies shall be established and all measures of government decided in accordance with public opinion."

"Public opinion" did not mean, of course, the opinion of the mass of the people, who at that time were illiterate and uninformed concerning public problems. It referred to the nobles. They wanted a deliberative assembly which would enable them to prevent oppression by the little oligarchy of Sat-Cho-Hi-To leaders. Such an assembly was established almost immediately, but after two sessions it was dismissed. In the next few years the little oligarchy of southwestern clansmen steadily increased their control over the government.

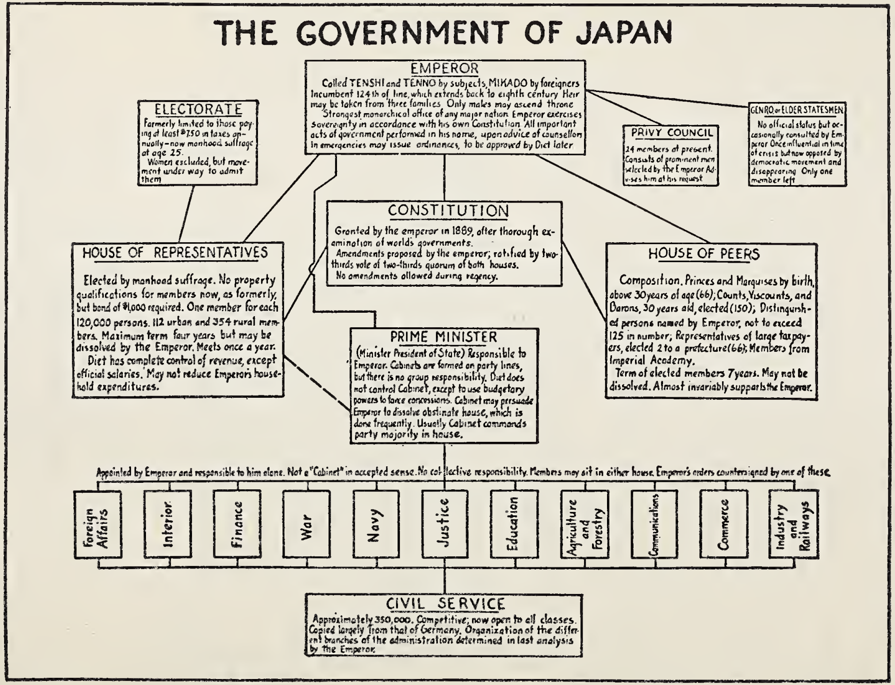
Between 1872 and 1881 two liberal leaders appeared in opposition to the oligarchy. In 1873 Itagaki left his position in the government and formed an independent political party. Nine years later Okuma did the same thing.

As a result of the agitation of these courageous democratic leaders and their followers, in the early 1880's they were promised that a constitution would be prepared. The government was to become more representative of the people — at least, of the well-to-do, propertied classes. Thus a beginning was made toward establishing a popular representative assembly in Japan.

One of the emperor's advisers, Prince Ito, made prolonged studies of Western governments, and with the help of his associates developed a written constitution based upon the Prussian model. This constitution, announced in 1889, was made secretly, Itagaki and Okuma and the more democratic groups not being consulted.

The plan of government provided by the constitution

On paper the constitution made the emperor supreme in power. Actually the power was left in the hands of the little group which, up to this time, had directed the affairs of the restored imperial government. The survivors of the group, who, nearly a quarter of a century earlier, had engineered the first Meiji reforms, now came to be known as the *Genro,* or "Elder Statesmen," and it was they who finally decided all important



EMPEROR

Called TENSHI and TENNO by subjects, MIKADO by foreigners Incumbent 124th of line, which extends back to eighth century Heir may be taken from three families Only males may ascend throne

Strongest monarchical office of any major nation Emperor exercises sovereignty in accordance with his own Constitution All important acts of government performed in his name, upon advice of counsellors In emergencies may issue ordinances, to be approved by Diet later

ELECTORATE

Formerly limited to those paying at least $750 in taxes annually—now manhood suffrage at age 25.

Women excluded, but movement under way to admit them

PRIVY COUNCIL

24 members at present. Consists of prominent men selected by the Emperor Advises him at his request

GENRO or ELDER STATESMEN

No official status but occasionally consulted by Emperor Once influential in time of crisis but now opposed by democratic movement and disappearing Only one member left

CONSTITUTION

Granted by the emperor in 1889, after thorough examination of worlds governments.

Amendments proposed by the emperor; ratified by two-thirds vote of two-thirds quorum of both houses.

No amendments allowed during regency.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Elected by manhood suffrage. No property qualifications for members now, as formerly, but bond of $1,000 required. One member for each 120,000 persons. 112 urban and 354 rural members. Maximum term four years but may be dissolved by the Emperor. Meets once a year.

Diet has complete control of revenue, except official salaries. May not reduce Emperor's household expenditures.

HOUSE OF PEERS

Composition. Princes and Marquises by birth, above 30 years of age (66); Counts, Viscounts, and Barons, 30 years old, elected (150); Distinguished persons named by Emperor, not to exceed 125 in number; Representatives of large taxpayers, elected 2 to a prefecture (66); Members from Imperial Academy.

Term of elected members 7 years. May not be dissolved. Almost invariably supports the Emperor.

PRIME MINISTER

(Minister President of State) Responsible to Emperor. Cabinets are formed on party lines, but there is no group responsibility. Diet does not control Cabinet, except to use budgetary powers to force concessions. Cabinet may persuade Emperor to dissolve obstinate house, which is done frequently. Usually Cabinet commands party majority in house.

Appointed by Emperor and responsible to him alone. Not a "Cabinet" in accepted sense. No collective responsibility. Members may sit in either house. Emperor's orders countersigned by one of these

CIVIL SERVICE

Approximately 350,000. Competitive; now open to all classes. Copied largely from that of Germany. Organization of the different branches of the administration determined in last analysis by the Emperor.

FIG. 201. (Prepared by Elmer D. Graper and James C. Charlesworth. Courtesy of *The Scholastic*) questions of state. The government *appeared* to be representative. A legislature of two houses was provided: (1) a House of Peers, composed of "princes of the blood," titled nobles, a few representatives of the rising industrial and landed class, and others whom the government recognized as worthy of appointment by the emperor; (2) a House of Representatives, chosen at that time by all males who paid an annual tax of 15 yen ($7.50). Thus a House of Representatives was created, and moderately well-to-do persons were permitted to choose representatives in it. At least a step had been taken in the direction of representative government.

Nevertheless the actual power of the House of Representatives was very limited. This is illustrated by the fact that the cabinet, made up of the heads of government departments, was made responsible to the emperor (really to the Elder Statesmen) and not to the House of Representatives. Thus the Elder Statesmen could defeat any action of the House of Representatives without compelling the cabinet to resign. We must remember that in the English government and in other cabinet governments of Europe the cabinet must resign whenever its proposals are defeated in the popular assembly.

These characteristics of the new constitutional government formed in 1890 show us that, although feudalism had been wiped out, a small oligarchy of rich nobles really controlled the country. Something can be said for these Elder Statesmen. It was they who developed the new industries of Japan, the railroads, telegraphs, and power plants. It was they who built up the modern army and navy, who eventually succeeded in defeating China in the war of 1894–1895 and Russia in the war of 1904–1905. But it was also they who, in doing these costly things, created a condition of widespread poverty and nearly brought about the bankruptcy of the Japanese people.

AS IN WESTERN EUROPE, SO IN JAPAN, DEMOCRACY ADVANCED WITH THE NEW INDUSTRIALISM

We have seen that western-European countries became more and more democratic as industrial ways of living were adopted. This was true in England and in the United States after 1800, in France after 1825, and in Germany after 1850. It took place in Japan after 1890.

As the people crowded into the cities, educated radical leaders organized the labor movement in Japan as other workers had done in England, the United States, France, Germany, and other countries. Trade-unions were formed as they had been in western-European countries a half-century before, and became the centers of discussion. Among them was the *League for the Formation of Labor Unions*, organized in 1897, and the *Union of Railway Workers* in 1898.

Prominent among the leaders of the labor people was the "Gandhi of Japan," Toyohiko Kagawa of Kobe. Kagawa was educated at Princeton, in the United States. Returning to Japan he threw himself into the movement to help the factory workers of the great cities, secretly organizing the Federation of Labor for West Japan.

Soon this delicate semi-invalid was regarded as a saintly leader by the industrial workers of Japanese cities. People crowded the meetings at which he spoke so eloquently for "liberty and more rice." One American student described the attitude toward him:

> Crowding the doorways and filling the winding alley paths are hundreds of poor outcast children in filthy rags, whose eyes light up with happiness when they see Kagawa, this teacher of kindness, approach. For him it is always a triumphal march; shrill little voices herald his coming, while thin, hungry, half-clad little bodies scramble to hold his hand or even to touch his kimono. No Pied Piper ever had a more willing, joyful train.
>
> You follow him with real tears in your eyes . . . wan and undersized, smiling with warm brown eyes, preaching God; a young savior, walking among outcasts, murderers and broken lives of the lower depths, preaching a living, breathing Christianity.[1]

But no sooner did labor movements start than the Elder Statesmen and their police crushed them. For twelve years the harshest measures were taken to suppress what were called

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[1] Frazier Hunt, *The Rising Temper of the East*, p. 98. Copyrighted and published by The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1922. Used by special permission.

"dangerous thoughts" against the government. Any proposal for more liberty for the masses and more food for their starving families was met by imprisonment and by other repressive measures. Spies worked their way into the labor organizations; other spies secretly watched liberal professors in the universities. Young students who organized movements to help the workers were dismissed from their universities and imprisoned, frequently without trial.

Gradually, however, a more liberal attitude was taken. In 1912 the Yuaikwai (Laborers' Friendly Society) was established. This expanded into a labor movement and developed into the General Federation of Japanese Labor of today. Thus, beginning as a social-welfare movement, this society finally became a widespread labor organization with a membership of more than 325,000 workers.

Democracy slowly advanced with the development of political parties

Gradually strong individuals appeared, and small independent-minded groups formed within the House of Representatives. As in various western-European countries, several parties appeared in addition to the two major parties. In 1930 there were nine political parties in existence. However, as in England and the United States, there were two major parties, the Seiyukwai and the Minseito, which controlled 90 per cent of the seats in the House of Representatives.

The Seiyukwai party controlled the government from 1927 to 1929; from 1929 until December, 1931, the Minseito party was in control. In the meantime, slowly but steadily, the Social-Democrats, the Labor-Farmer party, and the Local Proletarian party have been electing representatives to the lower house. Thus the rise of labor in political life is to be seen in Japan as it was 50 years before in Western countries.

Then, too, the right to vote has been extended to more and more people. In 1900 the requirement of owning property on which an annual tax was paid was changed slightly, the tax being set at 10 yen. In 1920 it was reduced to 3 yen. At that time 3,000,000 men could qualify to vote. Then came still further agitation, and in 1925 a bill was passed which eliminated the property-owning qualification and gave the right to vote to all men over the age of 25. In the 1926 election 12,500,000 men were eligible to vote. Although there is also agitation for the enfranchisement of women, no action has yet been taken.

Paralleling this movement has been the swift increase in the number of public schools. In 1866 there were only about 240 schools in all Japan. Then came an announcement from the young emperor that "henceforward education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member." Education had become the concern of the government. Today elementary education is compulsory. In 1926 there were more than 11,000,000 children in school.

As a result illiteracy has been almost completely wiped out. It is estimated that less than 1 per cent of the Japanese people of school age and over are unable to read and write. A startling achievement, indeed, and one that has been attained in approximately half a century.

We see the general machinery of the representative government of our Western world working today in Japan. General elections are held at frequent intervals. Campaign rallies, political organizations, conventions, speeches, the use of the newspaper, the radio, the "movies"— practically every aspect of modern government is in action. This is, indeed, an experiment for Japan, one so recent that it is not yet possible to predict the outcome of it.

Is Japanese Culture changing with the Coming of Industrialism?

Throughout this book we have seen that the introduction of machine manufacturing has brought about changes in the culture of the people.

Japan is no exception. We have already noted some of the fundamental changes. As industrialism spread, population increased swiftly. People left the farms and went into the towns and cities to live, working in mines, factories, or stores.

Many Western customs were also adopted. For example, there were changes in dress, especially since the new machine industries demanded new kinds of clothing more appropriate to the work. More and more the Japanese kimono was replaced by the Western business suit for men, and the skirt and blouse for women. Figure 202 illustrates how far this tendency has gone in Tokyo.

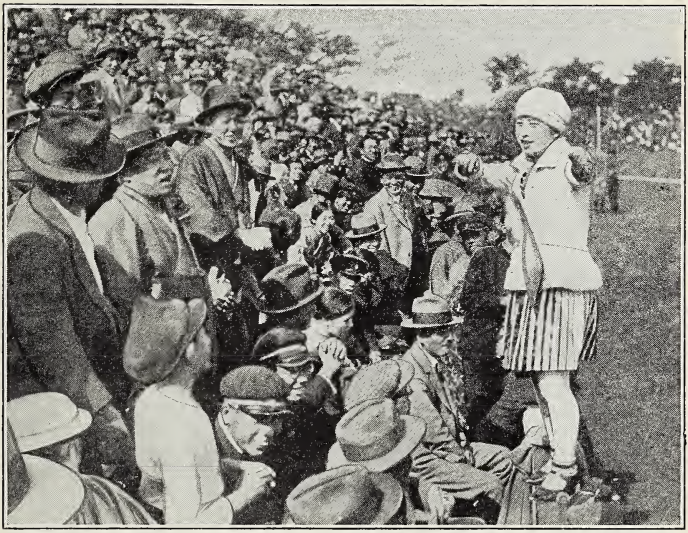

FIG. 202. Baseball has almost become a national sport in Japan. Note the costumes worn by the assembly, and particularly that worn by the young woman who is cheer leader. Do they seem familiar to you?

Later, as Western motion pictures were introduced into Japan, more people could see for themselves how Europeans and Americans lived. In this way the "movies" played much the same rôle in Japan as they did in central and western Europe. Young Japanese girls, for example, began to demand that their hair be cut like that of American "movie" actresses. Motor cars, phonographs, and radios brought about marked changes in the customs of the people. Western sports were also introduced, and baseball, the national American sport, became the favorite outdoor game of the Japanese.

In modern times Japan has imitated the fine arts of industrial countries

Throughout her history Japan has imported her arts from other parts of the world more, perhaps, than any other important country. In architecture, for example, new building materials of steel, reënforced concrete, stone, and brick were introduced. Architects from the United States and European nations were invited to Japan to erect buildings and to teach Japanese architects. In 1923 the great earthquake which destroyed much of Tokyo and all Yokohama proved the superior strength of the Western type of building construction. Since that time, therefore, the architectural characteristics of modern American buildings — especially of the new reënforced-concrete and steel construction — have generally grown in favor (see figure 203). The tendency now is to follow the models of Western architecture for public buildings and to keep the former Japanese styles for private dwelling houses.

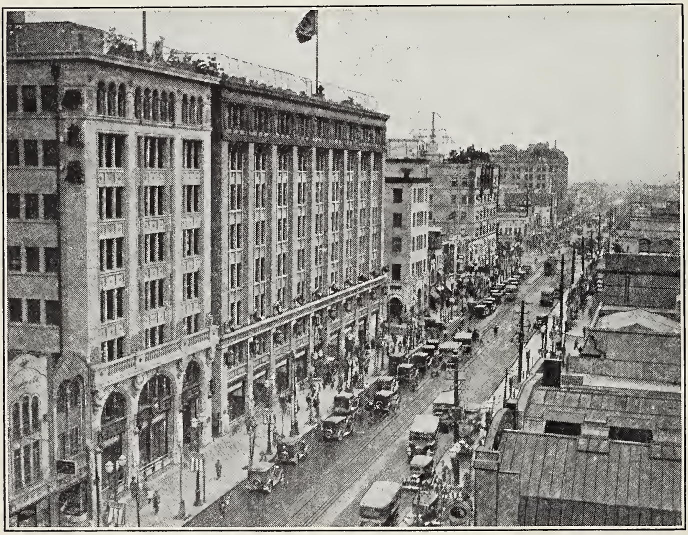

Fig. 203. After the earthquake of 1923 a new building program was begun in Tokyo. By 1931 the main business section was rebuilt in styles familiar to the Western world, and even skyscrapers will soon be completed in this and other Japanese cities

The influence of the West in literature. Japanese literature was also greatly influenced by European and American literature. In the late 1800's the works of the leading English, French, German, and Russian authors were translated into Japanese. Translations were generally very "free," the translators attempting to use the Western material as a basis for creating something partially new which would be in keeping with Japanese culture.

Since the World War there has been another movement in Japanese literature. There has been more translation, with the modern Russians especially popular. Russian plays are translated, and acted in Japanese theaters.

Political writings, especially socialistic books and pamphlets, have achieved great popularity as the democratic movement has swept over Japan. It was estimated that in the year 1930 more than 200,000 copies of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* were available in the islands.

Under the influence of the Western culture, native writers began to develop original types of Japanese literature. Among them were Kikuchi Kan and Kikuchi Yuho, who wrote Japanese "problem" novels. Today their place has been taken by Mrs. Ya yoi Nogami, whose novel *The Sea God Ship* is considered the best modern Japanese work. Another, Kurata Hyakuzo, is regarded as the outstanding dramatist of the Japanese theater. His play *The Priest and his Disciples* has been translated into English and is known even in the Western world.

There is also a widespread vogue of the cheap romantic novel, similar to the type sold by millions in the past generation in the United States and Europe.

The influence of European music. We have read about the wonderful contributions of western Europe, especially of Italy and Germany, to modern music. In the past 45 years this music has definitely begun to influence the Japanese. From the fifth century to the end of the twelfth century their music, like their other arts, was essentially borrowed from Korea and China. In the next 700 years, from about 1200 to about 1900, Japanese poets and musicians devised simple kinds of original music. Such music, however, did not reach the high point of development attained by western-European music.

In the year 1896 American and European phonographs began to make their appearance in Japan. At once they received a hearty welcome, and Western music began to have a great vogue. Even the Tokyo Academy of Music was influenced. Pianos, violins, and other modern instruments were purchased, and the young people of cultured homes were taught to play them. The simple bamboo instruments and drums of the primitive Japanese, however, maintained their hold upon the less educated classes.

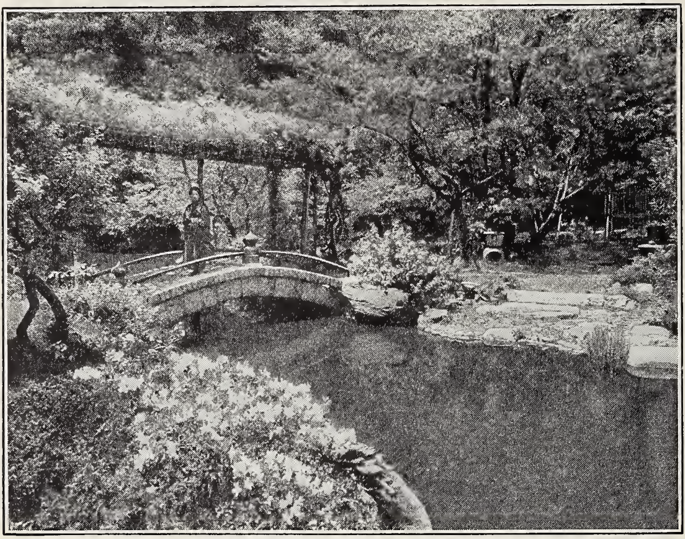

Fig. 204. Nothing is more typical today of the old culture of Japan than the gardens. Some of them may be only a few yards square; some are larger, like that shown in the photograph. All are retreats to which the Japanese go to refresh their eyes with a glimpse of Mother Earth

During the past few years even American jazz has begun to take some hold upon the Japanese people. The invention of the radio has led to the introduction of receiving sets in many centers. They increase the popularity of Western music.

A characteristic symbol of Japanese culture — the gardens. Around the world the Japanese are known for their lovely gardens, and the house of every moderately well-to-do family has one. "Garden," however, does not mean principally flower beds, as it does in America; it means, rather, the miniature reproduction of whole landscapes — for example, little mountains, grassy valleys, roadways, and miniature trees. In every garden one is practically sure to find a lovely pool with little islands, bridges, archways, and beautiful kinds of foliage.

Thus it is that Government and Culture are changing in Japan

Although we see that some of Japan's ancient culture still remains practically unchanged, this very brief glimpse of modern Japan has shown us problems that are similar to those of England and other Western countries, — problems arising from the swift advance of industrialism. More quickly than any people, except the present-day Russians, have the Japanese changed their ways of living. True to their old tradition of imitating other cultures, they have adopted the machines, the railroads, and the other paraphernalia of Western civilization, and they have built modern schools and have taught the people how to read and write. With the development of her industrial system Japan, like England, has become more and more dependent upon foreign trade to provide food for her steadily growing population.

In government also, as you have seen, the Japanese have introduced many striking innovations borrowed from the West. A constitution, representative government, and almost universal manhood suffrage have been established, together with modern codes of law and law courts patterned after those in Western lands. With the growth of industrial cities, moreover, organizations of workers have developed and democratic ideas have spread. But this is only one side of the picture. Less than three quarters of a century ago the government of Japan was in the hands of the feudal aristocracy, and today beneath the trappings of modern constitutional government much of the old feudal and oligarchical spirit still exists. The rights of free speech, a free press, and fair trial are still frequently withheld from the people. Intimidation, physical violence, and assassination are all-too-common features of political activity, and the political thug who maims or murders, if he pleads that his crime was inspired by a patriotic motive, can count upon a large measure of popular sympathy.

Even more serious is the fact that the constitution is so framed as to enable the army and navy to dominate the government. The ministers of war and of navy must be chosen from among those who have risen to the rank of major general or rear admiral, respectively, and they have the right of conveying directly to the emperor their advice on matters relating to their departments. Thus these ministers may give the emperor advice directly contradictory to the policy advocated by the prime minister, while either of the armed services, if opposed to the government in power, may bring about the withdrawal of its minister and so force the cabinet to resign. Most serious of all, the two armed services utilize this power to force upon the government the adoption of their policies in foreign affairs, and it is almost universally recognized that the Manchurian controversy now disturbing the peace of the Far East (see below, p. 666) was forced upon the Minseito government by the army clique headed by the minister of war.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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CHAPTER XXII

INDIA'S MARCH TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT

India: the third great center of changing Asiatic culture

Two of the three crowded centers of population in Asia — China and Japan — have passed before our eyes. We turn now to the third — India.

Every country or region that we have studied in this book presented new problems. Each country showed us different ways of living. Even in Europe we found that each people had developed a unique national personality. The cultures of England, France, Germany, and Russia were different from one another.

In Asia civilization and culture showed an even greater difference. Not only in external village and town life and in government were the Chinese and Japanese different: they were also unlike Europeans in philosophy, in outlook on life. Moreover, we found there two Asiatic civilizations different from each other.

And now we come to India, a region that is totally different from all the others — different in people, in social classes, in religion, in ways of living, in form of government, in history. More by its contrasts than by its similarities to other countries will India help us to understand the modern movement of changing governments and changing cultures.

Yet in one fundamental respect it is like all the others. The people want the same things — a secure and comfortable living, freedom to govern themselves, interesting recreations; in short, "life, liberty, and . . . happiness."

THE BACKGROUND

First let us recall briefly the physical facts about India which we have already learned. In this large peninsula of south-central Asia live approximately 320,000,000 brown-skinned, black-haired people. This land of India, separated from the rest of Asia on the north by the almost impassable Himalaya and Hindu Kush Mountains and surrounded by water on the other sides, is practically a subcontinent. Its territory covers 1,800,000 square miles — almost three fifths as much as the territory of the United States.

The land of India is unique in another respect. Alone of the large countries much of it is located in a semitropical climate.

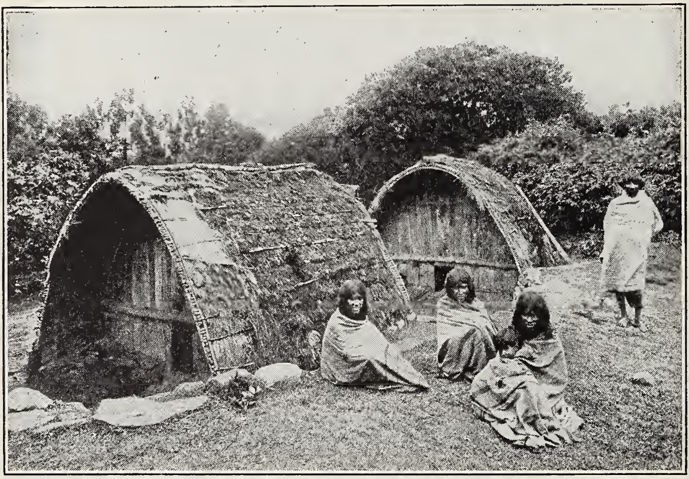

FIG. 205. This photograph illustrates the standard of living of an agricultural group in southern India. Do you know any American families who possess so little?

Note on the colored map of Asia that it lies approximately between 10 degrees and 30 degrees north latitude. This tells us at once that, except in the mountainous regions, the heat is terrific throughout much of the year.

From June until October wet winds blow over the land, watering the rich soil and making possible the cultivation of rice. One third of all the farming land is devoted to rice. It is the rice crop that keeps the 320,000,000 people barely alive. When the weather is favorable the Indians manage to eke out a meager subsistence; but when drought and famine come, millions die. Indeed, India's entire history has been marked by famines. No numerous people on the earth have lived nearer to starvation than the brown-skinned peoples of India. Even today most of them live under conditions of poverty of which we in the United States have no conception.

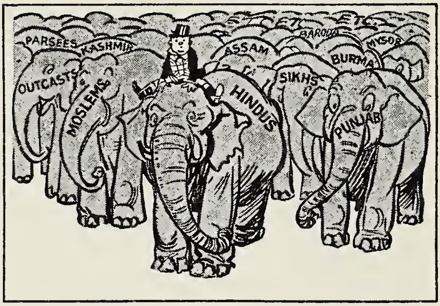

Fig. 206. A cartoon which attempts to show that India is a conglomeration of political units, religions, and castes. Who is represented as the leader of this procession? (From *The Star*, London)

The Diversity of Life in India

We cannot understand the struggle of the people of India today to become an independent nation unless we comprehend their diversity. The Indian people cannot be classed as a nation, and certain conditions in India present grave difficulties in the way of their becoming one. They are separated from one another in political divisions; they speak many different languages; they are divided into rigid social classes and into hundreds of religious sects.

The different languages of India

Consider the language problem. In the census of 1921 it was estimated that the people spoke 220 separate Indian dialects. These could be grouped in some half-dozen chief languages, each almost completely different from the others. Two of them — Hindi and Bengali — were spoken by more than 145,000,000 people. Two other ancient tongues,— Tamil and Telugu,— which have come down to the present time in a great many diverse dialects, were spoken by approximately 36,000,000 people. As a result of a century and a half of British control about 2,500,000 Indians spoke English. And these numbers account for little more than half the people.

How, then, can a nation be developed in India? Without a common language it will be difficult, indeed. A common language is necessary if the culture of a people is a real measure of its interests, customs, and values. As you can see, the people of India are lacking in this respect.

Another factor making it difficult to unify the Indian people is illiteracy. Throughout India's history most of her people have been unable to read and write. In the census of 1921 it was estimated that 91 per cent of them were still illiterate.

Sharp divisions in religion

Differences in language are accompanied by differences in religion. According to the census of 1921 the religious membership of the people was as shown in Table XLII. Approximately two thirds of the people were Hindus, as were their ancestors 2000 years ago. One fifth were Mohammedans, the descendants of Mohammedan conquerors who invaded India during the 1200's. Twelve million still embraced the teachings of Buddha, who lived about 483 B.C. And as a result of 200 years of missionary work by Europeans about 5,000,000 — less than 2 per cent — were Christians. Furthermore, each of these major groups was divided into many sects, or subdivisions, each with its own set of creeds and practices.

TABLE XLII

Membership in the Chief Religious Groups of India, 1921

Hindu	217,000,000
Mohammedan	69,000,000
Buddhist	12,000,000
Animist	10,000,000
Christian	5,000,000
Sikh	3,000,000
Jain	1,000,000
Parsi	100,000

In general, however, Hindu beliefs are today held by the larger part of the population. These beliefs are ascribed to no particular leader. Thus Hinduism is unlike Christianity, which came from the religious teachings of Christ; Mohammedanism, which came from those of Mohammed; or Buddhism, which came from those of Buddha.

As a result it has no single creed to which, in its essentials, all its followers subscribe. Thus Hinduism is a changing, unfixed thing, totally unlike Christianity, which early developed a systematic written body of beliefs to which its believers have, with essentially slight deviations, subscribed.

The lack of unity illustrated in the caste system

Then there is the caste system, which divides these 217,000,000 people into classes so rigid that it is practically impossible for a person to change from one to another.

The caste system as it existed in 200 B.C. has been described in an earlier volume of the series.[1] Here we need only to understand that the great majority of the Indian people are born into castes, or social groups, in which they must live, marry, and die. The boundaries of the castes are largely determined on a basis of occupation; for example, sons who are born into a caste of traders or of tinkers become in time traders or tinkers also, and marry the daughters of traders or tinkers.

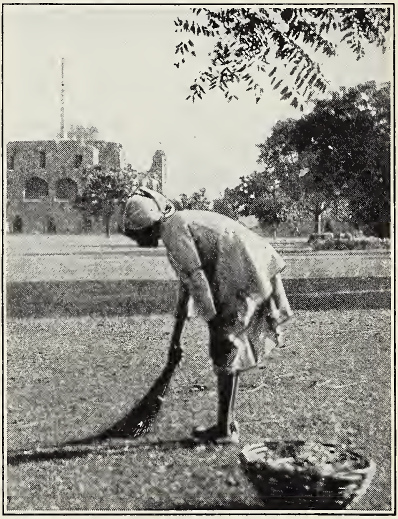

FIG. 207. One of the outcastes. By the outcastes only the most menial and unprofitable labor may be performed

But the system is even more complicated than that; for the castes are *subdivided*, and the subdivisions are also graded. The main point to remember is that the caste system of India divides the people into some 3000 or 4000 groups which must always differ from one another in their ways of living while the Hindu religion prevails. Does this help you to understand why the Indian people cannot be considered a nation?

Below the Hindus of caste are the "outcastes," or "untouchables." Today there are from 30,000,000 to 50,000,000 of these poor people. They can reside only in certain restricted places and can draw water only from certain specified wells. So "low" are they in the estimation of the members of the castes that their bodies must not be touched. Not even must their shadows be allowed to fall upon one. If such a thing happens one must purge himself by going through elaborate rites and ceremonies.

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[1] Harold Rugg, *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, p. 115. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1930.

This caste system is a way of living of which we in America can have little comprehension. Yet it is one of the conditions which we must try to understand if we are to sympathize with India's attempt to become a self-governing nation.

Government in India is also a mixed-up affair

Not only in race, language, religion, and social classes is India disunited; in government things are equally mixed up. India consists of a conglomeration of independent states — provinces ruled by Great Britain and hundreds of little principalities or estates ruled by feudal nobles. Furthermore, these are not grouped in well-bounded divisions: independent states are mixed in with British-ruled provinces and with other states.

THREE FOURTHS OF THE INDIANS CAME TO BE GOVERNED BY A FOREIGN POWER — GREAT BRITAIN

There were four steps by which Great Britain came to control three fourths of the Indian people and built up her empire. The first step was made by the English East India Company, which seized trade concessions in various centers. On December 31, 1600, the last day of the last year of the sixteenth century, Queen Elizabeth had signed the charter of this trading company.

For about 150 years the greater part of India was under the rule of the strong Mogul Empire, and the merchants of the English East India Company devoted themselves strictly to commercial activities. About the middle of the 1700's, however, the power of the Mogul rulers declined, and India once more broke up into a multitude of practically independent states. At this time India, like North America, was the scene of bitter rivalry between the English and the French; the East India Company of each nation strove by every possible means to secure special advantages and to exclude its rival from the profitable trade.

The end of the struggle came about 1760. The French were utterly defeated, and although they were permitted to retain a few trading posts, they ceased to exercise any real influence in the political affairs of India. The English company, on the other hand, now secured complete sovereignty over several large provinces and became the dominant power in the land. This was the second step.

Then came the third step. The East India Company maintained a great army in India and appointed English officials to rule over the people. Thus a business organization of one country ruled over tens of millions of human beings in a distant continent. Everything was done for the profit of the Company and nothing for the welfare of the people over whom it ruled. The Company's officials in India, moreover, seldom overlooked an opportunity to make war upon the independent Indian rulers for the purpose of bringing fresh territories under English control.

In 1857 the widespread discontent of the people under English rule led to a great mutiny of the Indian troops (sepoys) in the service of the Company. The revolt spread from province to province, and the British government was compelled to send a strong army to India for the purpose of restoring order. Parliament now decided that the task of governing India should no longer be intrusted to a commercial company. The fourth step was taken. The East India Company was dissolved, and India was brought directly under the rule of the British crown. Finally, in 1876, an act of Parliament conferred upon Queen Victoria the title of " Empress of India."

Even at the end of the period of "Company rule," when the territories of the East India Company were taken over by the British crown, there were many Indian states — some 30 of them fairly large and important — which had succeeded in maintaining their independence. All these states, however, had been compelled at one time or another to conclude treaties with the Company, granting it extensive commercial rights in their respective territories. When the British government, in 1858, took over all the rights of the East India Company, it also assumed all the rights which had been set up by these treaties. But the status of the sovereign Indian princes did not remain exactly the same.

Up to this time they had been "allies" of the Company; after this, although they still retained independence in matters relating to the domestic affairs of their respective states, they were regarded as "vassals" of the British crown. The British government, whenever it feels that one of these "independent" princes is not ruling wisely, can either compel him to accept a British adviser or, in extreme cases, put a more satisfactory ruler in his place.

India today is composed, therefore, of two main divisions: the Indian states, of which Mysore, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Baroda, and Gwalior are the most important, and British India, which is under the direct rule of the British government. In addition to these two main divisions, however, there are certain border states on the northern frontier which are still independent, but in which Great Britain has claimed the right to intervene whenever trouble arises. India is indeed a hodgepodge of "governments," as well as of languages, religions, and social castes.

Thus three fourths of the people of one of the oldest civilizations in the world were subjected to the control of a foreign nation.

How British India is Governed

British India consists of fourteen provinces, in which live 247,000,000 people. Eight of these provinces are so large in area and population that they can be compared to the outstanding countries of Europe. These are Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Punjab, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Each of these provinces is governed by a British governor and a council. There are also two smaller provinces and four other divisions which are governed by the central British administration.

The people of British India are governed partly from distant England and partly from Delhi, the seat of the central government. Foreign affairs and defense against outside enemies are controlled in England by the Secretary of State for India, who is also a member of the British cabinet and of Parliament. This secretary, like all other cabinet members, is responsible to the House of Commons.

To carry on the machinery of government, there is an India Office. The Council of India, numbering from eight to twelve persons, each serving for five years, assists the Secretary of State for India. For many years this council was made up entirely of Englishmen. Because of a growing demand for some degree of self-government, however, Indian members were appointed to the council in 1907. At the present time three of the members are Indians. There is also one other leading officer, the High Commissioner for India, first appointed in 1920. This officer is in charge of trade relations and is also the connecting official between the central government and the provincial governments.

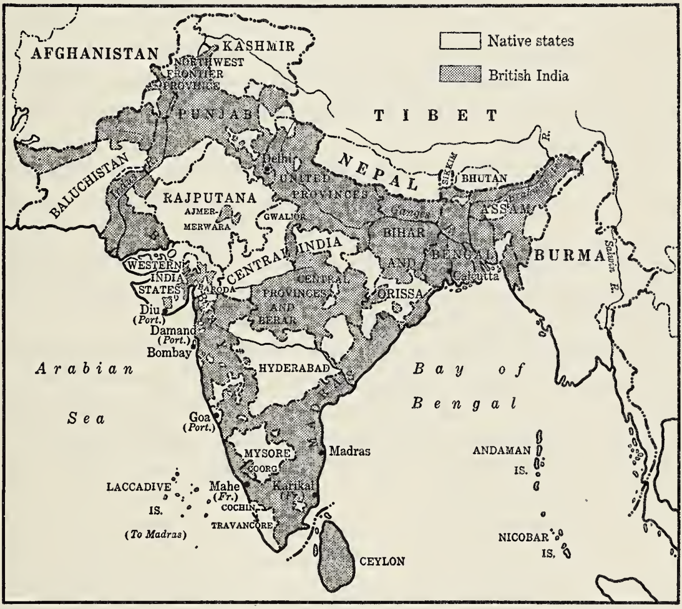
Native states
British India
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCES
PUNJAB
TIBET
BALUCHISTAN
Delhi
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
UNITED PROVINCES
RAJPUTANA
AJMER-MERWARA
GWALIOR
Ganges
ASSAM
BIHAR AND ORISSA
BENGAL
Calcutta
BURMA
Salween R.
CENTRAL INDIA
WESTERN INDIA STATES
BARODA
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR
Diu (Port.)
Daman (Port.)
Bombay
HYDERABAD
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Goa (Port.)
MYSORE
COORG
Madras
ANDAMAN IS.
LACCADIVE IS. (To Madras)
Mahe (Fr.)
Karikal (Fr.)
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
NICOBAR IS.
CEYLON

FIG. 208. This map illustrates India's political divisions. Note those areas which are governed by Great Britain. Note also the scattered native-ruled, or independent, states

Thus the 247,000,000 people of British India have very little to say about their foreign affairs or their national defense. Neither do they have much to say about their domestic affairs. These too are decided by the British. In India, at the head of the actual government, is the viceroy, or governor-general, appointed by the British crown usually for a term of five years. He is assisted by an executive council. Together they control the army, the lawmaking and the executive departments of the government, the courts, the police, and other civil services.

In addition to the governor-general and council there is also a legislature of Indians, who have some advisory power but no real lawmaking or executive power. And scattered over the fifteen provinces of British India are several thousand officials. In each province is a governor or a lieutenant governor and an executive council.

In recent years the British have granted some degree of democratic government to the local districts and villages. For example, in the nine larger provinces half the members of the executive council in each are Indians. There is also an Indian legislature in each province, the majority of its members being elected by a small group of property-owners.

An extensive Indian civil service maintains order and keeps the collective affairs running smoothly. At the beginning of 1929 this included 1261 persons, three fourths of whom were British. In addition to this there are many other services, such as the police and those connected with education, health, agriculture, and engineering.

Out of 5250 officials 3500 are British and 1750 are native Indians, but the chief executive positions in every one of these services are still held by Englishmen. The minor positions in the government, however, are filled by Indians.

The entire government machine consists of 1,500,000 Indians and 12,000 British. Thus fewer than 1 in 100 are British. Nevertheless this tiny minority rules India. How? By force. By the power of the British Empire, of British wealth, and of the British army and navy. In India itself the British-Indian army keeps the people under control. In 1930, of the 3365 officers in this army 3255 were British, while of the private soldiers 60,000 were British and 150,000 were Indians.

This, then, is the governing machinery by which little England succeeds in dominating a vast population.

WHAT INDIA OWES TO ENGLAND

There are many fair-minded Englishmen who conscientiously believe that it is right for England to impose its government on the people of India. They point out that the Indians had never known peace before the English came, and that the princes were constantly quarreling among themselves. They maintain that England has kept law and order.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied that before the British came to India the people lived under conditions of degrading poverty, as bad as anything the world had ever known. Very few of them were able to read and write. They could not protect themselves against famine, pestilence, or plagues, or against attacks from invaders. As a result one disaster after another caused the death of millions.

Thus one group of British people has long maintained that in governing India they were really "lifting a backward race out of degradation." It cannot be doubted that there is something to support their contention. In certain regions the standard of living for the middle-class Indians has risen under the industrial ways of living introduced by the English.

Cotton, woolen, paper, and silk factories were built in the late 1800's. Jobs were given to an increasing number of people — at very meager wages, however. Sanitary water supplies were built in many communities, and disease-breeding centers were stamped out. Smooth, paved roads and railroads were constructed to join hitherto separated communities. Today, compared with all other parts of the Far East, India is well supplied with railroads. There are more railroads in India than in all the rest of Asia.

Thus physical improvements in some of the Indian provinces were made under British direction. To be sure, it should be added that the Indian people paid for them and that the Indian laborers who built industrial and other works received little more than starvation wages. British capital primarily developed these enterprises, and British industrialists made large profits from the vast trade of the Indian people.

The British established schools and educated leaders who later led India's march toward self-government

In 1835 a leading British official declared that "the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." From that time on, British officials, who regarded Hindu civilization as degraded, developed a governmental system of Western education. In this there were (1) thousands of government schools, (2) many others established by local authorities, and (3) missionary schools. This school system, we must remember, was purely Western, and all work was done in English. In order to enter the Indian civil service young Indians were required to pass successfully through the various grades of these schools. As a result an increasing number of Indians learned English, tended to ignore their own native languages, and gradually became Westernized.

Many independent-minded men refused to permit their children to go to the British schools. Others, however, eagerly embraced the new education. As a result there were, in 1926, nearly 238,000 schools and colleges in India, with a total attendance of more than 10,000,000 children and youth. A large number, indeed! This was, in many ways, a startling advance in education. Yet we must remember that even today more than 90 per cent of all the people in India are unable to read and write.

AFTER 1885, EDUCATED INDIANS ORGANIZED THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

As education spread, history repeated itself in this third great center of Asiatic unrest. Never before recognized as a nation, the scattered Indian peoples began to work together in the hope of throwing off foreign rule and building a united India. Perhaps the best single date from which to mark the beginning of the Nationalist movement is the meeting of the first All-India National Congress in 1885. This was the first unified movement after decades of local revolt against British control in various centers.

The movement to wrest the control of government from the

British had two distinct phases: one, the violent, armed-force phase; the other, the passive "noncoöperation," or "civil disobedience," phase. The boycott of English goods was common to both phases.

The violent phase came first. In the northern region of the Dekkan, under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the people were inflamed to military revolt against their rulers. British officials and Indian subordinates who had accepted positions under the government were assassinated. Later, native newspapers fanned the flame of revolution. The people increasingly boycotted English goods, refusing to buy products made in British-owned factories. Riots occurred in and about Bombay.

The British government met these measures by equally violent ones. It stamped out freedom of speech. Leaders were arrested and imprisoned. In 1908 Tilak himself was sent to prison for six years.

In the meantime the All-India National Congress continued to meet each year, serving the cause of self-government in a more peaceful way. The Congress covered the various provinces of India, meeting first in one city and then in another. These meetings served as an important training school for the Indian leaders in self-government. More and more they came to think of India as a nation. Whereas in former centuries they had thought chiefly in terms of the needs of their local districts, provinces, and states, now the movement centered in a growing demand for national independence. "Home rule for India" became the slogan until 1914. Then, to the astonishment of most people, the Indians united with the British to help defeat Germany. They raised large sums of money and almost 1,450,000 men, of whom more than 940,000 actually served in the armies of the Allies, either in Europe or in the Near East.

It is certain, however, that the native Indian leaders expected England to reward them for their loyal aid and give them more self-government. Indeed, in 1917 the British government did promise vaguely to increase self-government. Once the war was over, however, a series of unwise acts by British officials stirred up Indian leaders more than ever against foreign control. Labor unions refused to work in various places. Riots broke out.

Then, on April 13, 1919, occurred a shocking incident which inflamed the Indian people against the British as had no other episode in 200 years. An assembly of unarmed Indians had met at Amritsar in a small courtyard entirely surrounded by high walls. The local British commander, General Dyer, had issued an order forbidding all public meetings. As soon as he heard of this assembly he led a body of troops to the spot and ordered his soldiers to open fire on the crowd. Three hundred and seventy-nine were killed and 1200 were wounded. An investigation made by a British commission condemned General Dyer and removed him from office. The House of Lords, however, passed a resolution defending him and helped to raise more than $100,000 for him.

Under a New Leader the People of India rose in an Astonishing Rebellion of Noncoöperation

Thereafter the rebellious Indian people were more closely bound together. Nine months later the All-India National Congress met in the city of the murders — Amritsar. At this congress appeared a great leader,— one of the most unusual figures in the world's history,— Mohandas Gandhi. Under him developed one of the strangest movements in the world — the mass civil-disobedience movement of millions of people.

Thus the Amritsar murders produced a national uprising, indeed, but one of an astonishing character. Instead of armed resistance, Gandhi preached and practiced passive resistance. Now millions of Indians disobeyed laws, edicts, and orders of the British government, but, though punished, refused to raise their hands in physical resistance.

Gandhi had had almost ideal preparation for this new leadership. The son of well-to-do Indian parents, he was educated in secondary schools in India. At the age of nineteen he went to London, studied at University College, and was admitted to the bar. Returning to Bombay, he began to practice law. In 1893 an Indian company sent him to South Africa to represent them among the Indian emigrants in that region. He found his people even more despised and oppressed by the British officials in South Africa than they were at home in India. They were doing the lowest kind of menial labor, were paid starvation wages, and were living generally under degrading conditions. Moreover, they were discriminated against politically.

Giving up his legal work, Gandhi devoted himself to the organization of his first campaign of noncoöperation. He taught his countrymen to refuse to take part in any way in the life of the community and of the province which refused them equality. For twenty years he worked heroically at the expense of his own health. He was constantly insulted by the rulers in South Africa; he was arrested and imprisoned. Nevertheless, whenever a crisis arose he helped England. For example, during the Boer War he organized Red Cross units and hospitals for the victims of the terrible plagues which developed in Johannesburg. At last, in 1914, the British government passed new laws giving the people many of the things for which Gandhi had fought. Soon after, he left South Africa and returned to India.

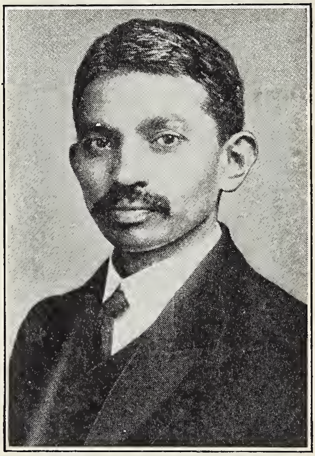

FIG. 209. Gandhi, the lawyer

Then, shortly after his return, came the Amritsar murders, the meeting of the All-India National Congress, and the acceptance of Gandhi as the unquestioned leader of the people in their campaign for *Swaraj* — self-government.

From that time the Indians fought their British rulers with Gandhi's tried weapon of nonviolent noncoöperation. Mohammedans as well as Hindus joined hands behind this humble, frail leader. For three years (1919–1922) millions of men and women turned to him for leadership and obeyed his program of civil disobedience.

His followers gave up their offices in the courts, the legislatures, and the other branches of the government. They withdrew their children from government schools. And, most important of all, they boycotted British goods. Gandhi himself led the way in trying to reëstablish the dying handicrafts of the people by adopting as a symbol the spinning wheel, on which he did a stated amount of work each day.

There were other important points in Gandhi's platform for an all-India campaign for self-government. Mohammedans and Hindus were to work together as citizens of the same country. Women were to be given all the rights and privileges of men. The millions of outcastes, or untouchables, were to be accepted everywhere by all Indians. And the sale of liquor was to be absolutely prohibited.

Fig. 210. Gandhi, the national leader

All this was to be secured by a great nation-wide campaign of love, not of hate. Furthermore, Gandhi practiced what he preached. It was not long before his followers were calling him "Mahatma," which means great-souled. By that name he is known today round the world.

Dissensions arose after 1922. In such a huge territory, with its hundreds of millions of people of diverse races, language groups, and provincial attitudes, it became increasingly difficult to discipline the people and to prevent violent outbursts.

Finally Gandhi was arrested, was tried for conspiracy against the government, and was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. In his absence many people gave up the noncoöperation plan and violent outbreaks occurred. Gandhi was released in 1924 after an operation for appendicitis, but on rejoining his followers it was noticed that he had lost much of his leadership. In 1925 he retired for a short time from active participation in the movement. During the next two years conditions became worse and worse.

Then in 1927 the Indian Statutory Commission was appointed.

This was known generally as the Simon Commission, because it was directed by Sir John Simon. It was formed to investigate conditions and to recommend a way by which British control over India could be continued to the satisfaction of Indian leaders. The Commission, however, was appointed entirely by the British and contained no Indian representative. Neither Gandhi nor any of the other real leaders of the Indian people were included. The Central Indian Committee, which was to assist the Commission, was also chosen by British interests.

Their report, issued in 1930, proposed a little more self-government than the Indians had had. There was to be a constitution; a Council of Greater India, composed of representatives of both the British Indian provinces and the independent Indian states; and a Central Legislature, members of which were to be elected by provincial councils. But the government was to be left in the hands of the governor-general-in-council, who was not responsible to the Central Legislature but to Great Britain.

At the appointment of the Commission indignation exploded throughout India, and a new revolt occurred. Mohammedans and Hindus joined hands, forgetting their differences in the need for common attack upon the foreign master. Gandhi came out of his retirement and at the All-India Congress of 1928 became the recognized leader of 300,000,000 people. Warning England that self-government must be given to India before January 1, 1930, Gandhi pledged that he would lead his people in another mass civil-disobedience movement. The British refused self-government, and Gandhi started anew his movement of noncoöperation.

Thousands of Indians violated British laws and were thrown into jail. It is estimated that even in 1931 more than 50,000 native Indians were still crowding the jails of India. In 1930 and 1931 important events followed one another swiftly. The government had by law assumed a monopoly over salt-making and required every Indian household to purchase its salt from government officials. In March, 1930, Gandhi openly violated the salt law by leading a march to the sea, where he deliberately made salt in violation of one of the most hated laws of the English. As a result of Gandhi's open violation he and his followers were again arrested and thrown into jail.

A few months later, however, Gandhi was released. Conferences were again begun between the Nationalists and the British. In March, 1931, Gandhi signed a truce with the British governor-general. The Indians agreed to suspend all their non-coöperative movements in return for promises of vastly increased measures of self-government. The boycott against British goods was to be stopped. Indians were to accept their responsibilities in the carrying on of the government. The British, on their part, agreed to release Nationalist prisoners and to call a round-table conference to discuss the whole problem.

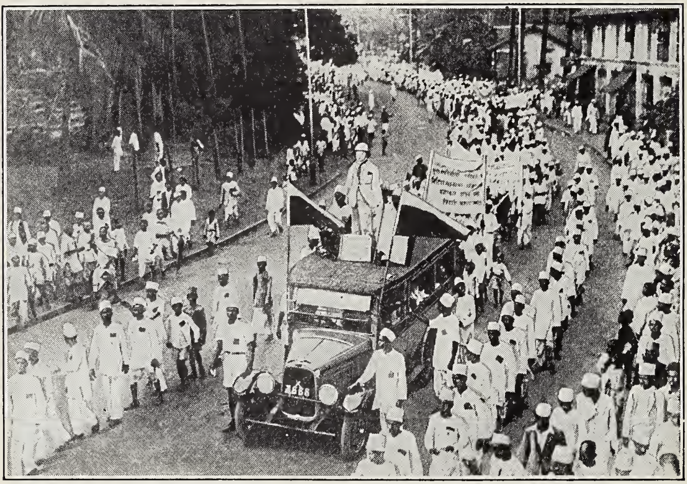

Fig. 211. A parade of the Nationalists in 1930. Feeling against the British government ran so high that an effigy of British officialdom was shown and banners carrying taunting messages were displayed

From that time on, the movement for a written constitution and a federal government for India advanced swiftly. Already, in the autumn of 1930, under the auspices of the Labor government, which had come into power in 1929, the first India Round-Table Conference had been held in London. The princes who governed the independent states indicated their willingness to join with the fifteen provinces of British India in an Indian federation under the general oversight of British officials.

In March, 1931, the All-India National Congress met again and ratified the truce that Gandhi had signed with the government. Gandhi himself had once more obtained complete leadership of the Nationalists in India. This is shown by the fact that he was appointed the representative of the All-India National Congress to the second Round-Table Conference, held in London in the autumn of 1931.

Thus the movement toward a federal government for India, with a large measure of home rule and a written constitution, was advanced far. The constitution proposed at this second conference would give India a vast measure of self-government. There would be a Federal Legislature, with a Senate and a House of Representatives. Members of the Senate would be elected indirectly, probably by provincial legislatures, and those of the House of Representatives would be elected by direct popular vote. There would also be a cabinet of ministers, as in the cabinet government of England, and a chief minister, probably the leader of the majority party, who would be named by the governor-general.

The governor-general would control foreign affairs and the defense of the country. The army, now largely officered by Englishmen, would be turned over rapidly to Indians, and a native training school would be set up.

THUS INDIA AT LAST IS APPROACHING UNITY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

A half-century of modern education, therefore, and a religious spirit are together achieving two goals that no amount of armed force was able to do. First, they are unifying the scattered Indian peoples and are increasing their understanding of one another. Thus, for the first time, the discordant states and principalities are tending to become a united nation.

Second, these two great forces of education and "soul-force," as Gandhi calls his spirit of passive nonresistance, are producing a better understanding with Great Britain, and progress toward self-government. Self-government of the type proposed, however, will not mean true government "of the people, by the people, for the people" of India. Some of them will still be governed by hereditary princes, and one-man governments will still be in force over more than 70,000,000 people. As for the 247,000,000 of British India, they will still be governed largely by appointed leaders; that is, the people themselves will not really elect the men who govern them.

This, no doubt, is inevitable in a nation which is still unenlightened. Democracy cannot advance far until education equips the mass of the people with understanding. Once they get self-government the construction of a great nation-wide system of schools is one of the next two steps before India's own leaders. The other is the improvement of India's standard of living so that every man, woman, and child in India shall be assured of food, shelter, and clothing.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

BONSELS, WALDEMAR. An Indian Journey. Albert & Charles Boni, New York. A traveler describes life in India.

FINNEMORE, JOHN. Home Life in India (Peeps at Many Lands Series). The Macmillan Company, New York.

GILLIAT, EDWARD. Heroes of Modern India. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. Stories of British statesmen, explorers, and military leaders in India.

HOWE, T. H. MANNERS. India (Peeps at History Series). The Macmillan Company, New York.

KIPLING, RUDYARD. Kim. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. Gives a good picture of India.

MARSHALL, HENRIETTA E. Our Empire Story. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. Stories of India as well as of other parts of the British Empire.

MUKERJI, DHAN GOPAL. Caste and Outcaste. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

MUKERJI, DHAN GOPAL. Ghond the Hunter. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Life of the jungle villages.

MUKERJI, DHAN GOPAL. Jungle Beasts and Men. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Village and jungle life in India.

ROY, SATYANANDA. When I was a Boy in India (Children of Other Lands Books). Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston.

STEEL, FLORA ANNIE. The Adventures of Akbar. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. A picture of life in India in the 1500's.

SURRIDGE, VICTOR. India (Romance of Empire Series). Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York.

CHAPTER XXIII

MEXICO: A CHANGELESS CULTURE

In one country — Mexico — the conquering march of European industrial civilization met a culture it could not change. It is true that for 400 years Europeans conquered and ruled the Mexican people. Yet even today most of the latter — 16,400,000 in number — continue to live in much the same way as did their ancestors before 1500 A. D. Here, next door to the United States, are simple people living their lives almost untouched by the modern civilization all about them.

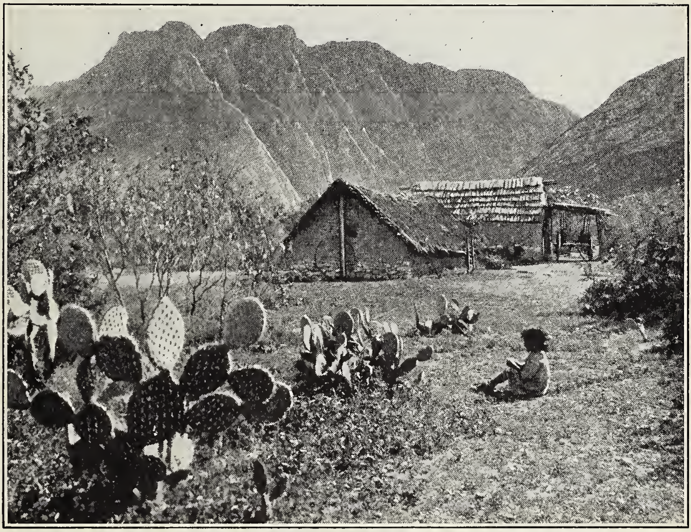

FIG. 212. A typical Mexican farm. Note the barren mountains in the background, and the cactus — the sign of dry, sandy soil — in the foreground. The poorer Mexican people make their living on small farms like this

There are hundreds of villages and towns in Mexico which have never had a wheeled vehicle of any kind. Men and women are still used as draft animals on the precipitous mountain paths. There are thousands of maize plots which have never known a metal plow. In hundreds of communities there is not a book, nor anyone who could read one.

THE MOUNTAIN THAT IS MEXICO

There are several reasons why European ways of living have not been adopted in Mexico. One is topography. Another is the very large number of native "Mexicans" who were already living there when the Europeans came,—people with an ancient history and a highly developed civilization. And a third is the purpose of the conquering Europeans, which was to gain riches.

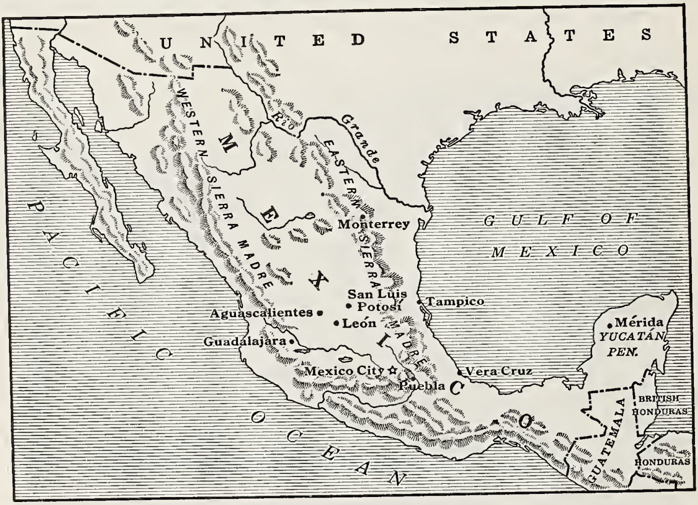
UNITED STATES
Rio Grande
WESTERN SIERRA MADRE
EASTERN SIERRA MADRE
MEXICO
Monterrey
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
San Luis Potosí
Tampico
Aguascalientes
León
Guadalajara
Mexico City
Puebla
Vera Cruz
Mérida
YUCATÁN PEN.
BRITISH HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS

FIG. 213. Note in this map of Mexico how much of the land is mountainous. Does that imply easy means of communication? How would it affect culture?

First, however, let us consider the "lay of the land." Mexico is one vast range of mountains, which forms part of the great mountain backbone of the two continents of North and South America. (See map, Fig. 213.) Starting in Alaska, these mountains spread out across the western third of the United States. But whereas the United States has a vast central plain of level land, Mexico is almost completely covered by mountains, which rise from the narrow, level plain on the Gulf of Mexico to great conelike peaks, some of which are more than 17,000 feet above sea level.

Here is a territory of 767,000 square miles,— about 490,000,000 acres, — one fourth as large as the United States. But of these 490,000,000 acres, 296,000,000, or three fifths, are rocky cliffs and deserts, practically useless for agriculture; 44,000,000 are in timber; 120,000,000 — one fourth — are used for pasture. Only 30,000,000 acres — about 6 per cent — are cultivated today. Experts have estimated that not more than 60,000,000 acres could be cultivated, even with modern irrigation. Thus today, although the Mexicans can grow food for their needs, they cannot maintain a very high standard of living.

The people live at a height of from 3500 to 6000 feet above sea level, in villages scattered through mountain valleys. They are almost isolated from one another and from the outside world. Two thirds of the villages of Mexico cannot be reached by wheeled carts, but only by walking or riding over burro trails. One fourth of them are connected with towns and cities by crude cart paths. Only one in 20 has railroad connections, and only one in 50 has smooth-surfaced automobile roads. Most of the Mexican people are isolated indeed!

A "violent country"

Mexico is frequently called a "violent country." Lying as it does in a semitropical region between 15 degrees and 30 degrees north latitude, its territory ranging from sea level to 17,000 feet, the temperature is like the topography — it has its ups and downs.

Its rainfall presents somewhat the same extremes. In some regions of Mexico there is as little as 25 inches of rainfall during the year; in others the rainfall reaches 100 inches. And rainfall is not distributed over the year as it is in moderate climates. For six months of the year, from June to October, there are almost daily showers — short in duration but violent in character. During the next six months, weeks upon weeks follow each other during which not a drop of rain comes to quench the thirsty earth.

In this Mountain Land Fine Ancient Civilizations Developed

How long ago the ancestors of the present Mexican people founded their civilization is a fact that is shrouded in mystery. We feel sure that it was several thousand years ago, and that several civilizations rose and fell there. Figures 214 and 215 give us hints of what those ancient civilizations must have been like.

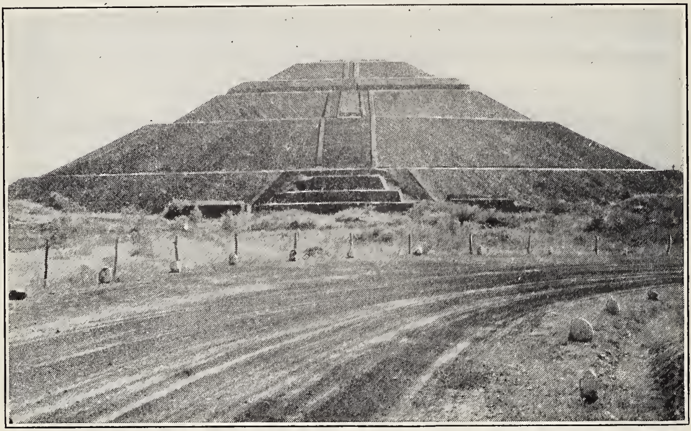

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Fig. 214. The Pyramid of the Sun. Note the stairway which is built from the base to the top. Note also the beauty and dignity in the design of the pyramid

What facts do we know about the early background of present Mexico? We know, first, that 2000 years ago very advanced peoples were living there. Even then, while the ancestors of present Europe were semi-nomad wanderers, hunting wild animals and grazing flocks, these "Mexicans" had discovered how to produce maize and other fundamental foods with which to support settled (civilized) ways of life. At the time of Christ theirs was a city civilization, probably as advanced as that of the countries around the Mediterranean Sea.

We know also that the people called Mayas were located in Guatemala about 2000 years ago. In the 600's A. D. they migrated northward and settled in the lowlands of the Yucatan

Peninsula. There they built their great stone cities, of which the ruins of at least 100 are still standing. The ruins of Chichen Itza, for example, cover several square miles, and archæologists state that they have not yet begun to uncover the whole city, most of which lies beneath a jungle-like mass of vegetation which has been accumulating for more than 1000 years.

How many people may have lived in this one Mayan city of Chichen Itza it is impossible to know; some guess the number to be 100,000. And there are not less than 100 such communities. Does it not make one wonder whether our way of living is so much higher or more advanced than earlier ones?

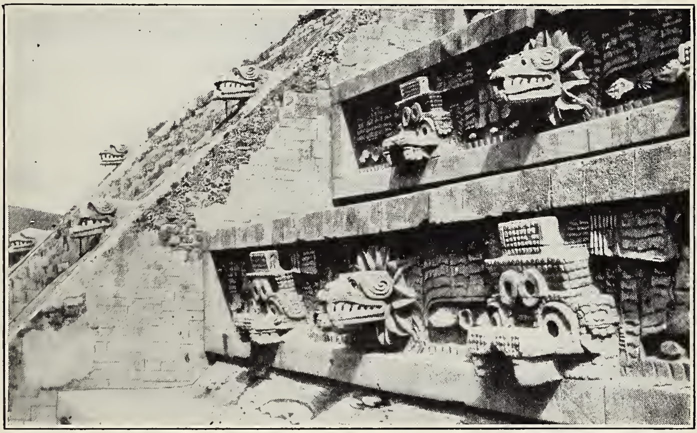

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FIG. 215. Some of the sculptured detail work which is typical of the art of ancient Mexico

Other examples of the high level of civilization which developed before the Europeans came

Although these ancient people lived almost entirely by agriculture, yet they also performed tremendous engineering feats. There were stone-paved roads, stone aqueducts, and stone bridges. Great forts dotted the mountain sides. The art of mining engineering was also developed to a high degree, vast amounts of silver, gold, and copper being taken from mines.

Single cut stones weighing 50 tons were dragged many miles for these great structures. With what implements the Mexican people could have cut such stones nobody knows.

Furthermore, these Mayan and Aztec people were not lacking in science. They had a well-developed system of measurement, and a number system which compares well with the Arabic, now used throughout the world. They had also a calendar that was more accurate than anything Europe had in 1500.

These ancient people wrote by means of hieroglyphics and made books of paper manufactured from local fibers. Professional historians recorded their history in painted sculpture and probably even in books. They used herbs to make medicines, and their medical men had developed an art of surgery, operating, for example, even upon the human skull and the eye.

By the 1500's handicraft had reached a high level, especially in gold and copper. The people wove lovely designs with cotton fibers and made straw matting. Their pottery has been regarded as equal to the best of the earlier civilizations of the world, and their minute carvings and feather work were unsurpassed.

IN THE 1500'S SPANISH *CONQUISTADORES* SUBDUED AND LOOTED THE "MEXICANS"

Then came the Europeans. In 1519, 100 years before the British began to drive the Indians back from the coasts of Massachusetts and Virginia or to take trading concessions in India, the Spanish began their conquest of Mexico.

In that year a band of 633 men — of whom fewer than 50 had either muskets or crossbows and only 16 had horses — landed on the coast of the Mayan territory. Cortes and his men frankly came seeking wealth. Many years before, in the Spanish colony of Hispaniola, Cortes had boldly stated his aim in coming to the new world: "I came to get gold; not to till the soil like a peasant."

Along the coast of Mexico, Cortes found Mayan tribes which he brought into subjection — sometimes by peaceful methods, sometimes through bloody battles. But the tales of a rich Aztec empire ruled by the Emperor Montezuma lured Cortes on. With

Mayan allies Cortes and his men marched on to the Aztec capital, which was situated where Mexico City is today. In spite of protests of friendship between the Aztec and Spanish chiefs, Cortes, convinced that Montezuma was secretly working against him, seized the Aztec emperor and held him prisoner in his own city. With most of his troops Cortes started back to the coast, leaving a small guard with Montezuma. He returned to the city to find it in turmoil, and his little band of defenders besieged by the natives. He called upon the prisoner-emperor to restore order. Montezuma, closely guarded by the Spaniards, pleaded with his people for peace. The answer was a volley of stones and darts directed at the Spaniards. The emperor was wounded and soon died.

The hostage for the safety of the Spaniards was now dead, and the hatred of the Aztecs knew no bounds. Cortes's 1300 men were no match for the many thousands of enraged Aztecs. He retreated to the coast for reënforcements. Then, returning, he besieged the capital city, cutting off its water supply. After horrible suffering the city fell to the Spaniards, and the Aztec Empire was conquered.

The treasure chests of Spain grew heavy with the gold taken from the native peoples. Viceroys and minor officials were appointed, and for 300 years Mexico was merely a colony of Spain.

But the villages in the higher mountain valleys had never really been conquered at all. Isolated and comparatively poor as they were, their Spanish conquerors paid little attention to them; and so they preserved their old primitive customs, raising maize and beans, cultivating the soil with their wooden plows, and making their articles of pottery, clothing, and metal trinkets. Occasionally they came down to the larger towns of the valleys to exchange their goods; but for the most part they lived on in their isolated villages, practically independent of the central government in the capital, Mexico City. Even today there are tribes of Mayas who speak not a single word of Spanish and who refuse to have the slightest communication with white people.

The Spanish conquest, then, was only a partial thing. The Spanish rule of 300 years affected primarily the people of the plateau and the coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico.

Two Things the Spaniards imposed on the Mexicans

As in Asia, in Africa, and in the northern part of North America, so in Mexico, the Europeans who later came there to settle changed the civilization of the natives in two ways. First, they developed huge estates (haciendas) and practically enslaved about one fourth of the people. Second, they spread their religion — in this case the Catholic religion — among all the natives who came within their reach. To understand the mixture of cultures which is Mexico today, one must understand these two things.

1. Spanish landlords built up great estates, the haciendas, and practically enslaved the people

Today about one fourth of the cultivated land of Mexico is owned by descendants of the Spanish conquerors. About three fifths is controlled by native Mexicans who live in free and tribal villages, most of which lie in the higher mountain valleys. The Spaniards, however, took the best of the level plateau land.

Today most of the Spanish owners of great estates are really mestizos. In them flows a mixed blood — part Spanish and part native Mexican. Not more than 300,000 Spaniards settled in Mexico in 300 years, and few of these brought Spanish women with them. They intermarried with the native Mexicans (Aztecs, Mayas, and others), producing a mixed race, called mestizo.

To understand how the European has controlled the native Mexican and how he still controls him even today, we must understand the hacienda. It is essentially a great farm, owned by an *hacendado* — absentee landlord. (Although such estates vary in size, all are comparatively large.) A recent investigation of the land of the valley of Teotihuacan revealed that there were approximately 26,000 acres of cultivated land, with 8330 people living upon it. Of these persons 7907 owned absolutely no land. Seven persons, all either whites or mestizos, owned 23,000 acres, that is, nearly 90 per cent of the land; yet these seven owners all lived many miles away, in Mexico City.

When Porfirio Diaz made himself dictator of Mexico in 1876, he too, like the Spanish kings, granted enormous estates to his followers. For example, one person received 12,000,000 acres. Seven persons in one state owned 30,000,000 acres, two persons in another owned 5,000,000 acres, and one entire state was owned by only 32 persons.

Thus there grew up the great landed estate, the hacienda. Furthermore, because the people of the region depended upon the land for their livelihood, the landlord controlled the lives of the people themselves. Thus Mexican peonage developed.

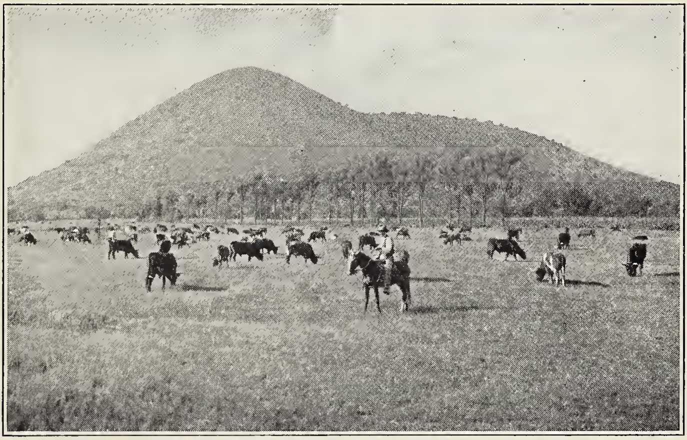

FIG. 216. A small section of the grazing lands on a hacienda. For centuries the broad, fertile valleys of Mexico belonged to a few wealthy owners

Of what is the hacienda itself composed? Of a fine manor house (seldom used by the owner), a village of peasant huts, vast fields, and a few general buildings. As one travels hour after hour through the broad plateau region, one sees huge fields of wheat or broad plains where great herds of cattle are grazing. Here and there are large stone or stucco buildings — manor houses of landlords. Near a manor house are large barns and stone silos, and the workers' houses. There is also a little church. The houses of the laborers are little more than one-room huts, of mud bricks, adobe, stone, stucco, or tile. Wood is rarely used.

On the hacienda the Indian inhabitants, in spite of recent labor laws, are practically serfs. They own no land, and they must work whatever hours the owner prescribes. They must produce their own food — corn and beans — and, in addition, everything needed by the owner, his immediate family, his foreman, his clerk, the school-teacher, cattle-herders, carpenters, mason, potters, blacksmith, weavers, and other workers.

Many of the haciendas lie too far distant from the markets for the native laborers to patronize these in purchasing supplies. On such haciendas, therefore, the owners set up stores and sell the natives goods at prices above those at which they could be purchased in the market. Money seldom changes hands in these transactions, for the wages of the laborers are credited to them against the supplies they buy. Because the prices of commodities are high and their wages pitifully small, because most of the laborers are ignorant of all but the simplest kind of arithmetic, and because of the temptation to overpurchase when buying on credit, they often discover too late that they have used up all their wage credits and are in debt to the owners of the haciendas. As these owners naturally will not let them leave until they have worked off their debts, the laborers' position is often not much above that of slaves.

Under the hacienda system Mexico remained primarily a feudal agricultural country. It used primitive methods and turned its back on scientific ways of farming and manufacturing. Under Spanish rule it also remained illiterate. At the outbreak of the rebellions which threw off the Spanish yoke in the 1820's, in a total population of 6,000,000 only 30,000 could read and write. Thus 99.5 per cent were illiterate. Moreover, almost no middle class of manufacturers, business men, engineers, lawyers, doctors, and teachers arose in Mexico as it did in each of the countries of western Europe and in the United States.

2. The Spaniards introduced their religion into Mexico

Acting on orders from the King of Spain the Spanish missionaries pushed with zeal the work of Christianizing the Indians, and as early as 1530 a bishopric was established in the colony. Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, Jesuits, and secular priests arrived to preach the Gospel, and hundreds of thousands of the natives in the plateau and coastal regions were baptized.

In general every Mexican town had a plaza (central square), and along one side of it was built a church. Usually there was a school beside it, where manual arts as well as religion were taught the children. Hospitals were erected in many of the towns, and in 1535 the first college in the New World was established in Mexico City.

Thirty-nine years later in this city "there were about fifteen thousand Spaniards — *encomenderos* [agents], merchants, miners, and mechanics — and about one hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Besides the public buildings, the churches, and the monasteries, there were a university, a boys' and girls' high school, four hospitals, of which one was for Indians; in the Spanish quarter, well-built houses of wood, stone, and mason work."[1]

The temples of the Aztecs and other tribes had been the scenes of appalling human sacrifices, and these were speedily destroyed by the friars, who erected in their stead Christian churches. The present towering cathedral of Mexico City (see figure 217) stands near the site of the Aztec altar where flowed the blood of thousands of helpless captives sacrificed to the Aztec god.

By an agreement made with the Pope in 1508 the king of Spain nominated all the officials of the Church in the Spanish colonies. Frequently from the ranks of the archbishops and bishops the viceroys, or supreme rulers of the country, were selected. The Church in time became a large landowner, holding tens of thousands of natives as tenants under the strictest of rules. The large stone churches which today abound in Mexico were erected by native labor for which little or no wages were paid. At times, however, rich mine-owners erected massive churches at their own expense. The natives were frequently converted to Christianity and baptized in large groups. Without doubt many of them failed to grasp the truths of the Christian faith and the true meaning of its ritual.

The Spanish friars and monks brought with them from Spain seeds, trees, animals, and farm implements to develop agriculture in Mexico. They taught the natives to till the soil, to raise better crops, to breed domestic animals, to learn manual trades, and to build better houses. The missions everywhere in Mexico were scenes of great activity.

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[1] Edward G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 198. Harper & Brothers, New York.

The Indians of Mexico, like the Indians of the north, often mixed harmless secular pleasures and activities with religious rites. That this is true even today in certain rural districts is shown by an American author who describes the "Tiger Dance," which he witnessed in a Mexican village in 1930:

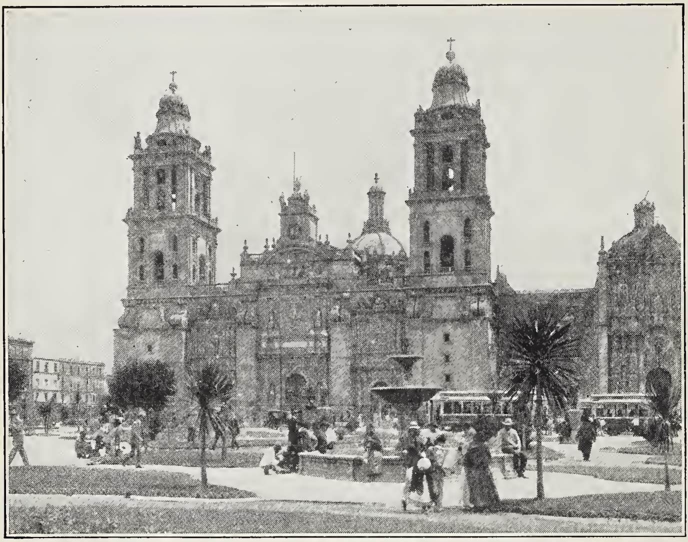

FIG. 217. The cathedral in Mexico City. Near the place where this beautiful building stands today, another beautiful building stood hundreds of years ago. The earlier building was an Aztec temple

> It was performed in the courtyard of a hillside chapel by a group of Indians arrayed in masks and special costumes, to the music of drum and pipe played simultaneously by a single musician. For hours the pipe wove its primitive tune, the drum thumped its stirring, monotonous rhythm, and the dancers, surrounded by a dense ring of enchanted Indians, stamped out the long and involved story of the tiger hunt. (By tigers Mexicans mean jaguars; there are of course no genuine wild tigers in the Western Hemisphere.) At its conclusion, dancers and spectators filed into the chapel and listened to a priest perform

mass, while little boys in the towers turned the great bells over and over. The mass finished, everybody repaired to the churchyard again, ate and drank at little booths which had sprung up like mushrooms, discharged fireworks, listened to the village band, gambled with grains of corn on pictures, and watched itinerant acrobats perform on bars and wires strung to the church wall itself. I tried with no success to picture such a scene in front of any Catholic church I had ever seen. Aztec dance, Roman mass, itinerant circus, all enacted in the same holy precincts.[1]

While there were, no doubt, lapses in the lives of some of the clergy, it is evident that for the most part they lived in accord with their solemn vows and gave themselves without stint to the welfare of the natives in their charge.

A Century of Struggle for Mexican Self-Government

For almost exactly 300 years Mexico was a colony of the Spanish Empire, ruled by governors sent out from Spain. Then a revolutionary movement swept over all Latin America, influenced by the earlier revolt of the American colonies from England and by the French Revolution. In the period from 1810 to 1826 practically all the Spanish and Portuguese dominions successfully revolted and established independent governments. Many of these became dictatorships — absolute one-man governments. Democratic government could hardly be expected in any region from Mexico to Argentina because of the lack of enlightenment among the people. Indeed, for 100 years Spanish-American political history is one long narrative of revolution and change in government.

In Mexico the upheaval was led by a priest who had been much influenced by the revolutionary doctrines of the French and Americans — Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. The rebellion, which broke out in 1810, was short-lived. In 1811 the leaders were defeated and executed. However, another priest, José María Morelos-Pavón, carried on the revolt. In 1813 he issued a Declaration of Independence and drew up a draft of a constitution for the Republic of Mexico. In 1815 he too was captured and executed. Revolt continued, but without success, for six years.

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[1] Stuart Chase, *Mexico: a Study of Two Americas*, pp. 99–100. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1931.

Then, in 1821, Agustín de Iturbide successfully threw off the power of Spain and established a dictatorship under an Act of Independence of the Mexican Empire. From that time on for a century the history of Mexico was one revolution after another. In the 100 years from the establishment of the empire in 1821, there were no less than 75 revolutions (*between 1821 and 1876 there were 74 different governments*, many of which lasted only a few weeks or months). In that period the rule changed from one person and type of government to another — from emperor to dictator, to regent, to president, and then to provisional executive.

An interesting and important figure during this period was General Santa Anna, who succeeded in controlling the government of Mexico most of the time from 1834 to 1846. It was he who was defeated by the American pioneers when they settled the northern Mexican state of Texas. Gradually getting control of the entire state, the Americans declared Texas independent of Mexico and made that independence effective. The state was admitted into the Union in 1845. From 1836 until 1848 the Texas problem caused increasing difficulty between the United States and Mexico; open warfare came in 1846. American troops invaded Mexico from the north and from the coast, and in 1847 Mexico City was captured. Peace was concluded in 1848, when the huge territories of Upper California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States.

With the overthrow of Santa Anna a federal government followed from 1846 to 1853. Gradually, out of the chaos of revolutions, the country moved slowly toward a constitution and a republican form of government. In 1857 a constitution was actually adopted, only to be repudiated almost immediately as other rival governments ruled, each for a short period.

Then, in 1858, appeared Benito Juárez, president of the Republic — perhaps the greatest man of Mexican history. He is known as "the Liberator" or "the Abraham Lincoln of Mexico." It was Juárez who fought the growing control of the Church over the land of Mexico, and set up reforms designed to give the land back to the native peoples. His reforms, however, were held back by foreign interference in Mexican affairs. Juárez had no sooner taken office in 1861 than Great Britain, France, Austria, and other countries demanded the payment of large debts owed them by Mexico. British claims amounted to $70,000,000, and other European claims to $82,000,000 more.

France, taking advantage of the fact that the United States was involved in its great Civil War and was consequently not able to maintain the Monroe Doctrine, made Maximilian of Austria Emperor of Mexico, as you have already learned. For three years, supported by French troops, he retained the throne. Once the American Civil War was over, however, the United States in 1867 compelled the French to withdraw; Maximilian was soon captured by Juárez and was executed. Juárez then returned to power and was reelected president in 1867. Again he tried to improve the constitution in the interests of the Mexican people. Again the reforms led to more revolutions. He held on, however, until his death in 1872. From 1872 to 1876 there were more revolutions and more changes in government. Then, in 1876, began the astonishing dictatorship of General Porfirio Diaz.

Fig. 218. Benito Juárez (1806–1872)

Except for an interlude of four years, Diaz ruled continuously as president of Mexico for 34 years. He was a real dictator, maintaining order with an iron hand. Central authority was completely vested in him, and he enforced it by rigid military rule. Revolution ceased. Peace and quiet came to the country. Foreign capitalists came in and began to develop factories, dig oil wells, mine iron and coal, and, in a few urban centers, generally introduce industrial ways of living.

During his dictatorship Diaz accomplished the following constructive, modern things:

1. Built many miles of railroad.
2. Increased the production of silver fivefold and the production of gold 25 times.
3. Increased the exports and imports of Mexico tenfold.
4. Suppressed banditry and made Mexico a safe country.
5. Established a few free schools.
6. Developed modern ports at several places on the coast.
7. Erected public buildings.

But, on the other hand, Diaz subjected the mass of the people to one of the worst régimes in their history. Enormous concessions were granted to private capitalists from other countries. Native Mexicans were sold into slavery for a price. In the new factories inhuman hours of labor and working conditions and starvation wages were permitted. The communal life of the free villages was broken down.

Therefore it is difficult to say whether or not Diaz really improved the life of Mexico. Did external order, railroads, a few schools, and other aspects of modern industrialism compensate for the terrible conditions of life among the common people?

In 1911 Diaz was overthrown by Francisco Madero, and in 1913 Madero was murdered by General Huerta, a follower of Diaz. In the same year another leader, Carranza, overthrew Huerta. Two years later Carranza was recognized by the United States as President of Mexico.

In Carranza's rule an epoch-making event took place. The famous constitution was drawn up and was adopted in 1917. In this, frequently called one of the most advanced constitutions in the entire world, two provisions are worth remembering: the labor law and the land law.

The labor law makes eight hours the maximum limit of a day's work, with six hours a day the limit for youth over twelve years of age and under sixteen. It prohibits all overtime for women and children. It enforces one day's rest for every six days' work. It also calls for sanitary working conditions on plantations and in mines and factories. It provides for the creation of minimum-wage boards and requires that employers establish such things as schools, health agencies, markets, and playgrounds. These provisions were progressive indeed.

The land law declares that Mexican land belongs to Mexicans. Hence according to this law no one not a Mexican citizen can own land in Mexico. Villages can own land communally, but no stock companies or banks can do so. Haciendas were to be divided among the people, and the lands owned by the churches were taken by the government. Thus individual Mexicans living within the boundary of their country were favored instead of rich absentee landlords and foreigners.

Not all these provisions have been enforced, since revolutions continued to succeed one another after 1917; but some have been, and representative government in Mexico has advanced a little.

Seven presidents have held office since 1917. One president and one president-elect have been assassinated. But terms of office are slowly lengthening. Order is gradually being established, schools are being set up, and illiteracy is slowly being reduced.

How far, then, has democracy marched forward in Mexico?

As a result of 100 years of struggle for self-government, do the people of Mexico govern themselves? Let us see.

They have the *form* of democracy — a written constitution guaranteeing civil and political rights. Mexico is a federated republic of 27 states, one federal district, and two territories. The states, each of which largely governs itself, are bound together in a central government, as are the states of the United States. There are also a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The president is elected for a term of six years, and he appoints his own cabinet of ten secretaries, each at the head of a government department. The president and the members of both houses are elected through universal suffrage. Thus it would appear that the country has moved far in the direction of democratic government.

Facts about the present population

Actually, however, most of the people are more or less uninterested in government. They live in their little isolated villages and carry on their own personal affairs without much interest in, or understanding of, national life.

Table XLIII shows that practically 10,000,000 people out of a total population of 16,400,000 live in free villages.[1] Only 13 per cent live in towns and cities.

TABLE XLIII

Distribution of Population in Mexico (Estimated, 1930)	Per Cent	Persons
Free villages	60	9,900,000
Hacienda villages	25	4,000,000
Mining villages	2	300,000
Towns and cities	13	2,200,000

Of the 13 per cent of the population, the 2,200,000 who live in towns and cities, approximately half — 968,000 according to the census of 1930 — live in the one federal district of Mexico City. The remainder are distributed in several fairly large cities, of which the most important follow, together with their populations:

Guadalajara	150,000	Tampico	80,000
Puebla	110,000	León	80,000
Monterrey	85,000	Vera Cruz	50,000
San Luis Potosí	85,000		

Furthermore, 96 per cent of all the people are either pure Indian or mestizo (mixed Indian and white). A large proportion of these people continue to speak their original native dialects only. Indeed, after 400 years native Mexican blood is predominant in Mexico. Certainly less than 4 per cent of the people are regarded as pure Europeans. Furthermore, since few foreigners are coming in to settle, Mexico is becoming increasingly Mexican in population.

TABLE XLIV

Estimated Distribution of Population, 1930	Per Cent	Persons
Pure Indian or mestizo, about	96	15,700,000
Native white, about	3	500,000
Foreign, about	1	200,000

Then there is the further consideration that most of the Mexican people are still illiterate. Although many villages and towns now boast schoolhouses, 62 per cent of the people could not read or write in 1921. Nevertheless great advances toward enlightenment are being made. In 1928 there were about 1,250,000 pupils in schools and colleges.

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[1] Tribal villages which were never conquered by the Spaniards. In these villages most land is not owned by the individual but by the community.

Is Mexico becoming Industrial?

Today there are fewer than 3000 manufacturing establishments in all Mexico, and these employ a total of approximately 100,000 workers. This number is less than that found in the one tiny American state of Rhode Island.

The leading industries among these few are textiles and boots and shoes. Textiles alone employ half of all the industrial workers. However, the total number is no more than can be found in two or three textile towns in the state of Massachusetts. The other industries which are carried on in machine-run factories are tobacco, paper, flour-milling, soap, brewing and distilling, and tanning. There is almost no steel-manufacturing.

Mexico has Vast Mineral Wealth

The world's largest single deposits of silver are in Mexico. It was these riches that first attracted the Spaniards after 1500, and helped to finance Spain during the later years of her decline. In the 400 years since the conquest of Mexico City in 1521, more than $5,000,000,000 worth of silver, or more than two thirds of the world's entire production, was mined in the Mexican mountains. Even today one third of the annual output of silver in the world is taken from there.

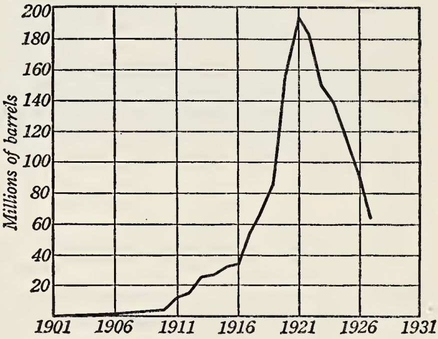

Fig. 219. Production of petroleum in Mexico, 1901–1927

Two thirds of all the exports of Mexico are metals. Next in importance to silver is gold. Then, in turn, come lead, graphite, arsenic, mercury, antimony, tin, and tungsten.

But it is in oil that Mexico has been richest in recent years. Note in figure 219 the astonishing increase in the production of oil in Mexico after 1906.

In 1920 in one field alone — Naranjos — 90,000,000 barrels of oil were produced. But the development of Mexican mineral products has been largely left, until recently, in the hands of foreigners. Because of the national policy of "Mexico for the Mexicans," which the government incorporated in its national constitution of 1917, a provision secures to the government the mineral deposits beneath the soil. Some international difficulties have arisen because of this provision, and the oil industry has been very much affected. Whether the condition of the oil industry is due to the fact that the difficulties have not yet been solved in a manner satisfactory to the foreigners who have developed Mexico's resources or whether Mexico's oil supply is running low has not yet been satisfactorily determined. In 1934 the production of oil was less than one fifth of what it was in 1921.

The Village is the Center of Mexican Life

We see, then, that the Spaniard failed to make Europeans of the natives of Mexico. After 400 years Mexico is not industrialized; the very heart of Mexican life is still *village agriculture* and *village handicrafts.*

Sixty per cent of the arable land is still tilled by the natives who live in little villages. Although these villages vary in size, most of them are very small, averaging about 300 inhabitants each. Thus a village is made up of from 25 to 50 crudely built huts.

As in most primitive communities, the living quarters of these huts are crude and simple. There is usually a single room, in which men, women, babies, chickens, dogs, and pigs all live together. In the somewhat more well-to-do villages there are large buildings for the storing of corn and other foods, and separate barns and chicken houses for live stock.

The towns have central plazas, a few shade trees, ironwork band stands, and market places. A church, a few stores, the municipal hall, and possibly a little schoolhouse stand around the plaza. With the present movement for education in Mexico, schoolhouses are becoming more and more common, even in the little villages.

The culture of Mexico — primitive agriculture and handicraft

Thus the culture of our next-door neighbors, the Mexicans, is very different from our own highly interdependent industrialism. Here, except for the few cities, each one of the hundreds of little villages and towns is an almost self-sufficient region.

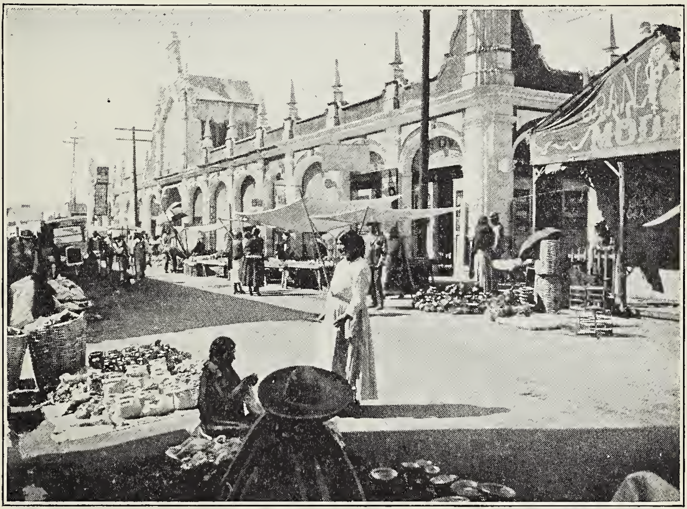

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FIG. 220. A market scene at Guadalupe, Mexico

In these villages are no trains or telephones, no great corporations, no factory-made canned and bottled foods. Here are few middlemen and no banking systems; here is no hierarchy of wholesalers and retailers, no elaborate credit system — indeed, almost no money. Here, indeed, is a striking example of self-sufficient community life. Everything is made within the fields, villages, and central town of one little region.

Here, too, there are no business depressions, no hard times, no unemployment as we know it in industrial countries. It is true that people do not have large houses, fine asphalt streets, swift trains and airplanes, newspapers, magazines, books, museums, symphony orchestras, radios, "movies," or automobiles.

Only the few cities of Mexico have these, and the cities are not typical of the whole country. Even the towns of 3000 to 4000 people, largely Mexican in population, are practically self-sufficient.

Every Wednesday and Sunday morning is market day for the villagers. On these days they gather in the central town of the region, bringing their handicraft and agricultural wares for sale. In many of these village markets exchange is still by barter. What money is used is almost sure to be silver. The Mexican "cart-wheel" dollar, worth approximately 50 cents in United States money, is the standard medium of exchange.

What do they sell in these village markets? There are the staple foods — for example, corn, beans, squash, tomatoes, melons, oranges, chickens, eggs, milk, coffee, spices, and pastry. Possibly sugar, wheat, potatoes, onions, beets, lettuce, salt, and beer have been brought from near-by regions. Meat is on sale; but little is purchased, for these natives are essentially corn-and-bean-eaters, as their ancestors were 2000 years ago. Are hardware and various metal implements and tools for sale? Rarely, indeed. Except for the machete — a long, broad knife of which the natives make all sorts of uses — the native Mexican possesses few metal tools. He still makes his own farming implements. For example, his wooden plow is much the same crude instrument which men used 1000 years ago.

Are there no modern things at all in these Mexican homes? Yes, a few. Some of the more well-to-do homes boast sewing machines. Now and then one hears a phonograph and, very rarely, a radio. Also, in the more well-to-do communities, there are metal cooking utensils and glassware, plastered walls, and doors hung on hinges. In such homes the people sleep in raised beds, instead of on straw mats or in hammocks, as most Mexicans do. Furthermore, they have brick or stone floors instead of dirt floors.

However, the Mexican home most commonly found is still primitive. It continues to be of rough stone or adobe, with a single room, almost no windows, no glass, a floor of dirt, mats for sleeping, crude pots, grinding stones, and clay griddles for the cooking of the simple foods. How different from our homes, with their electric lights, gas stoves, vacuum cleaners, telephones, pianos, phonographs, and other comforts and luxuries!

IN MEXICO WE HAVE A CIVILIZATION THAT HAS RESISTED MODERN INDUSTRIAL WAYS OF LIVING

Partly, then, because the mountains shut them in away from foreigners, partly because their foreign rulers themselves were not much interested in the new industrial ways of living, the characteristics of European civilization reveal themselves very little in Mexico. The culture has changed but little.

For 400 years the Spaniards and their descendants have lived in Mexico, ruling the descendants of the original natives, intermarrying with them, and producing a new race of people partly European and partly American. But after 400 years the native stock still predominates everywhere except in the few cities. In these cities live most of the mestizos and Europeans, and Spanish is spoken.

What about democracy? Has it advanced in Mexico? Yes; we have seen that some steps have been taken toward more representative government. Mexico is now, at least in form, a federated republic, with a written constitution which guarantees civil liberty and protects the common man. True, it is not completely enforced. However, it is plain that the first steps in the march toward democracy have been taken in Mexico.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

ALLEN, NELLIE B. North America. Ginn and Company, Boston. In this book is a very good account of Mexico.

BANKS, HELEN WARD. The Story of Mexico. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. The conquest of Mexico.

CHASE, STUART. Mexico: a Study of Two Americas. The Macmillan Company, New York. An interesting and valuable book.

GODOY, MERCEDES. When I was a Girl in Mexico (Children of Other Lands Books). Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston.

JANVIER, THOMAS A. Aztec Treasure-House. Harper & Brothers, New York. A search for ancient treasure in the mountains of Mexico.

LANG, ANDREW (Editor). The Conquest of Montezuma's Empire. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

LANG, ANDREW (Editor). True Story Book. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. See pages 224–325.

LANIER, HENRY WYSHAM. The Book of Bravery. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. See Chapter XIII, which tells about Cortes in Mexico.

ROLT-WHEELER, FRANCIS. The Aztec-Hunters. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston. Civilization in America before the days of Columbus.

UNIT IX

THE WORLD'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY: APPRAISAL

THE WORLD'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY: APPRAISAL

We need now to gather together what we have learned about the world's march toward democracy. We have seen how the four most powerful nations of Europe experimented in government: how three of them developed democratic, representative government and how the fourth, Russia, overthrew absolute autocracy, turned its back on democracy, and experimented with more socialistic kinds of government. We have also seen how these experiments in representative government influenced China, Japan, India, and Mexico.

Because so many important changes have occurred since 1931, we shall take that year as a convenient time to appraise government in the world.

In Chapter XXIV, therefore, we shall discuss how the world was governed in 1931. Had nations generally been affected by the movement toward representative government? Or were the less powerful nations of the world still ruled by autocratic monarchs — rulers by hereditary right or by seizure of control? To what extent was one-man government still practiced among the peoples of the earth?

CHAPTER XXIV

HOW THE WORLD WAS GOVERNED IN 1931

Nine governments have passed in review before our eyes — those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, China, Japan, Mexico, India, and, from our earlier studies, the United States.

One conclusion comes to us immediately from the study of Table XLV. *The modern world has experimented with many new ways of governing.* A multitude of experiments indeed! And how different from 200 years ago, when almost all human beings on the earth were governed by absolute monarchs! Let us now try to understand the significance of the chief experiments. At this point, therefore, let us go back to see in a broad way how the world was governed in 1931. Figures 153 and 221 to 224 sum up the essential facts of the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States at that time. Can we make any general statements about the governments of the other countries of the world on the basis of our study of these five governments?

Five countries may seem too few upon which to base general conclusions. But we must remember that in 1931 these were the five leading governments of the world. They controlled the lives of some 900,000,000 human beings, or nearly half the population of the world. It was they, more than all others, who had developed the new industrial civilization.

From Absolute Monarchies toward Democratic Republics

In spite of the confusion brought about by the experiments in government, the previous 200 years witnessed a general trend toward the replacement of governmental control. The one-man idea as represented by absolute monarchies, "divine right" kings, hereditary emperors, and autocratic Czars was gradually declining

TABLE XLV. HOW THE WORLD WAS GOVERNED IN 1931[1]

Name of Country	Type of Government	When Present Government was Formed	Chief Executive Officers	National Legislature		Who can Vote[2]
				Upper House	Lower House	
1. Afghanistan . .	Constitutional monarchy	1922	King and cabinet	Legislative Assembly	State Assembly	No voting
2. Albania	Parliamentary monarchy	1928	King and prime minister	National Assembly		No voting
3. Argentina . . .	Republic	1853	President	Senate	House of Deputies	All males 18 years and over
4. Australia . . .	Self-governing dominion of the British Empire	1901	Governor-general (representative of king of England) and prime minister	Senate	House of Representatives	All adults
5. Austria	Federal republic	1918	President and ministry	First Chamber (advisory)	Assembly	All citizens 21 years and over
6. Belgium . . .	Constitutional, hereditary monarchy	1831	King and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Representatives	All males 21 years and over and some females
7. Bolivia	Republic	1825 (constitution dated 1880)	President and two vice presidents	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males 21 years and over
8. Brazil	Federal republic	1891	President	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males 21 years and over
9. Bulgaria . . .	Kingdom	1908	King and premier	National Assembly (one chamber)		All adult males
10. Canada	Self-governing dominion of the British Empire	1867	Governor-general (representative of king of England) and premier	Senate	House of Commons	All adults 21 years and over
11. Chile	Republic	1810	President	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All citizens 21 years and over
12. China	Republic	1912	President and council	Five councils: Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination, Control		Power of voting deferred
13. Colombia . . .	Republic	1886	President and council of state	Senate	House of Representatives	All citizens

14. Costa Rica . .	Republic	1882	President	Chamber of Representatives (Constitutional Congress)		Adult males
15. Cuba	Republic	1901	President and cabinet	Senate	House of Representatives	All adults 21 years and over
16. Czechoslovakia	Republic	1918	President and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All citizens 21 years and over
17. Denmark . . .	Kingdom	First constitution, 1849	King	Senate	House of Commons	All adults 25 years and over
18. Dominican Republic . . .	Republic	1844	President and cabinet	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males over 18
19. Ecuador . . .	Republic	1830	President	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adults
20. Egypt	Hereditary monarchy	1922	King and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adults
21. Estonia	Republic	1920	State and head ministers	State Assembly (one chamber)		All adults
22. Ethiopia . . .	Empire (monarchy)	Independence recognized, 1896	King	None		No voting
23. Finland	Republic	1919	President and prime minister	House of Representatives		All citizens 24 years and over
24. France	Republic	1875	President and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males 21 years and over
25. Germany . . .	Republic	1918	President and chancellor	State Council (Reichsrat)	Reichstag	All adults 20 years and over

[1] A few countries and principalities have not been included in this list: Arabia, Bhutan, Danzig, Iraq, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Morocco, Nepal, San Marino, the Vatican City. Smaller divisions of the British Empire and of other empires have also been excluded.

[2] This column contains the general qualifications (1931) for voters for members of the national legislatures. Countries have varying limitations. Some, such as Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Ecuador, exclude illiterates; others, such as Costa Rica, Italy, Bolivia, and Colombia, have certain property or income qualifications; others, such as Denmark, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, have certain residence qualifications. Aliens, convicts, and lunatics are almost universally disqualified.

TABLE XLV. HOW THE WORLD WAS GOVERNED IN 1931 (CONTINUED)

NAME OF COUNTRY	TYPE OF GOVERNMENT	WHEN PRESENT GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED	CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS	NATIONAL LEGISLATURE		WHO CAN VOTE
				Upper House	Lower House	
26. Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Constitutional, hereditary monarchy	Slowly evolving constitution, 1215, 1628, 1689, etc.	King and prime minister	House of Lords	House of Commons	All adults 21 years and over
27. Greece	Republic	1924	President and premier	Senate	Chamber	All adult males
28. Guatemala . .	Republic	1847	President and council of state	National Assembly (one chamber)		All males over 21; soldiers over 18
29. Haiti	Republic	1804	President (elected by the council of state)	Proposed organization of Senate and Chamber of Deputies		Power of voting deferred
30. Honduras . . .	Republic	1821; present constitution, 1924	President and cabinet	Congress of Deputies (one chamber)		All males 21 years and over; if married, 18 years
31. Hungary . . .	Constitutional monarchy	1920	Regent and prime minister	Upper House	Lower House	All males 24 years and over; females, 30 years and over
32. India (British) .	Empire under the British crown	1876	Viceroy, representative of king of England	Council of State	Legislative Assembly	Voting restricted to specified males and a few females
33. Irish Free State	Self-governing dominion of the British Empire	1922	Governor-general (representative of king of England) and council	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adults 21 years and over
34. Italy	Kingdom	1860	King and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males 21 years and over; if married, 18 years
35. Japan	Empire of limited royal power	Constitution dated 1889	Emperor	House of Peers	House of Representatives	All males 25 years and over
36. Latvia	Republic	1922	President (elected by parliament and prime minister)	Parliament (one chamber)		All adults 20 years and over

37. Liberia	Republic	1847	President and council	Senate	House of Representatives	Electors must be of Negro blood and owners of land
38. Lithuania . . .	Republic	Independence declared 1918	President and prime minister	Diet (one chamber)		All adults
39. Mexico	Federative republic	1917	President and council	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males 21 years and over; if married, 18 years
40. Netherlands . .	Constitutional, hereditary monarchy	1814	Sovereign	First Chamber	Second Chamber	All citizens 25 years and over
41. New Zealand .	Self-governing dominion of the British Empire	1852	Governor-general (representative of king of England)	Legislative Council	House of Representatives	All adult Europeans; every adult Maori resident
42. Nicaragua . .	Republic	1913	President	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adult males
43. Norway . . .	Constitutional, hereditary monarchy	First constitution, 1814	King and prime minister	Upper House	Lower House	All adults 23 years and over
44. Panama . . .	Republic	1903	President and cabinet	Chamber of Deputies		All adult males
45. Paraguay . . .	Republic	1870	President and ministry	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adult males
46. Persia	Constitutional, hereditary monarchy	1906	Shah and prime minister	National Assembly (one chamber)		All males 25 years and over
47. Peru	Republic	1824 (constitution dated 1920)	President	Senate	House of Representatives	All males over 21 years, or under 21 if married
48. Poland	Republic	Constitution adopted 1921	President and premier	Senate	Diet	All adults 21 years and over
49. Portugal . . .	Republic	1910	President and premier	Upper Chamber	National Council	All adult males
50. Rumania . . .	Constitutional monarchy	1861	King and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adults 21 years and over

TABLE XLV. HOW THE WORLD WAS GOVERNED IN 1931 (CONTINUED)

NAME OF COUNTRY	TYPE OF GOVERNMENT	WHEN PRESENT GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED	CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS	NATIONAL LEGISLATURE		WHO CAN VOTE
				Upper House	Lower House	
51. Salvador . . .	Republic	Present constitution dated 1886	President and cabinet	Congress (one chamber)		All males 18 years and over
52. Siam	Kingdom	1895	King and council of state	Legislative Council (appointed by the crown)		No voting
53. Spain	Republic	1931	President	Chamber of Deputies (Cortes)		All adults
54. Sweden	Constitutional monarchy	1809	King and premier	First Chamber	Second Chamber	All adults 23 years and over
55. Switzerland . .	Republic	1874	Federal council and president of the confederation	Council of States	National Council	All adults 21 years and over
56. Turkey	Republic	1923	President and council	Grand National Assembly (one chamber)		Voting restricted to certain males
57. Union of South Africa . . .	Self-governing dominion of the British Empire	1909	Governor-general, representative of king of England	Senate	House of Assembly	Qualifications differ in various provinces
58. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics . . .	Republic	1917	Council of People's Commissars (dictatorship of workers' leaders)	All-Russian Congress of Soviets		Voting restricted to specified working classes
59. United States of America . . .	Republic	Constitution dated 1787	President and cabinet	Senate	House of Representatives	All adults 21 years and over
60. Uruguay . . .	Republic	1825 (new constitution in 1919)	President and national administrative council	Senate	Chamber of Representatives	All adults 18 years and over
61. Venezuela . . .	Federal republic	1830	President (elected by congress) and cabinet	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All males 21 years and over
62. Yugoslavia . .	Kingdom	1929	King and prime minister	Senate	Chamber of Deputies	All adult males

in the greater part of the modern world. As it did so, there started a slow but steady advance toward government by a larger part of the people.

The history of these experiments in government is the story of the change from the one-man idea to the many-men idea. Abraham Lincoln's hope for government of the people, by the people, and for the people had not yet been achieved in most countries of the world, but the trend of political affairs was definitely in that direction.

In 1931 more than half the governments of the world were democratic republics

If you will classify the kinds of government listed in Table XLV, you will find that of 62 governments there were, in 1931,

16 constitutional, limited, or democratic monarchies;
38 republics (including Russia);
6 dominions, or commonwealths (including India), 5 of which are essentially republics;
2 absolute monarchies (Ethiopia and Siam).

Note that absolute monarchy had disappeared from all but two states, — Ethiopia and Siam, — and these had only just begun to feel the influence of democracy as it existed in Western civilization.

In the Western world not a single absolute, or divine-right, ruler remained. The few important ones that existed in 1914 at the outbreak of the World War had been swept away in the series of revolutions which spread over central and eastern Europe during the years 1917, 1918, 1919. The powerful empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, governing nearly 250,000,000 people, had been broken up by popular uprisings. Republics were set up in their places. The German and Austrian emperors were exiled, and a Czar and all his immediate relatives were put to death. Assemblies of one kind or another, representing large groups of people, took the place of the one-man governments. The name usually given to each was *republic.*

But *republic* is almost a new name to us. What does it mean? The term *republic* may stand for different kinds of government to different people. One leading American authority on government describes it as any state "in which the will of the state rests with more than one person."[1] Such a broad definition could include many kinds of government which existed in 1931 — aristocracies, oligarchies, and all sorts of democracies. It could include governments like that of Great Britain, which, although listed in our table as a constitutional, hereditary monarchy, is really a government of *many* people.

On the other hand, many authorities agree with Lord Macaulay that Great Britain is a "crowned republic," for the king has almost no governing power. He reigns, but he does not *rule*. Then, too, the term *republic* could certainly include the self-governing commonwealths and dominions of the British Empire — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Irish Free State, and the Union of South Africa. It might also include other democratic monarchies, such as Belgium and the Netherlands.

The term *republic*, then, as generally used, could have represented as widely differing governments as those of the United States, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Mexico, and Poland.

The Growing Democratic Character of Government

Regardless of what names we may give to the changing governments of the world, that they were becoming more *democratic* in character is clear. With each change in civilization *a larger proportion of all the people shared in the government.* Turn back through the chapters of this book and scan again swiftly the story up to 1931 of the eight governments we have studied. One important fact you will note: there was a slow but sure march away from absolute one-man or oligarchic rule *toward* democracy, the rule by larger and larger groups.

This trend had been brought about because new groups of people had risen to economic power. Recall what had happened in England and the other countries. Remember that in England, after 1600, the smaller landowners and the merchants of the towns were steadily acquiring riches. And, as they did so, they

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[1] James Wilford Garner, *Political Science and Government*, p. 254. American Book Company, New York, 1930.

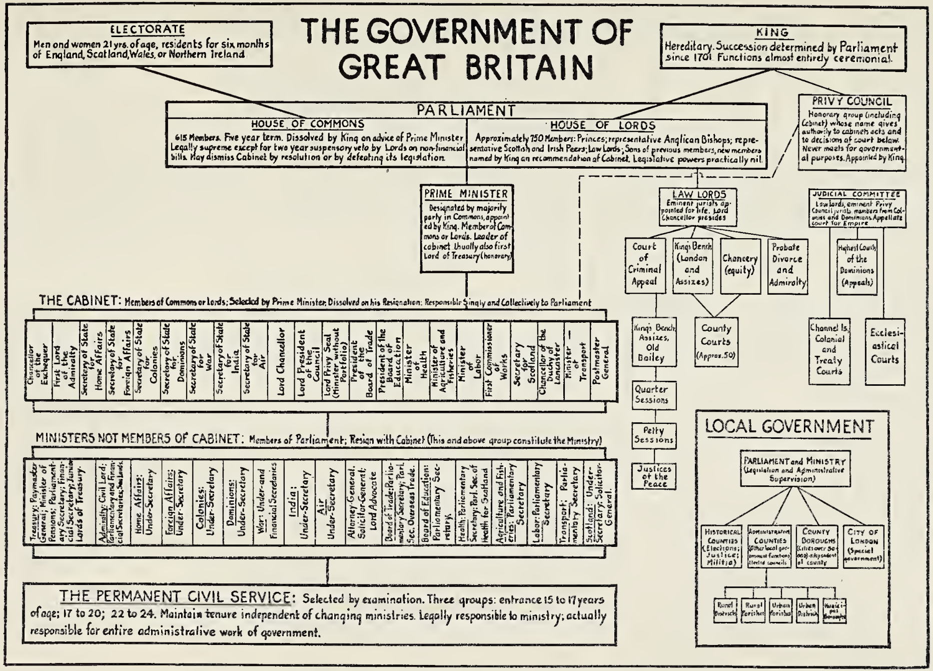
THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN
ELECTORATE
Men and women 21 yrs. of age, residents for six months of England, Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland
KING
Hereditary. Succession determined by Parliament since 1701 Functions almost entirely ceremonial.
PARLIAMENT
HOUSE OF COMMONS
615 Members. Five year term. Dissolved by King on advice of Prime Minister. Legally supreme except for two year suspensory veto by Lords on non-financial bills. May dismiss Cabinet by resolution or by defeating its legislation.
HOUSE OF LORDS
Approximately 750 Members: Princes; representative Anglican Bishops; representative Scottish and Irish Peers; Law Lords; Sons of previous members, new members named by King on recommendation of Cabinet. Legislative powers practically nil.
PRIVY COUNCIL
Honorary group (including Cabinet) whose name gives authority to cabinet acts and to decisions of court below. Never meets for governmental purposes. Appointed by King
PRIME MINISTER
Designated by majority party in Commons, appointed by King. Member of Commons or Lords. Leader of cabinet. Usually also first Lord of Treasury (honorary)
LAW LORDS
Eminent jurists appointed for life. Lord Chancellor presides
JUDICIAL COMMITTEE
Law lords, eminent Privy Council jurists, members from Colonies and Dominions. Appellate court for Empire
Court of Criminal Appeal
King's Bench (London and Assizes)
Chancery (equity)
Probate Divorce and Admiralty
Highest Courts of the Dominions (Appeals)
King's Bench, Assizes, Old Bailey
County Courts (Approx. 50)
Channel Is. Colonial and Treaty Courts
Ecclesiastical Courts
Quarter Sessions
Petty Sessions
Justices of the Peace
THE CABINET: Members of Commons or Lords; Selected by Prime Minister. Dissolved on his Resignation: Responsible Singly and Collectively to Parliament
Chancellor of the Exchequer
First Lord of the Admiralty
Secretary of State for Home Affairs
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Secretary of State for Colonies
Secretary of State for Dominions
Secretary of State for War
Secretary of State for India
Secretary of State for Air
Lord Chancellor
Lord President of the Council
Lord Privy Seal (Minister without Portfolio)
President of the Board of Trade
President of the Board of Education
Minister of Health
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries
Minister of Labor
First Commissioner of Works
Secretary for Scotland
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
Minister of Transport
Postmaster General
MINISTERS NOT MEMBERS OF CABINET: Members of Parliament; Resign with Cabinet (This and above group constitute the Ministry)
Treasury: Paymaster General; Minister of Pensions; Parliamentary Secretary; Financial Secretary; Junior Lords of Treasury.
Admiralty: Civil Lord; Parliamentary and Financial Secretaries; Sea Lords.
Home Affairs: Under-Secretary
Foreign Affairs: Under-Secretary
Colonies: Under-Secretary
Dominions: Under-Secretary
War: Under- and Financial Secretaries
India: Under-Secretary
Air Under-Secretary
Attorney-General. Solicitor-General; Lord Advocate
Board of Trade: Parliamentary Secretary; Parl. Sec. Overseas Trade.
Board of Education: Parliamentary Secretary.
Health: Parliamentary Secretary: Parl. Sec. of Health for Scotland
Agriculture and Fisheries: Parliamentary Secretary
Labor: Parliamentary Secretary
Transport: Parliamentary Secretary
Scotland: Under-Secretary: Solicitor-General.
THE PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE: Selected by examination. Three groups: entrance 15 to 17 years of age; 17 to 20; 22 to 24. Maintain tenure independent of changing ministries. Legally responsible to ministry; actually responsible for entire administrative work of government.
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
PARLIAMENT and MINISTRY (Legislation and Administrative Supervision)
HISTORICAL COUNTIES (Elections; Justice; Militia)
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES (Other local government functions) elected councils
COUNTY BOROUGHS (Cities over 50,000) independent of county
CITY OF LONDON (Special government)
Rural Districts
Rural Parishes
Urban Parishes
Urban Districts
Municipal Boroughs

FIG. 221. NOTE. Figures 221–227 (also Fig. 153) are from material prepared by Elmer D. Graper and James C. Charlesworth and are reproduced by permission of *The Scholastic*. Figures 225–227 are adapted

took the ruling power away from the kings. After 1800, with the development of the Industrial Revolution, a new class of well-to-do business men — manufacturers, bankers, and merchants — rose to power and played an increasingly important part in government. As this happened, more and more of the people in the lower middle class amassed considerable wealth, acquired education, and successfully demanded a larger share in government.

As the Industrial Revolution advanced, the mass of the people crowded together into cities, received more and more education, and began to think more about their share in government. Soon they insisted on having political rights, as well as the civil rights which the ruling classes were giving them. As a result of all these things the right to vote and hold office in England had by 1918 been given to all adult men and to women over 30 years of age. By 1920 times had changed so greatly that former miners and machinists, clerks and teachers, had become members of the House of Commons. Some even became ministers in the British cabinet.

Thus, although England still had a king and a nobility, she had really become, in a high degree, a *representative democracy.*

The stories of the march toward democracy in France and Germany, although very different in many respects, indicate one great development in common: By 1920 democratic governments by representatives of large groups of the people had been set up. Kings and emperors, dukes and counts, and many other people of the so-called upper classes were eliminated from the government. In their places were representatives of the new business men, of teachers, lawyers, doctors, and other professional people, of clerks, miners, mechanics, and other workers.

The Chief Kinds of Government

To clear up our thinking about this complicated mixture of ways of governing, let us define briefly the chief kinds of government. In doing so let us arrange them in order, from the *one-man* type to the *all-men* type. With these definitions in mind we can summarize more clearly the status in 1931 of government in the world. Because we have seen these governments developing and changing, very brief definitions will be sufficient.

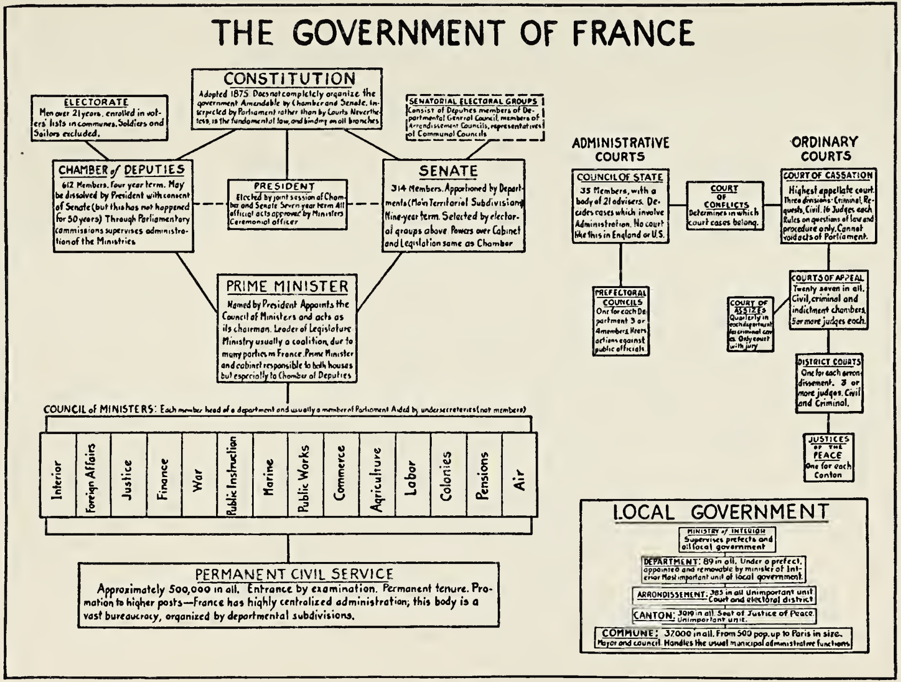
THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE
CONSTITUTION
Adopted 1875 Does not completely organize the government Amendable by Chamber and Senate. Interpreted by Parliament rather than by Courts Nevertheless, is the fundamental law, and binding on all branches
ELECTORATE
Men over 21 years. enrolled in voters' lists in communes. Soldiers and Sailors excluded.
SENATORIAL ELECTORAL GROUPS
Consist of Deputies members of Departmental General Council, members of Arrondissement Councils, representatives of Communal Councils
CHAMBER of DEPUTIES
612 Members. Four year term. May be dissolved by President with consent of Senate (but this has not happened for 50 years) Through Parliamentary commissions supervises administration of the Ministries
PRESIDENT
Elected by joint session of Chamber and Senate Seven year term All official acts approved by Ministers Ceremonial officer
SENATE
314 Members. Apportioned by Departments (Main Territorial Subdivision) Nine-year term. Selected by electoral groups above Powers over Cabinet and Legislation same as Chamber
PRIME MINISTER
Named by President Appoints the Council of Ministers and acts as its chairman. Leader of Legislature Ministry usually a coalition, due to many parties in France. Prime Minister and cabinet responsible to both houses but especially to Chamber of Deputies
COUNCIL of MINISTERS: Each member head of a department and usually a member of Parliament Aided by undersecretaries (not members)
Interior
Foreign Affairs
Justice
Finance
War
Public Instruction
Marine
Public Works
Commerce
Agriculture
Labor
Colonies
Pensions
Air
PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE
Approximately 500,000 in all. Entrance by examination. Permanent tenure. Promotion to higher posts—France has highly centralized administration; this body is a vast bureaucracy, organized by departmental subdivisions.
ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS
COUNCIL OF STATE
35 Members, with a body of 21 advisers. Decides cases which involve Administration. No court like this in England or U.S.
PREFECTORAL COUNCILS
One for each Department 3 or 4 members Hears actions against public officials
COURT OF CONFLICTS
Determines in which court cases belong.
ORDINARY COURTS
COURT OF CASSATION
Highest appellate court. Three divisions: Criminal, Requests, Civil. 16 Judges each Rules on questions of law and procedure only. Cannot void acts of Parliament.
COURTS OF APPEAL
Twenty seven in all. Civil, criminal and indictment chambers, 5 or more judges each.
COURT OF ASSIZES
Quarterly in each department for criminal cases. Only court with jury
DISTRICT COURTS
One for each arrondissement. 3 or more judges. Civil and Criminal.
JUSTICES OF THE PEACE
One for each Canton
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
MINISTRY of INTERIOR
Supervises prefects and all local government
DEPARTMENT: 89 in all. Under a prefect, appointed and removable by minister of Interior Most important unit of local government.
ARRONDISSEMENT: 385 in all Unimportant unit Court and electoral district
CANTON: 3019 in all. Seat of Justice of Peace. Unimportant unit.
COMMUNE: 37,000 in all. From 500 pop. up to Paris in size. Mayor and council. Handles the usual municipal administrative functions

FIG. 222

1. Monarchies

Most monarchies have been *hereditary*. That is, the crown has passed from the ruler to his eldest son or daughter or other relatives according to a definite law of succession. A few have been *elective*, as in England on one or two occasions, and in Poland. It is generally agreed that there are two types of monarchies: (1) absolute, or despotic, and (2) constitutional, or parliamentary.

1. *An absolute* (*unlimited*), *or despotic, monarchy* is the type in which one man really rules. His will is the law of the land. He can say, as Louis XIV is reported to have said, "I am the State." We have seen examples of this in certain Prussian and Russian monarchs — Frederick the Great in Prussia and Peter the Great and other Romanovs in Russia. By 1931 such monarchies had, with two exceptions, been eliminated from the modern world.

2. *A constitutional* (*limited*), *or parliamentary, monarchy* is one in which a monarch *reigns* but does not rule alone. His acts are *limited* by a constitution which definitely states his powers and those of representatives of the people as a whole. In some cases the constitution is a single written document, as in the United States and as in recently formed republics. In other cases, notably in Great Britain, the constitution is not a single, formal written document. It is instead a collection of agreements and laws which have been made during centuries of experience in government. Recall, for example, the various charters of liberty which make up the British constitution.

2. Aristocracies and oligarchies [1]

Passing from these forms of one-man rule — either absolute or limited — we consider next examples of government in which a small group or class controls the state. In ancient times this was a most common type. Thus, the government of the Greeks was carried on by a small, aristocratic, well-to-do upper class.

The first governments in most of the American colonies — in Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, and the Carolinas — were illustrations of this type of government. A few men governed the entire colony. There was no assembly made up of representatives of the people. In one sense this form of government was in 1931 nearly nonexistent on the earth; but, as we shall soon see, there is some reason for believing that actually many so-called democracies were oligarchies of one kind or another.

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[1] Some authorities attempt to distinguish between these two types, — aristocracy and oligarchy, — but for our purposes it is not necessary to do so.

3. Democracies

If you ask the first ten people whom you meet what they mean by a "democratic government," do you think their answers will agree? Probably they will not, for the term *democracy* has been used with many different meanings.

It will probably happen, however, that their answers will agree in one general respect. They will all insist that a democratic government is one in which a very large proportion of the people have a share in the government. It will be defined nearly always as a government of *many men* rather than as a government of *one man* or of a *few men.* But, in other respects, definitions will differ widely.

Perhaps if we next show differences between various kinds of democracies it will be easier to define the idea more definitely. In the first place, democracies can be thought of as direct, or "pure," on the one hand, and indirect, or representative, on the other.

1. *Direct, or pure, democracies.* A pure democracy is one in which the people pass, put into effect, and interpret laws *directly*, in public assembly. The New England town meeting is a good example of this form of government.[1] Here the great majority of the citizens actually come together, discuss their problems, and make decisions. Each citizen casts his vote directly.

The outstanding examples of pure democracy in state government are those of certain cantons in Switzerland. Both the territory and the population of these cantons are very small (about equal to half a dozen American townships), and the people can come together in "open-air parliament" and decide public questions, just as they have done for 1000 years.

But a moment's thought will show us that because of the rapid growth of population in the preceding century and the expansion of national territories the town-meeting type of government had to be abandoned in most cities or states.

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[1] See Volume V of this series, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, Chap. X.

Today this form of government can be used successfully only in *small localities*, in which the total number of electors is also small. Face-to-face meeting, public exchange of views, and the registering of judgments are necessary.

Surely it would be impossible for the people of New York City, Chicago, or any other large modern city to "come together," discuss their problems, and register public decisions! How, then, could the people of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, or any of the 60-odd governments use the direct form of national government? Of course they could not.

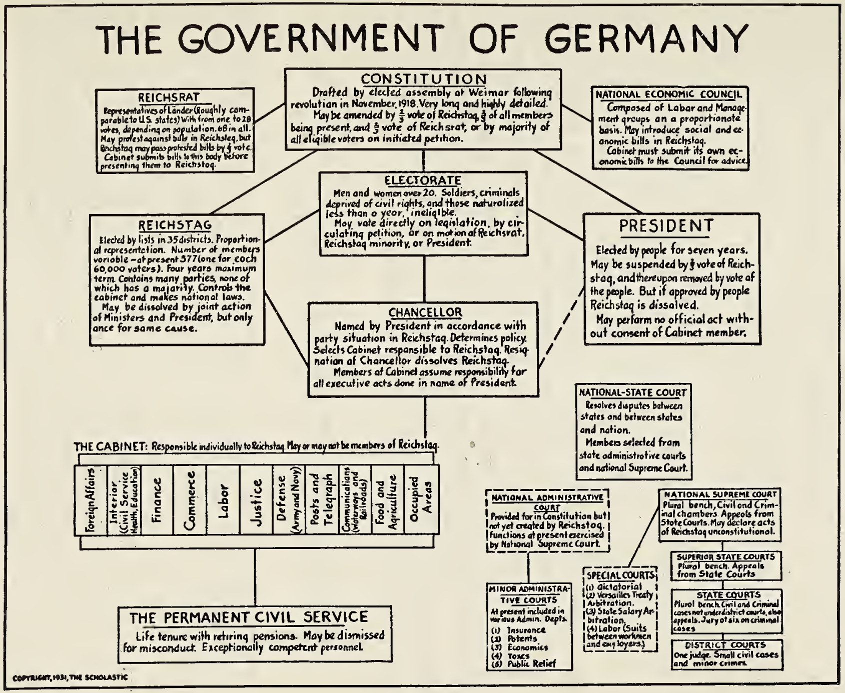
2. *Indirect, or representative, democracies.* So, because the situation made it necessary, modern peoples everywhere devised one or another form of indirect, or representative, government. In this form the citizens chose people to represent them in public assembly, discuss their problems of government, and pass laws.

We have already seen how such a democratic public assembly grew up in England after 1200 and was known as the House of Commons. In the United States, after 1789, the same kind of body was known as the House of Representatives. In France, after 1814, such a body was called the Chamber of Deputies, and in Germany, after 1871, the Reichstag.

In almost all the other countries in 1931 such a representative assembly acted in place of the whole body of citizens. Indeed, throughout all western Europe and the Americas one kind or another of representative government was employed.

Note, furthermore, that most of the so-called *monarchies* in that year were really representative democracies. Great Britain, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands — all were constitutional, or limited, monarchies. Yet all were really *representative* democracies. Each had a constitution, restricting the powers of the king. Each had a legislative assembly to which was given the chief power to pass laws, levy taxes, declare war, make treaties, and do other things important to the lives of the people.

Thus we see that the general name given to a government — whether it was republic, monarchy, commonwealth, or kingdom — is not the important thing. The really important question is:



THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY

CONSTITUTION

Drafted by elected assembly at Weimar following revolution in November, 1918. Very long and highly detailed.

May be amended by $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of Reichstag, $\frac{2}{3}$ of all members being present, and $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of Reichsrat, or by majority of all eligible voters on initiated petition.

REICHSRAT

Representatives of Länder (Roughly comparable to U.S. states) with from one to 28 votes, depending on population. 68 in all. May protest against bills in Reichstag, but Reichstag may pass protested bills by $\frac{2}{3}$ vote.

Cabinet submits bills to this body before presenting them to Reichstag.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Composed of Labor and Management groups on a proportionate basis. May introduce social and economic bills in Reichstag.

Cabinet must submit its own economic bills to the Council for advice.

ELECTORATE

Men and women over 20. Soldiers, criminals deprived of civil rights, and those naturalized less than a year, ineligible.

May vote directly on legislation, by circulating petition, or on motion of Reichsrat, Reichstag minority, or President.

REICHSTAG

Elected by lists in 35 districts. Proportional representation. Number of members variable—at present 577 (one for each 60,000 voters). Four years maximum term. Contains many parties, none of which has a majority. Controls the cabinet and makes national laws.

May be dissolved by joint action of Ministers and President, but only once for same cause.

PRESIDENT

Elected by people for seven years. May be suspended by $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of Reichstag, and thereupon removed by vote of the people. But if approved by people Reichstag is dissolved.

May perform no official act without consent of Cabinet member.

CHANCELLOR

Named by President in accordance with party situation in Reichstag. Determines policy. Selects Cabinet responsible to Reichstag. Resignation of Chancellor dissolves Reichstag.

Members of Cabinet assume responsibility for all executive acts done in name of President.

THE CABINET: Responsible individually to Reichstag. May or may not be members of Reichstag.

THE PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE

Life tenure with retiring pensions. May be dismissed for misconduct. Exceptionally competent personnel.

NATIONAL-STATE COURT

Resolves disputes between states and between states and nation.

Members selected from state administrative courts and national Supreme Court.

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COURT

Provided for in Constitution but not yet created by Reichstag. Functions at present exercised by National Supreme Court.

MINOR ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS

At present included in various Admin. Depts.

(1) Insurance
(2) Patents
(3) Economics
(4) Taxes
(5) Public Relief

SPECIAL COURTS

(1) Dictatorial
(2) Versailles Treaty Arbitration.
(3) State Salary Arbitration.
(4) Labor (Suits between workmen and employers.)

NATIONAL SUPREME COURT

Plural bench, Civil and Criminal chambers. Appeals from State Courts. May declare acts of Reichstag unconstitutional.

SUPERIOR STATE COURTS

Plural bench. Appeals from State Courts

STATE COURTS

Plural bench. Civil and Criminal cases not under district courts, also appeals. Jury of six on criminal cases

DISTRICT COURTS

One judge. Small civil cases and minor crimes.

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FIG. 223

Did the government carry out the will of the people as a whole? Or, more definitely: Did it carry out the will of a majority (more than 50 per cent) of the people?

In 1931 the Soviet government was an example of an indirect form of government that was representative to only a slight degree. Notice from the chart of figure 153 the *indirect* and *unrepresentative* character of that Russian government. The people themselves chose representatives who met in local soviets. These representatives chose from their number other representatives who met as a higher congress. They, in turn, chose others for a regional congress. So the method continued until finally a very small council of men governed the country. But they were not direct representatives of the people. They were no more than representatives of representatives of representatives of small groups of local interested people who belonged to the Communist party.

From these examples we are reminded that representative government itself varied greatly. It might be (1) so direct that each citizen voted directly for presidents, senators, deputies, mayors, judges, and the like; or (2) so indirect, as in Russia, that it had practically lost its representative character.

Most Representative Governments in 1931 were Parliamentary and had Two Houses

Following the example of England, the leading governments of the world had set up one form or another of parliamentary government. (See figures 221, 222, 223, and 224.) In the greater number of the chief representative governments of the world, laws were made by two branches of the legislature. This came to be called a *bicameral* (two-chambered) government. In 1931 there were only two examples of the *unicameral* (one-chambered) government among the more powerful governments of the world — Spain and Russia.

The two-chambered scheme usually consisted of a lower house, or popular assembly, elected directly by the citizens. This was given different names in different countries: House of Commons, House of Representatives, Chamber of Deputies, and so on. There was also an upper house, elected generally by other representative bodies and not so directly by *popular* choice. In this case also there were various names: the Senate,[1] the House of Lords, the House of Peers, the Upper House.

Why do you think those modern governments developed in this bicameral way? A second branch of the legislature was considered to be necessary for several reasons:

1. To check too hasty or rash and impassioned lawmaking by the popular lower house. The upper house thus became a check on the lower one.
2. To protect the people from the possible tyranny of a single legislating body. In the history of the United States we know how the Senate has delayed the passing of new legislation. The same has been true of the House of Lords in England. Although very frequently the second house has thereby retarded progress, in the long run experts believe that the security of the nation is greatly enhanced by requiring the agreement of a second chamber in lawmaking.
3. To represent more fairly the various regions or units, such as the states of the United States, brought together under a federal government.

In the advance of democracy the tendency has been to restrict the powers of the upper chambers and to put the government chiefly into the hands of the lower, popular, directly representative chambers. We have already seen examples of that in Great Britain, in the limitation of the powers of the House of Lords.

THE TWO PRINCIPAL TYPES OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT: (1) CABINET (EUROPEAN); (4) PRESIDENTIAL (AMERICAN)

During the century prior to 1931 representative government had developed in Europe and in the Americas in two somewhat different ways. European countries tended to follow England's example and organize what is known as cabinet government. Latin-American countries tended to follow the United States and set up what is called presidential government. As we now study examples of the two, let us note three important differences between them in 1931.

First, the cabinet, as in Great Britain, France, and Germany, consisted of a number of department heads, each of whom was generally a member of one chamber of the parliament. Thus the proposals of the heads of government departments for new legislation *could be discussed with them in person,* for they were present on the floor of the assembly. The executive branch and the legislative branch interlocked and worked harmoniously together.

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[1] Since 1913 the Senate of the United States has been elected by popular vote.

This was not true in the presidential form employed in the United States and in nearly all the Latin-American republics. Heads of government departments were never members of the senate or house of representatives; hence misunderstandings and conflicts frequently developed between the executive and legislative branches of government.

The second important difference had to do with the *responsibility of government to the people.* Some people considered the European cabinet form superior to the American presidential form because under it the heads of departments, including the *prime minister,* were directly responsible to the legislature, which in turn was responsible to the people.

As you have learned in the case of the British Parliament, whenever the cabinet — the prime minister and his ministers (heads of departments) — cannot command the support of the majority of the Parliament, it must go out of office, and a new cabinet (called a new government) is appointed. If the defeated cabinet members believe that their policies are really supported by a majority of all the voting citizens, then, instead of asking for a new cabinet to be appointed, they dissolve Parliament and "go to the country." That means that they have a new countrywide election. If their candidates win at this election, they obtain a majority of the seats in Parliament, and the support of the cabinet is assured.

The presidential system is very different. In the United States it was decided that the president was to be elected for a term of four years. During those four years nothing could put him out of office except his being found guilty in an impeachment for criminal or certain other actions. The president *appoints* his own cabinet and can ask for their resignation whenever he wishes. Thus for four-year periods the president and the heads of government departments are not responsible to the Congress and therefore to the people.

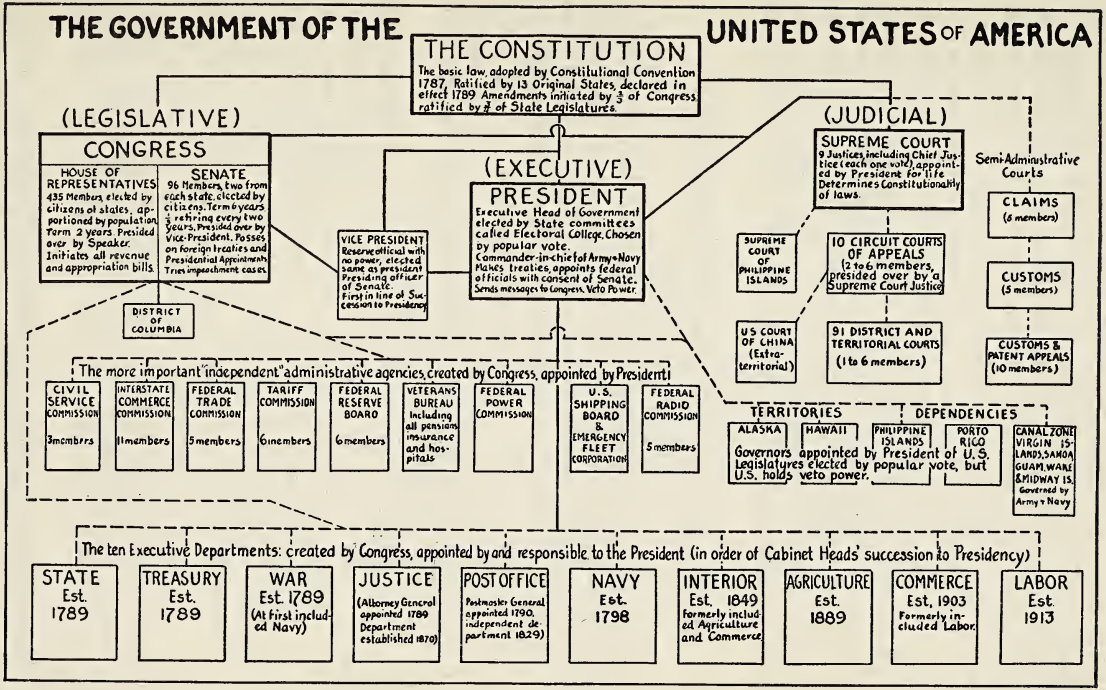
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE CONSTITUTION
The basic law, adopted by Constitutional Convention 1787, Ratified by 13 Original States, declared in effect 1789 Amendments initiated by 2/3 of Congress ratified by 3/4 of State Legislatures.
(LEGISLATIVE)
CONGRESS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 435 Members, elected by citizens of states, apportioned by population Term 2 years. Presided over by Speaker. Initiates all revenue and appropriation bills.
SENATE 96 Members, two from each state, elected by citizens. Term 6 years. 1/3 retiring every two years. Presided over by Vice-President. Posses on foreign treaties and Presidential Appointments Tries impeachment cases.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
(EXECUTIVE)
PRESIDENT
Executive Head of Government elected by State committees called Electoral College, Chosen by popular vote. Commander-in-chief of Army+Navy Makes treaties, appoints federal officials with consent of Senate. Sends messages to Congress. Veto Power.
VICE PRESIDENT Reserve official with no power, elected same as president Presiding officer of Senate. First in line of Succession to Presidency
(JUDICIAL)
SUPREME COURT 9 Justices, including Chief Justice (each one vote), appointed by President for life Determines Constitutionality of laws.
SUPREME COURT OF PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
10 CIRCUIT COURTS OF APPEALS (2 to 6 members, presided over by a Supreme Court Justice)
US COURT OF CHINA (Extra-territorial)
91 DISTRICT AND TERRITORIAL COURTS (1 to 6 members)
Semi-Administrative Courts
CLAIMS (5 members)
CUSTOMS (5 members)
CUSTOMS & PATENT APPEALS (10 members)
TERRITORIES
ALASKA
HAWAII
DEPENDENCIES
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
PORTO RICO
Governors appointed by President of U.S. Legislatures elected by popular vote, but U.S. holds veto power.
CANAL ZONE VIRGIN ISLANDS, SAMOA, GUAM, WAKE & MIDWAY IS. Governed by Army + Navy
The more important "independent" administrative agencies, created by Congress, appointed by President
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION 3 members
INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION 11 members
FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION 5 members
TARIFF COMMISSION 6 members
FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD 6 members
VETERANS BUREAU Including all pensions insurance and hospitals
FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION
U.S. SHIPPING BOARD & EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION
FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION 5 members
The ten Executive Departments: created by Congress, appointed by and responsible to the President (in order of Cabinet Heads' succession to Presidency)
STATE Est. 1789
TREASURY Est. 1789
WAR Est. 1789 (At first included Navy)
JUSTICE (Attorney General appointed 1789 Department established 1870)
POST OFFICE Postmaster General appointed 1790, independent department 1829)
NAVY Est. 1798
INTERIOR Est. 1849 Formerly included Agriculture and Commerce
AGRICULTURE Est. 1889
COMMERCE Est. 1903 Formerly included Labor.
LABOR Est. 1913

FIG. 224

After the foregoing discussion it is easy to recognize a third difference. Cabinet government is *responsive to the people.* A European cabinet goes out of office within a day or two from the time a proposal is defeated in Parliament. Thus the representatives of the people constantly keep their hands on government itself. Presidential government, on the other hand, is inflexible. Unless the members resign or are removed by the president, an American cabinet stays in office and does practically as it pleases, even if an overwhelming majority of the people turn against it. Not until its fixed term of office is completed is the cabinet disbanded. This kind of government, Europeans say, is rigid, — *not responsive to the people,* as government in a democracy should be.

In 1931 nearly All Nations were governed by Political Parties

All the foregoing discussion of governments dealt with the theoretical form of government — the *paper* government. Behind the scenes, as we have found in our study of each of the chief countries, the real government was by *politicians, the leaders of political parties.* It was they who really controlled the government.

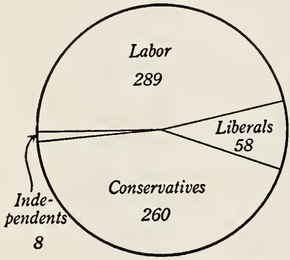

Fig. 225. The political division of the British House of Commons in 1931 and the number of representatives of each party

Now there were differences between countries as to the way in which political parties were employed. In the United States and in Great Britain the voters tended to divide themselves chiefly between *two major parties.* In the United States there had rarely been a national election in which a third party commanded a large proportion of the votes of the people. At one election after another either the Democratic or the Republican party (or parties corresponding to them, if not so named) had won.

So, too, in Great Britain. During the 1700's elections had been divided between the Tories and the Whigs. In the middle 1800's these became, respectively, the Conservative and the Liberal party. Even then the voters still continued to support one or the other.

But, as time went on, the workers of the trade-unions organized their own political party — the Labor party. This party gradually gathered more and more people under its banner. By 1929 it almost commanded a majority in the House of Commons.[1] (See figure 225.) As a rule, however, the two-party scheme of government has remained, both in the United States and in Great Britain.

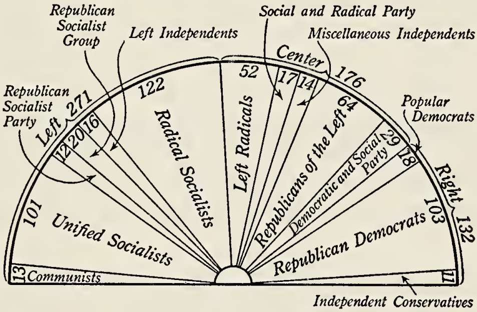

FIG. 226. The political division of the French Chamber of Deputies and the number of representatives of each party

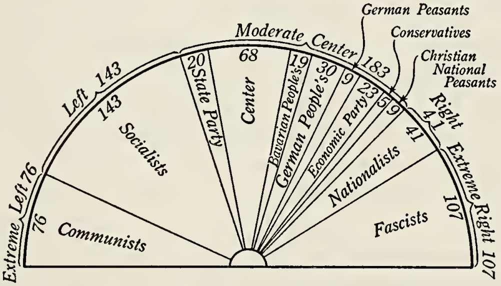

FIG. 227. The political division of the German Reichstag and the number of representatives of each party

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[1] In the election of October, 1931, the Labor party lost heavily. At that time the Labor vote was just over 6,500,000, while the Conservative vote was nearly 12,000,000, and the Liberal vote 2,000,000.

This had not been true in France, Germany, and other European countries. Compare figures 226 and 227 with figure 225. Note the large number of parties in France and Germany.

In 1931 there were fourteen different parties in the French parliament, twelve different parties in the German Reichstag, and no one of them was able to command even a fourth of all the votes. In order to pass laws parties had to combine and form "coalition" governments, representing several of the larger parties.

One conclusion of importance can be drawn from figures 225, 226, and 227. This is that the really liberal parties, including the labor and the radical, or "left," parties, had achieved a very important place in each of the leading parliaments of Europe.

After the World War an Epidemic of Dictatorships spread around the World

Until now our review of how the world was governed definitely points to a slow but steady advance toward more and more democracy. The one-man idea was steadily giving way to the many-men idea.

If, however, we scrutinize the actual governments behind the paper descriptions in Table XLV, we shall find facts that appear to upset this conclusion. Careful study of governments shows that there were in 1931 not less than fifteen dictators who had absolute control over more than 350,000,000 people; if China is included as a dictatorship, the number increases to 750,000,000.

After 1916, in one country after another, strong, ambitious leaders at the head of well-disciplined troops overthrew the existing governments and installed themselves as sole autocratic rulers. They took various titles. Mussolini of Italy called himself prime minister and secretary of the interior. Joseph Stalin of Russia was called secretary of the Communist party. Alexander I of Yugoslavia was king. Carmona of Portugal, Mustafa Kemal of Turkey, and others called themselves presidents. It is interesting to note that practically all of them were military dictators, ruling by the force of arms. Possibly not one was the choice of a majority of the citizens of his country. Thus in these sixteen countries democracy was indeed lacking.

DICTATORSHIP GOVERNMENTS IN 1931

IN EUROPE

Russia
Italy
Poland
Portugal
Yugoslavia
Hungary
Greece

IN LATIN AMERICA

Chile
Peru
Bolivia
Venezuela
Cuba

IN ASIA

Turkey
Persia
Afghanistan
China (sectional dictators)

Does this mean that one-man government had really come back? Had democracy's onward march been stopped?

In Chapter XXV we shall discuss the current challenge of dictatorship to democracy around the world. But let us stop for a moment to see its significance up to 1931.

Scan carefully the list at the top of the page. Several very important generalizations occur to one at once.

TABLE XLVI

COMPARISON OF THE ABILITY OF THE PEOPLE TO READ AND WRITE IN DEMOCRACIES AND IN DICTATORSHIPS

Per Cent of Recruits for the Army who were Illiterate

Democracies			*Dictatorships*		
France	1870	22	Russia	1875	79
	1920	5		1920	60
Germany	1875	2	Italy	1870	57
	1920	0.3		1905	31

First, only one of these dictatorships — Italy — was in a country where there had been much industrial development. Not a single advanced industrial country was on the list.

Second, although some of these countries were called by democratic names, none had ever allowed as much representative democratic government as had the United States, Great Britain, France, or Germany.

Third, these dictatorships, with one or two exceptions, had been set up in countries that could be called in some degree "backward." That is, the people themselves were comparatively poor, uneducated, and inexperienced in self-government. Note the sharp contrast, shown in Table XLVI, in the percentages of illiterate people in the two leading dictatorships — Russia and Italy — and those of two of the leading representative democracies. Do not such facts suggest that dictatorships are much less likely to be adopted in countries in which the people have a considerable degree of education?

SUMMING UP THE GOVERNMENTS OF 1931

First, in spite of a wave of post-war dictatorships, one important conclusion has been clearly illustrated; namely, the increasingly democratic character of government. In 1931 all but a few of the governments of the world were democracies. Absolute autocratic government had nearly disappeared from the earth.

Second, many kinds of democracy were being experimented with. Most of these, however, whatever their differences, were alike in that they were more or less of the representative type. As populations had increased and people had concentrated in cities, it became increasingly clear that pure, or direct, democracies could not be carried on.

Third, in most countries of the world at that time the people had obtained paper guaranties of their rights in written constitutions. To this extent there had been marked gains in both civil and political liberty. As for civil liberty, there were few countries, indeed, in which the right of free speech, a free press, free assembly, freedom of worship, were not granted. There were few in which the rights of petitioning the government and receiving fair treatment in the courts were not guaranteed in a constitution. And throughout the Western world there were few restrictions upon the right to vote. In most of the leading countries women as well as men, the colored as well as the white races, the poor as well as the prosperous, had a share in government.

But there still remain grave and baffling problems of government. Since 1931 a new and world-wide challenge has been given to democratic government. In Italy, Germany, Japan, Russia, and many other countries freedom of speech and press and other civil liberties have been completely suspended. All discussion of the acts of government has been forbidden. Dictatorial government, as severe as that of the divine-right kings, has been set up again. Thus the steady march of the world toward democracy, which we have studied throughout this course, confronts a serious challenge.

Why? What has brought about this new challenge? In the concluding chapters we shall seek the answers to this question.

UNIT X

DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP: THE WORLD STRUGGLE

DEMOCRACY VERSUS DICTATORSHIP: THE WORLD STRUGGLE

Since 1931 the advance of democratic government has received the greatest setback in its history. Not only have the dictatorships of Italy and Russia and a score of small nations continued to exert absolute control over their people, but, in addition, other dictators have risen to seize power in two more major countries. All of these, along with several other lesser dictators, have turned Europe and Asia into an intercontinental armed camp and now threaten the peace of the world to an even greater extent than it was threatened in 1914. There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that the great powers, backed by the largest "peace time" armaments in the history of the world, are now lining up for a world struggle.

In the midst of this tension, which seems to herald a Second World War, the peoples of America, Great Britain, France, the Scandinavian countries, and other democratic countries are asking: What will happen to our *way of life? Can democracy survive?*

In Chapter XXV we shall canvass the way in which this new challenge to democracy arose. In Chapter XXVI we shall study the dramatic current of events in three of the major danger spots of Europe and Asia.

But, as we have seen, there are important credits on the ledger of modern civilization as well as serious debits. In Chapter XXVII, therefore, we shall appraise the achievements of our modern civilization and the heroic efforts of certain leaders to make the world safe for democracy through international coöperation and control.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY AROUND THE WORLD

I. The Fragile Interdependent Character of World Society

To understand the dangerous challenge to democracy around the world today we must first gather together in review what we have learned about three aspects of industrial civilization. First, we have read about its fragile interdependent character. Second, we have seen the weaknesses of democracy in times of crisis. Third, education and hence real understanding of modern problems by the people of many countries have never kept up with the changes and advances of the international world.

That there have been world-wide changes from self-sufficiency to interdependence has been brought out in all the books of this course. The story of Man and His Changing Society has shown us clearly that throughout thousands of years the peoples of each community or small region lived to themselves. They were self-sufficient. Although few comforts, as we know them, were available to the mass of the people, at least the necessities of life could be produced within the boundaries of each country.

Then came the invention of power-driven machines, the building of factories, and the drift of people from the farms to the manufacturing cities. Self-sufficiency disappeared. In its place came fragile interdependence. Each industrial country became dependent on many others for food, for fuel, for raw materials, for markets.

How did industrial civilization reach such a fragile condition?

Let us turn once more to England and show how the question can be answered by a brief review of her history.

An example: the factors in England's development to 1914

In 1450 little England was on the edge of the known world, practically isolated from international trade, which then centered in the Mediterranean. By 1914 she had become industrial Great Britain, the very center of world trade and of an empire of 400,000,000 people. She was mistress of the seas, banker of the world, and dictator of the economic fortunes of many peoples. What factors brought this about?

Briefly summed up, there are six factors of central importance.

First, the long "head start" in the use of power-driven machinery. Newcomen, Savery, Kay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Cartwright, to name only a few, were British men whose inventions made it possible to produce manufactured goods much more cheaply and in much greater quantity than they could be produced by the older handicraft industries. Soon vast amounts of capital were accumulated through corporations. Thus it was Great Britain which, 50 years before France and 75 years before Germany, developed the standardized mass production of food, shelter, and clothing and laid the foundation for an enormous national wealth and a high standard of living.

Second, large coal deposits. The development outlined above was made possible in large part by England's fortunate possession of staggering amounts of coal — coal to run her growing factories, locomotives, and ocean-going steamships; coal to sell to other countries in payment for the vast amounts of food that they were sending to England in England's own ships.

Third, an early superiority in the control of sea trade. She was mistress of the seas because of the skill, experience, and courage of her island-born sailors.

Fourth, population multiplying threefold in a century. Large families meant many people ready to work. In 1815 the British Isles contained 15,000,000 people; today they contain 49,000,000.

Fifth, the building of large and rich colonies in the undeveloped continents of the world. As population grew, England's surplus sons emigrated in vast numbers and settled the dominions — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. For a long time these chiefly agricultural lands provided much of the food needed by the people of the homeland. As we know, by 1900 the latter had almost all left their farms and gone to work in factories, shops, and stores in the cities.

Sixth, all these factors combined to produce the building of the world's greatest empire. Again the head start! Using her merchant marine, her navy, her manufactured goods, her enormous reserves of coal, England led the way in seizing so-called backward regions of Asia and Africa. There she sold her goods, there she acquired needed raw materials, and there much of her growing wealth was invested.

These, in brief, were the factors which by 1914 made England the center of world trade, the world's banker, rich beyond the dreams of any people.

The lack of national planning in England's development

All this was done essentially without planning for the future. England's leaders went on their way without regard for a rapidly changing world. They tried to carry on in the twentieth century by the same hand-to-mouth method of exploitation that was used in the nineteenth. But the world changed swiftly between 1870 and 1914.

First, rivals arose — especially the United States, France, and Germany — who caught up with Britain's lead in the use of machines. After the war they even outdistanced her in the production of iron and steel, of coal, of cotton and woolen textiles, and of other goods. In 1929 she sold only 80 per cent as much goods as in 1913. A year later she sold one third less cotton, one fourth less coal, and nearly one half less iron and steel and textiles than before the war. As this happened, mills stood idle, and thousands of people were left without work.

Second, the value of England's coal dwindled greatly. In Germany, France, America, and Russia vast stores of coal were mined and sold around the world. This took away much of England's trade. In addition the fuel for power-driven machinery was transformed. Oil and hydroelectric power began to supplant steam power produced by coal-burning engines. Steadily England sold less coal; steadily more coal-miners were thrown out of work.

Third, Germany and later the United States and other countries built up a rich world trade, cutting further into Britain's exports.

Fourth, population continued to grow, but new jobs became comparatively fewer. As bigger and cleverer machines were invented, more and more men were thrown out of work. Surplus population! Technological unemployment!

Fifth, until the war hundreds of thousands of Britishers emigrated annually to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, to South Africa, finding places on the undeveloped farms or in the growing factories of these colonies. Then came a drastic change. One by one the dominions restricted immigration. A crisis indeed! The British Isles overpopulated, 1,000,000 unemployed even in times of prosperity, and no place to export the surplus labor!

Sixth, most of the colonies themselves became practically independent, home-ruled states within the British Commonwealth. No longer were they subordinate to little England. No longer could they be exploited.

Thus the nineteenth-century conditions which made Great Britain the leading world power have given place to new and less favorable twentieth-century conditions. How clear the seriousness of the problem is when one sums it up! England vastly overpopulated, four out of five of her people in cities, a nation of shopkeepers dependent on the outside world for food, her foreign trade declining, her coal steadily declining in value, and her inability to sell goods to her old customers, who now produce more and more themselves.

Other industrial countries followed England's lead

These conditions, especially true of England, were reproduced on some scale in every other industrial country — the United States, France, Germany, Belgium, and Japan. Each one lacked certain foods or certain raw materials that it needed. These each one had to buy from other peoples. But to buy, each had to *sell* something to get the money with which to pay. Thus every country became dependent on other parts of the world for markets, that is, for places to sell their goods.

As this kind of *dependence* grew in the later 1800's, an intricate system of railways, motorized highways, steamship lines, telegraphs and telephones, banks, and wholesale and retail companies was developed to handle the trade of the world. But this merely increased the interdependence of peoples everywhere and created in industrial countries a dangerously fragile society.

France, Germany, the United States, and Japan, on a somewhat smaller scale than in England, have assumed that they too could continue to manufacture machine-made goods and sell them in the twentieth century in the same ways and to the same markets as they had done in the nineteenth century. But now they find that they cannot. They find that hitherto agricultural regions — for example, Egypt, southern Russia, China, India, even the southern United States — all have their own factories, power plants, and corporations manufacturing cloth, steel, implements, and other goods. And so the time came when the major industrial countries began to see that they must take careful account of the new conditions in the world and *plan together a way out.*

Instead of planning coöperatively the industrial countries fought the World War

The World War of 1914–1918 showed how fragile modern society had become. In the preceding century many vital arteries of transportation, communication, and trade had been built in Europe. As the warfare cut off Germany and Austria-Hungary from the rest of Europe, a major tragedy occurred to 475,000,000 people. The trade of a whole continent collapsed. Cities declined in size. City dwellers fled on foot to the country, seeking food to keep body and soul together. Others starved and died by the hundred thousand. Thus the war presented an excellent object lesson of the fragile interdependent character of the new industrial civilization. But the warfare itself also killed 26,000,000 people, smashed the peace and economic life of Europe, and aroused national hatreds and suspicions.

The chaos that set the stage for the rise of dictators

Although the world's most horrible war was fought in the hope that it would end war, the result was that the dangers and the chaos increased. Note a few important examples:

1. By 1931 one third of the people of the world were still ruled by the armed force of dictators. In nearly a score of countries

government was still as absolute as that of Louis XIV. Freedom of speech and other civil rights were denied in Russia, Italy, parts of Germany, China, India, Japan, and Latin America.

2. The world was "armed to the teeth." Instead of disarming at the close of the World War, the leading nations of both East and West put more men under arms than in 1913 and every year spent more for armies and navies than was spent two decades before.

3. The specter of mass unemployment confronted every industrial nation in the world. It was estimated that in 1931 not less than 15,000,000, and possibly 20,000,000, adult workers were walking the streets of their communities searching for jobs. Furthermore, new machines were constantly being produced, ousting more and more human beings from jobs. Technological unemployment again!

4. Faced by lack of orders for their goods, owners of industry and business all over the world were compelled to close their factories, mills, and warehouses. As the poverty of tens of millions of people mounted in 1932, 1933, and the following years, violence increased. A wave of strikes and lockouts and boycotts swept over the world.

5. Radical agitators seized upon the moment to organize socialist, communist, and anarchist groups in Germany, France, Japan, China, and other countries. In succeeding elections these groups obtained an increasing number of seats in the various national parliaments. By 1933 there were not less than 6,000,000 communists who voted at the polls in Germany alone. The socialist parties of France, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries increased their representation very rapidly.

6. The bulk of the middle classes, — small farmers and shopkeepers, skilled mechanics, clerks, and professional workers, — tired of war and conflict, despairing and discontented, became frightened and demanded peace and "law and order" of their governments at any cost.

7. As this took place all over Europe, increasing suspicion ruled the peoples. Germany defaulted her reparations. The financial credit of England wavered. France and the United

States gathered into the vaults of their national banks three fifths of the entire gold supply of the world. The credit of every leading nation tottered. Business men in various countries closed their factories, refusing to invest money or to order goods as long as the perilous condition of trade continued.

8. The score of Western countries were not the only ones to feel this unrest. In the Asiatic Far East there was an increasing agitation against Western domination. Everywhere, from Japan to Egypt, the Orient seethed with revolt.

II. Weaknesses of Democracy in Times of Crisis

It was in such conditions of utter chaos as these that the peoples of the world struggled to continue democratic government. But they worked under severe difficulties, for democracy now showed inefficiencies in a time of crisis.

It has long been understood that, in periods of crisis, democracy — that is, the parliamentary discussion and group decision of community and national problems — is a cumbersome, slow, and even dangerous method of government. At such times, as in the case of an earthquake, a flood, or a great fire, someone in the community affected must act immediately to preserve order and to keep public affairs going smoothly. Hence at such a moment a Strong Man — the Dictator — often arises and takes charge. He commands the people, or he persuades them by slogans, promises, threats, and fears, to do his bidding. So it was that out of the chaos of the French Revolution in the 1790's arose Napoleon. And so also, in our times, Mussolini has arisen in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Stalin in Russia, and others.

It is clear, however, that in such times of danger those in charge of democratic government can set it aside in one of two ways: (1) it can be done by armed force, by the seizure of government by a strong minority; or (2) it can be done by voluntary agreement of the representatives of the people, who — for the time being only — give up their rights to determine policies of government. The armed-force method is the way by which Mussolini, Hitler, and leaders in other countries have set aside democratic government and have created dictatorships called Fascism. The voluntary-agreement method is the way President Roosevelt was given vast powers in the United States from March to June, 1933.

III. FOR DEMOCRACY TO WORK WELL, THE PEOPLE MUST BE EDUCATED TO UNDERSTAND THEIR PROBLEMS

These two factors — interdependence of industrial countries and the weakness of democracy in a crisis — go far toward explaining the spread of dictatorship all over the world since the war of 1914–1918. But a third factor was also of great importance. That was that the education of the masses of the people in understanding their problems did not advance as rapidly as the changes in manufacturing and business and world trade. The inventors and traders changed the world so swiftly that the knowledge of the people could not keep up with it. The growth of business, industry, trade, armies and navies, and the like, of a new international world, became too complicated. Even fairly well-educated people became more and more bewildered by it all.

It is true that each of the industrial countries — even including Japan — had set up elementary schools for all the children of all the people. *By 1930 from 95 to 98 per cent of all the people of the six leading industrial countries could read and write.* But that did not mean that they had been taught to understand the real problems of modern civilization. Not one in twenty — not 5 per cent — of the inhabitants of even those advanced nations which had schools had a chance to learn about the modern world as you have in the story of Man and His Changing Society.

Bear in mind, then, these three principal factors, for they explain the present struggle:

First: the breakdown of industry, trade, and government in a fragile world of interdependent peoples.

Second: the difficulty of using the democratic way of discussion and group decision in a crisis.

Third: the ignorance of the peoples of the world of their real problems.

Two Separate Problems underlie the Present World Struggle

The current challenge to democracy presents one of the two supreme problems of "control" now confronting the people of the world. It can be stated in three words: *Dictatorship versus Democracy.* It raises the question Who shall govern? Shall *all* the people participate in the affairs of the government, meeting together to discuss their questions and deciding them by voting? Or shall a few, "the rich, the wise, and the good," — as many aristocrats of the past called them, — govern for all the people?

The first form is democracy; the second is dictatorship. As you now know, the second form — government by one man or a few men — is not new to the world. For thousands of years government among most organized peoples was chiefly dictatorial, autocratic, and based on fear and force. Laws were made and orders given by the king or the emperor, call him what you will. The people were permitted little or no part in deciding things; they simply carried out the orders. But in the past few hundred years, especially in parts of northwestern Europe and in the "new countries" settled by the Europeans, a slow but sure advance has been made toward democratic government.

This is the first problem of control now before the world — *the control of government.*

The second problem concerns *the control of property.* This has been the subject of great political controversies for hundreds of years. How shall property be owned, controlled, and managed? Which things shall be owned publicly and which things privately?

As we have seen, some things — such as water supplies, postal systems, schools, streets, parks, telephones, railroads, and power plants — are now owned and operated publicly, that is, by governments. No individual is permitted to exploit them, or the people operating them, for his personal profit. Most of the other things, including mines of metals and fuels, productive land, steel, and other "heavy" industries, are still owned and operated privately. That is, individuals are permitted to make a personal profit from them. Bear in mind, then, that mixed up in the struggle of peoples today are the age-long questions of ownership and use of property. Some peoples, such as the Fascists of Italy and Germany, are striving to maintain *private* ownership of most things; others, such as the communists of Russia, are trying to establish *public* ownership of most things.

Thus two difficult problems of control lie at the very basis of the turmoil of today:

First: the control of government.
Second: the control of property.

Four Outstanding Dictatorships

To understand the two sides of the clearly marked struggle on which the industrializing nations have been lining up, we must rehearse briefly the events of the past few years by which four dictators rose to power in Europe and Asia.

I. The Communist Dictatorship of Russia

The first one, the dictatorship of Stalin and Company in Russia, we have reviewed in detail in Chapter XVI. At this point, therefore, we need merely sum up the answers which Russian communism gives to our two questions of control.

First: How shall government be controlled? Stalin and Company have said: "The Communist party must control as Dictator until a whole generation of the Russian people have been educated to understand and accept communism. When that time comes, we shall gradually introduce more democratic ways of governing. We are proving that we really mean to do this by the setting up of the new constitution in 1936."

Second: How shall property be controlled? All the means of production are now owned and controlled by the state. There shall be no more exploitation of man by man for private profit.

The story of the way three other outstanding dictatorships came to pass after the World War will now be sketched:

1. The rise of Mussolini in Italy.
2. The rise of Hitler in Germany.
3. The control of government by the militarists in Japan.

First, a brief reference to the conditions and events in Italy which permitted Mussolini and his small army of Fascist Black Shirts to rule the country as dictators.

II. The Rise of Mussolini and the Setting Up of the Fascist State

To understand the acts of Italy's leaders since the World War we should first call to mind succinctly Italy's part in world affairs in the past seventy-five years.

First: Remember that the peninsula called Italy today was, throughout most of the past 1500 years, the scene of almost constant struggle over business and government between the leaders of small feudal "city" and "state" governments. Recurringly through these many centuries foreign conquerors imposed their dictatorship upon the land and oppressed the people. Thus not until the nineteenth century was there a successful attempt to unify either the leaders or the masses of the people into a nation — that is, to make a country called Italy.

Second: As revolutionary movements swept over Europe in the period after 1815, the more patriotic and intelligent leaders of Italy strove to bring the various states together into one unified country. Revolutions broke out from time to time — in 1821, 1848, 1861 — under such leaders as Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi. Finally, in 1861, the independent and united Kingdom of Italy was set up, governed by a king with a parliament of property-owning deputies and senators. From that day to this the country called Italy has maintained its existence.

Third: As Great Britain, France, and other countries took up power-driven manufacturing, Italy lagged far behind. Slowly, however, after 1850, in the northern part of the country factories and power plants, railroads and telegraphs, were built and mines opened up. But the industrial and business leaders soon found that Italy lacked the basic natural resources needed to develop industries and world trade. Especially, she had to import coal, iron, oil, and cotton.

Fourth: While Great Britain and France on a vast scale, and Germany on a smaller one, seized territories and conquered peoples in Africa, Asia, and other continents, Italy expanded very slowly indeed.

Fifth: Although by 1861 the leaders had joined state and provincial governments into one Kingdom of Italy, the people were not at all unified, not aware that they were "Italians." One statesman said in that year: "We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians." To do so, they, like the leaders of Great Britain, the United States, France, and other more democratic countries, set up schools. Slowly the people learned to read and write. By 1870 less than half of the people were able to do so. Steadily elementary education advanced; by 1905 about seven tenths of the inhabitants were literate. Today, as in all other industrializing countries, 90-odd per cent of the people can read and write, and they know the simple rudiments of geography, history, arithmetic, and such studies.

Sixth: But, even more so than in Great Britain and France, Germany and America, the people neither had enough education really to understand their problems of government, nor had practiced local *self-government* long enough really to *feel* democracy — as did the Americans, for example. In our study of American history we have seen how a great number of the people took part in local government — at least until the rise of great cities after 1870. Remember, then, that for many centuries the masses of the people in Italy (and the same is true in Japan, and to a large extent in Germany, where dictators rule today) were not really intelligently educated about government and had almost no real understanding of democracy. In fact, as late as 1912 only 3,000,000 people in the country were allowed to vote.

Seventh: After 1870 those leaders who wanted democratic government played a larger and larger part in the control of the country. Reforms were gradually introduced, and in 1912, just before the outbreak of the World War, most of the adult males (a total of 8,500,000) were given the vote. As the poverty of the workers of the industrial northern cities became worse, the unrest among them led to an increase in the membership of the Socialist party.

Eighth: The World War began, 1914, with the Italian leaders divided as to whether they should take part — and, if they did, on which side. Most industrialists and business people favored going in on the side of Great Britain and France. The socialists insisted on staying out. As you know, Italy went in, the imperialist leaders hoping that they would be granted colonies as a reward for helping to win the war.

At this point Benito Mussolini, editor of the socialist paper *Avanti*, entered the scene, advocating joining the Allies in the war. The socialists expelled him from their party, and he organized the first Fascist troops, and enlisted and fought as a private in the war. From that time he became an advocate of strong dictatorial government, suppression of socialists by force, and stamping out free speech and democracy.

Ninth: At the close of the war the Italian people were readier than before for revolutionary movements. Industry and trade were at a standstill, returned soldiers were disheartened by not being able to find work, leaders were disillusioned by finding that Italy was left out of the division of the imperial spoils. Costs of living had risen higher and higher, and strikes and lockouts and disorder spread in the northern manufacturing cities. In 1919 the socialists elected 157 members of the national Chamber of Deputies, and controlled the local government in many communities. In 1920 the workers seized some of the metal-working plants of northern Italy.

Tenth: Aroused by the fear of socialist revolution, Mussolini organized returned soldiers and antisocialists into the *Fascio*[1] *di Combattimento.* Out of this beginning Mussolini gathered about himself, by 1922, the property-owning classes and the conservatives generally. As months passed, it was seen that the Italian parliamentary government was unable to keep order. During 1920 and 1921 one premier and cabinet after another had tried to do it and failed. Socialist-communist bands fought Fascists in bloody warfare for the control of communities all over the country, especially in the north. In this kind of chaos the country was ready for strong-arm methods. On October 27, 1922, Mussolini's "army," estimated to be 100,000 men, took over by force city halls, railways, and post offices. On October 30 Mussolini himself was asked by the King to form a cabinet and take over the government.

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[1] The word *Fascio* or *Fascist* comes from the Latin word *fasces.* This was an ancient Roman symbol (rods bound around an ax) which, carried in processions, stood for the leader's supreme power over all.

From that day to this Mussolini, called "Duce" (Leader), has ruled Italy as dictator. Note how his rise to power was possible: The economic system and political government had really collapsed; chaos ruled. At the strategic moment a strong leader appeared at the head of a small disciplined force. He appealed to national patriotism and to the despairing lower classes, offering them hope of security, a better living, and definite loyalties. Note, furthermore, that in Italy, as in Germany to a large extent (and even more in Turkey, Japan, Poland, and the Latin-American republics), the people had never really had democratic government. They had always assumed an attitude of humble subservience to the state, to king, emperor, "Duce." They had long accepted the idea of "caste"; they accepted "classes." Parliamentary debate and a voice in government were largely confined to a small upper class. Thus we see that democracy and the democratic attitude had never been given the trial it had received in England and America.

What Italian Fascism stands for

In conclusion, let us bear in mind just what Fascism is.

First: It is a movement in which strong leaders weld together the discontented lower middle classes — small farmers and shopkeepers, white-collar workers, and other dissatisfied groups — into loyal acceptance of their control over the national government. In no instance have the middle classes actually revolted; instead they have acquiesced in and have formed the support for the actions of a small, armed, disciplined body of "party followers."

Second: Fascism, once in power, has been used and, indeed, largely controlled by the big industrialists and landowners.

Third: Government is carried on by the dictatorship of the Fascist party. No opposition is allowed; no division of opinion or action is permitted. Free speech, free press, fair trial, discussion, creative individual expression, — all that believers in democracy hold most precious, — are done away with.

Fourth: Although Fascism announces that it has a new program of economic reconstruction, there is little evidence of its intention to put such a program into effect. It is a question whether Fascism has yet advanced a workable plan for coping with unemployment, for distributing purchasing power, for reducing indebtedness, or for coördinating a national system of production.

Fifth: Fascism declares openly for self-contained nationalism and for imperialism. There are those who see in it the destruction of gains made in the direction of world peace and coöperation in the past century.

How has Italian Fascism answered our questions of control?

With this brief outline before us of the manner in which the Fascist dictatorship was established in Italy, we have the first answer to our two questions of control.

First: Who shall control government? Mussolini says: "The Dictator — the Leader and his party. We will grant limited parliamentary representation, but we will tolerate no real criticism of our government. Democracy cannot possibly be made to work."

Second: Who shall own and control property? Mussolini says: "Property shall be privately owned, but the government (I and my party) shall really control what is done with it." Although pronouncements of a "corporative state" have given some people the impression that the basic means of production were to be slowly taken over ("socialized") and run by the government, a decade and a half of Fascist control has offered little evidence of this.

So much for two of the outstanding dictatorships — in Russia and in Italy. We turn next to the third — Hitler and Nazism in Germany.

III. Hitler and the Nazi Dictatorship in Germany

More slowly than the Italian Fascists, but by the same methods and under generally similar conditions, the Nazis of Germany stamped out democracy and a growing communist-socialist movement and seized dictatorial power over 65,000,000 people.

The developments in Germany since the beginning of the World War provide us with important facts with which to study the most important educational problem of democracy, namely, the problem of the formation and control of public opinion. A small group of men, utterly without power a decade ago, have now secured control of the government of a leading industrial nation. They first secured this control, not by a sudden military *coup d'état*, but through the regularly organized channels of political suffrage.

The pendulum of public opinion

During the past twenty years changes in the public mind of Germany have taken place with dramatic suddenness. They have passed from one extreme to the other, from conservative to radical, then back again to reactionary. In 1913, after a hundred years of gradual, stable political unification and widespread elementary education, the German people represented a high level of unified solidarity and comfortable respectability. Pervading most of the people were an attitude of deep loyalty to the divine-right Emperor (who was regarded as the representative of God on earth) and one of widespread respect for the prestige and power of the Fatherland.

To understand later developments, however, it must be remembered that even in this period other ideas were developing in Germany. The work of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and their associates had borne fruit; social-democratic opinion had spread steadily over Germany. The socialists in the Reichstag numbered 9 in 1874; 35 in 1890; 81 in 1903; and 110 in 1912.

Then came the World War, the blockade of Germany, the decline of her industries, the exhaustion of her resources, the destruction of property, the death of millions of people, and the people's disillusionment with autocratic forms of government. Under these conditions public opinion in Germany changed swiftly. The Kaiser and the Empire were ousted, and a republican government was set up. Liberalism ruled in place of conservatism. In January, 1919, the Social Democrats — a liberal wing of the socialist movement — controlled 46 per cent of the seats in the

Reichstag. The Democrats, another liberal group, controlled 20 per cent more.

But there were more troubled years ahead. German industry, trade, and finance became disorganized; failure to pay reparations brought the French invasion of the Ruhr; by 1923 the German mark had become worthless, and the savings of millions had been wiped out. By the election of May, 1924, Social Democrats and Democrats had lost half their power.

Thus within five years, 1919–1924, under the disillusionments of poverty and general economic breakdown, public opinion was so changed that from moderate democratic control two thirds of the population began to swing toward conservatism. In May, 1924, not less than 60 per cent of the 37,000,000 voters of Germany paid allegiance to conservative leadership.

Conditions remained about the same during the next four years. In the election of May, 1928, the returns distributed the seats in approximately the same ratio, the conservative parties retaining about 55 per cent of the votes.

Then came a sudden dramatic rise of a hitherto unknown person.

Hitler's rise to power

Adolf Hitler, the son of a customs official in the service of the Austro-Hungarian government, was born April 20, 1889, in Upper Austria. As a young man he studied architecture in Vienna, worked in the building trades, and became a draftsman. That he was a nationalist in his views, even then, is shown by the fact that he lost several jobs because of his refusal to join the Socialist party and the labor unions. Also, he says, he became anti-Marxian and anti-Jewish at that time.

With the outbreak of the World War, Hitler refused to join the Austrian army but fought in the Bavarian army through the entire conflict. After the war, having lost his Austrian citizenship and having neglected to take out German citizenship, he was for ten years literally "a man without a country."

In 1919 Hitler, with six other men, organized the National Socialist German Workers' party. During the next few years these men conducted small political meetings, in speaking before which Hitler discovered his unusual oratorical power. Largely because of his dramatic oratory the party grew; first hundreds and then thousands of persons joined it.

Then, on November 8, 1923, came the ridiculous episode of the Munich Beer Hall *Putsch.* Hitler seized leading officials of the Bavarian government and, with General Ludendorff, at one time chief of staff of the German armies in the World War, led a public demonstration which was dispersed by military force. He was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison, but was released after eight months. An illustration of his great powers of persuasion is the fact that he converted the warden of his jail and several assistants to his political views while he was in prison.

In the meantime Hitler's party had joined forces with the German People's Freedom party and in the election of May 7, 1924, had elected 32 members to the Reichstag.

Aided by the steady decline of trade and industry in Germany and the sharp rise of unemployment, month by month Hitler's oratory swept more people into the National Socialist party. In the election of September, 1930, more than 7,000,000 votes were polled for his party; two years later more than 13,000,000 votes. In July, 1932, more than one third of the citizenry of Germany cast their lot with this man. Finally, in the election of March 5, 1933, the National Socialists polled 17,266,000 votes. The party was joined by the Nationalists under Alfred Hugenberg, and Hitler became chancellor of the German government. On March 23 the Reichstag abdicated, and Hitler was proclaimed dictator of Germany for four years.

Hitler seized upon despair

How had this astonishing change in public opinion been brought about?

First and foremost we must remember that no man, irrespective of his oratorical power, could persuade 17,000,000 people from one political faith to a very different one unless the conditions in which those people were living were favorable to that kind of change. We must remember, therefore, the despair which seized the German people, first in the years from 1919 to 1924, and again from 1928 to the present time. They were a people thoroughly disillusioned by the inability of many short-lived governments, in fourteen years, to give them work and food, low taxation, economic security, peace, and prestige with the outside world. This despair was the emotional background against which Hitler worked. Hitler did not ask the millions of bewildered German people to think; he played upon their emotions. Night after night in his rallies he called for war against profiteers, especially alien profiteers — Jews and foreigners. He promised work, food, and lighter taxation for everybody. He assured the people that he would restore the glory of the former German world power. He promised a Germany united against the iniquities of the Treaty of Versailles, which had robbed Germany of her colonies, had saddled her with an impossibly large debt, had ruined her trade and destroyed her reputation.

Furthermore, he was uncannily clever in the way in which he appealed to various elements of the German population. Note, for example, the name of his party — the National Socialist German Workers' party, commonly called Nazi. The words *National* and *German* appealed to the loyalties of those who worship the glory of the Fatherland and also to the conservative nationalistic elements in the country. With these are combined *Socialist* and *Worker*, which appealed to many of the lower economic classes.

But, more than at all others, Hitler directed his propaganda at the middle class, the "forgotten men" of Germany. From this class of small shopkeepers and professional men — the petty bourgeoisie — he himself came. To this class especially, which had been almost wiped out by the World War and the destructive years that followed it, he promised a new deal. These people were to be the solid foundation for a Third German Reich. Furthermore, to all patriots he promised the establishment of the rule of pure-blooded Aryans; he would put all Jews and aliens out of office and would even stop them from practicing their trades. He would put the light-haired, blue-eyed native "Siegfrieds of the Machine Age" in control of their own Fatherland.

But Hitler, the dramatic orator, could not alone hold his power over the public mind for long. Oratory, the appeal to emotions, is a temporary, transitory thing. It must be combined with more permanent methods. Hitler owed his success in 1933 largely to his willingness to work with men of other abilities and power. Note, for example, some of his associates: Alfred Hugenberg, owner of vast industrial enterprises and chief controller of the agencies of communication in Germany; Captain Hermann Goering, militaristic disciplinarian; Gottfried Feder, engineer; Dr. Wilhelm Frick, skilled political organizer; Edmund Heinz, attractive leader of youth; Ernst F. S. Hanfstaengl, Americanized manipulator of the foreign press.

The control of communications

Of these men Alfred Hugenberg played the largest part in building up permanent attitudes among the German people. He owned or controlled two thirds of the German press. This control ranged from his four newspapers in Berlin to newspaper services in outlying provinces. Through his control of the *Telegraphen Union* he served 1600 German newspapers with news. Indirectly he also swayed the news distributed over the government-owned radio of Germany, as well as the news-reel services through his motion-picture companies.

From 1928 to 1933 Hugenberg steadily attained control over the Nationalist party. Never, however, in the years from June, 1920, to May, 1928, was the Nationalist party able to muster more than one sixth of the votes of the German people. Although Hugenberg offered himself for the dictatorship more than once, he was unable to fascinate the country.

But Hitler and Hugenberg together formed an ideal partnership for the control of public opinion in Germany — Hitler, the colorful platform orator, playing upon the emotions; Hugenberg, the stolid, massive owner of nation-wide enterprises which mold the public mind. In their success students of public opinion in America may well find a powerful object lesson.

Hitlerism and the reign of terror

The object lesson which the change in the temper and mood of the German people provides for America is illustrated by present events in Germany. Under German imperialism before the World War and also under the Republic there were orderly processes of government and a moderate degree of liberalism. But under the dictatorship of Hitler, Hugenberg, and Company, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, freedom even to live in Germany if you chance to be of alien blood or to sympathize with opposition parties, swiftly became nonexistent. For example, 79 communists who were legally elected to the Reichstag were not allowed to occupy their seats. The government suspended the civil service, ousting all employees suspected of republican sympathies. Only "Aryan" Germans were permitted to occupy government posts. Jews were barred from hospitals, courts, university faculties, and teaching positions in schools and other institutions.

The arts and the sciences were invaded, as well as the government administration. Bruno Walter, internationally renowned orchestral conductor, was insulted and his concerts canceled. Albert Einstein and other leading scientists were vilified by the press and expelled from universities; and the fortunes of some of them were seized.

The very power that Hitler and Hugenberg have acquired over 20,000,000 minds in Germany shows how little real education was achieved in industrial countries. Tens of millions of people in Europe, America, and Japan could read, but only a tiny minority of these either had the true facts concerning the modern world or could use those facts in thinking out impartial solutions to the difficult problems which confronted them.

Contrary to the opinion of many students of affairs Hitler stayed in power. He did it, however, not by democratic methods, but by dictatorial control. He issued edicts which abolished parliamentary government and assumed lawmaking and judicial power himself. He and the Nazi leaders *were* the government of Germany. From time to time elections were held, and his policies were upheld by 90-odd per cent of the votes cast. But voting was not democratic, for so great was the fear of Hitler that almost no one dared to vote against his policies.

As we shall see in the next chapter, his foreign policy also helped to make many of the people of Germany enthusiastically support him.

How did the Nazis answer the questions about control?

So much for the story of Hitler's seizure of power. How did his dictatorship regard the control of government and property?

First: How shall government be controlled? Hitler stamped harshly on every sign of democracy. Government was to be dictatorial — a one-man power.

Second: How shall property be owned and controlled? Although his program has never been made clear in this respect, in the main Hitler agrees with Mussolini. The means of production shall be owned and operated privately but with some degree (an undefined amount) of state control.

IV. THE MILITARISTS MOVE TOWARD DICTATORSHIP IN JAPAN

While democracy was being set back in various European countries, it was being similarly stifled on the other side of the earth in changing Asia. We saw in Chapter XXI that by 1930 marked advances had been made in Japan in the years after the World War in the building of democratic government. About 98 per cent of the people were literate and more than 13,000,000 had the right to vote in elections for party government.

Even then, however, there were marked signs of the danger of a dictatorship resembling that in European countries. As we have seen, the constitution gave the militarists great power over the government. The ministers of war and navy had to be chosen from ranking officers of the army and navy, and in all matters of war they were relatively independent of the premier, the foreign minister, or other officers of the cabinet.

During the years after the World War three other groups of people rivaled the militarists in their attempts to obtain power over government:

First: The wealthy owners of industry, trade, and banking. Three families alone — the Mitsui, the Mitsubishi, and the Sumitomo — controlled one fourth of all the banking of Japan; another group, known as the Big Eight, controlled half! Thus between the World War and 1930 a small financial and industrial group came to have almost a monopoly of Japan's big industries. As their wealth and control over industry grew, the political parties came to give them greater control over government. Thus the history of government in European and American countries repeated itself in Asia.

Second: The large landowners. As industry grew in the cities, the larger rural landlords continued to exercise political control in their own regions. They also tended to invest in the growing industries and businesses of the cities and so became allies of the industrial and financial leaders.

Third: Allied to these two groups were the descendants and friends of the royal family and of the ancient ruling clans. Although not many in number, they too had wealth and prestige.

These, then, were the four powerful groups that were to play the most important part in the struggle for control of government after the World War. By 1931 the line-up could be clearly recognized — the younger officers of the army and the navy against the leaders of the Big Business-landowner-monarchy group. Steadily the younger "middle class" militarists added to their power.

One supreme aim gripped the militarists — to make Japan the political overlord of Asia. To do this their plans included taking Manchuria and the five northern provinces from China, the seizure of Inner and Outer Mongolia, and the cutting off of an enormous portion of Asiatic Russia east of Lake Baikal.

The more peaceful-minded leaders of the political parties were definitely opposed to this expansionist plan and believed that Japan would be defeated in her attempt to carry it out. Some of the leading bankers and industrialists agreed with them. But, as we shall see in Chapter XXVI, the expansion was begun in 1931, and from that time on the military group came to play a dominating part in the national government. The trend of affairs has been definitely in the direction of setting up a militaristic dictatorship.

Thus in Japan our two questions of control are being answered in a manner similar to that in Italy and Germany.

First: Government is tending rapidly toward dictatorship. Freedom of speech and parliamentary government are being restricted.

Second: The control of the means of production — of property — is definitely in the hands of a small class of private owners. Thus far they play such an important part in government, going along with and agreeing to the plans of the military leaders, that there is little or no tendency toward public control of property.

Changing Government in France: an Example

Meanwhile what has happened in France, Great Britain, and Scandinavia? These are the regions in which the people have had the longest experience in real democratic government.

As a single example, let us review quickly the recent trend of affairs in France.

First, we take a succinct backward glance at the steps toward democracy which have been taken by the French people. Note how their history illustrates their answers to our two questions about control.

1. The centuries-long autocratic government of nobles and clergy.
2. The slow rise to economic and political power of owners of land and other property; after 1800 especially, of the owners of factories, mines, power stations, and banks.
3. Big Property owners in control of government, with Little Property owners slowly being given a share.
4. The total lack of education among the masses of the people.
5. The revolt of the poverty-stricken and oppressed people against autocratic rulers (1790's).
6. The unpreparedness of the people and their leaders for self-government.
7. The rise of the Dictator, Napoleon, and the setback of democratic government for a generation.
8. The division of the land among more of the people.
9. The establishment of universal education, the spread of literacy, and the extension of the suffrage to the people generally.
10. A series of revolts against dictatorial government in 1830, 1848, 1870, each followed by a return to some form of dictatorship, and the final establishment of the Third Republic in 1875, with no return to dictatorship since that time.

11. The *control* of government again in the hands of Big Property owners — this time of the "200 Rich Families," who have controlled the Bank of France for several decades, and the rich and powerful owners of mines, industries (the *Comité des Forges*), and businesses.

12. A somewhat larger proportion of the people sharing in government in each succeeding decade, with the parallel widespread ownership of small farms and businesses.

13. With the spread of education and the growth of cities, the steady increase in the number and variety of political parties. In 1936 there were nineteen different parties, grouped in three principal divisions: the "Left," such as the Radical Socialists, Socialists, and Communists; the "Right," such as the Republican Federation and the Independents; and the "Center," such as the Republican Center, Republicans of the Left, and the Radical Left.

What, then, has been the character of the recent governments of France? They have been governments formed by combinations of various Left parties, called the Popular Front. One of the most important of these took office in June, 1936. It took many steps similar to those taken by the New Deal government of President Roosevelt. Within a few months after it came to power, it passed 65 new laws. It aimed to stabilize the economic situation in France and guarantee the people greater social security. It put the Bank of France under some degree of control by the 45,000 small stockholders and by the national government; it moved toward nationalizing the munitions industry as a step toward preventing war; it helped to put 2,000,000 striking workmen back to work by persuading the employers of certain industries to raise wages.

Is the history of Fascism repeating itself?

Opinions among observers, foreign as well as French, differ on this question. Some say that the governments which have been put into power by the Left parties are moving very *slowly* toward social ownership. Others say that all that they did shows nothing more than a mild degree of social control, that there have been few signs of real socialization of property in their programs.

Hence, they say, the recent governments have been only "middle of the road" or "liberal," and not really socialist.

Other trained observers insist that Fascism will rise in France by the same steps that it did in Germany and Italy. They note that new Fascist leaders are taking the place of those who are more and more discredited, and are being supported by the discontented royalty and aristocrats, the industrialists, bankers, and other representatives of Big Property. At the same moment the communists are increasing their power, today holding many seats in the Chamber of Deputies. In addition observers point to (1) the deepening of economic crises; (2) the coming to power of a Leftist government pledged to social-security measures; (3) the enacting of a next-step, cautious program of legislation; and (4) the rise of fear among both extreme Fascist (capitalistic) Right and socialistic Left. Hence they predict that the well-to-do and powerful Right will seize power as a Fascist régime to prevent a Socialist-Communist, or Left, government from coming to real power. That was essentially what happened in several Fascist countries.

Will it happen in France? No one can foretell events surely. It is a fact, of course, that the French people have had more practice in democratic self-government than the peoples who have come under the sway of dictators. It is a fact also that the ownership and control of small farms and businesses is more widespread in France than it was in Italy or Germany. Thus it is possible that such factors as these, together with the influence of Great Britain, Scandinavia, and other democratic countries, will help to maintain democracy in France.

Space is lacking in this chapter to review in detail the history and recent events in Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the other "democratic" countries. If such a study were made, it would encourage the conclusion that they may successfully resist the tendencies toward dictatorship. We must note, for example, their longer experience with the parliamentary method and their building of consumer and producer coöperatives; their higher standards of living (as compared with Italy, Poland, Turkey, Japan, and most other countries now ruled by dictators);

in short, the general outlook and mood of the people. It is such factors as these that lead many observers to believe that Fascism may be confined essentially to the bloc of countries of middle Europe.

Summing up the Trends toward Control

What, then, is the status of the world-wide struggle between democracy and dictatorship today? The map of figure 1 shows us that the countries of Europe are divided between these two kinds of government. They group themselves, however, around a few leading contenders on each side: Great Britain and France on the side of democracy; Germany, Italy, and Russia on the side of dictatorship. In all but one (Russia) most productive property is still privately owned and managed. In the democratic countries, however, minority groups of the Left are doing their best to push their governments toward increasing control of private property. To counteract this pressure the wealthy minority groups of the Right are looking to dictatorship as a means of preserving private capitalism. In the next chapter we shall see how these two forces are lining up for a world-wide struggle.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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In addition to these specific references, students should scan the weekly and monthly magazines for important current material.

CHAPTER XXVI

DANGER SPOTS OF THE WORLD

The fear of another World War

For some years careful observers of the international scene have given repeated warnings that a Second World War is on the horizon. They have pointed to the fact that Mussolini has openly defied Great Britain in the Mediterranean, that Hitler has frankly admitted his contempt for Soviet Russia and has bound central Europe and Japan together against her, that Japan has steadily continued her advance into China, and that the League of Nations has seemed to be in a complete eclipse. But more serious than all these facts has been the race of competing governments for more and more armaments.

The International Race for Armaments

The present mad race for military and naval supremacy is unique to the modern world. Such competition in the preparation for mass slaughter was unknown in the Middle Ages. Kings and princelets plotted and fought against one another over thrones and wives and land and power. But they did it by hiring professional fighters or by forcing native tribes to become troops of soldiers. *Conscription* — the compulsion of all able-bodied men to fight — has been a product only of our own "modern" age. The seizure of the imaginations of the people with the spirit of nationalism is only a recent development. This situation did not appear until *national states* arose, and the new agencies of communication made it possible for rulers artificially to build up steadfast loyalties and create hatreds and fears.

The personality of Napoleon Bonaparte and the spirit of martial France contributed much to the launching of this mad century-long movement. After the Prussians were defeated by Napoleon in the battle of Jena in 1806, they introduced in Europe the systematic war training of able-bodied youth. They invented the Krümper system of conscription, by which a huge body of fighting men was trained. Because of the clever maneuvers of the Prussian chancellor Bismarck and the powerful attacks of his modern armies, the quarreling German states defeated Denmark, Austria, and France between 1864 and 1871 and became the German Empire.

After that, as you know, the rivalry in armaments increased, and the world rapidly took over more and more of Europe's ways of living. Asia and Africa were divided between Great Britain, France, and Germany. To keep open pathways of trade, necessary for the success of economic imperialism, island coaling stations and naval bases were seized; undeveloped peoples were conquered. Navies became larger, all the leading European countries conscripted soldiers, armies multiplied, and taxes became huge burdens upon the nations. By the spring of 1914 the spirit of national pride had turned Europe into a vast armory. The six leading nations lined up, three against three: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy against France, Russia, and Great Britain. By 1914 in four countries alone — Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Russia — the peace-time armies numbered 3,300,000 men, and others ready to be called to war totaled 18,000,000 men!

Then came the four terrible years of the World War, 1914-1918. Many youths of high-school age, as well as every able-bodied man in Europe, were drawn into the conflict. Millions of the flower of young manhood were wiped out. International hatreds and bitternesses developed, the like of which the world had never known before.

In November, 1918, came a breathing spell — the armistice. In the winter and spring of 1919 came the Peace Conference, the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the formation of the League itself. Hundreds of millions of unhappy human beings hoped that President Wilson's desire for "a world safe for democracy" might be fulfilled.

But, although guns had ceased firing and soldiers had gone home, although treaties of peace had been signed, and the League of Nations talked and pleaded for international understanding, the war feelings persisted! Year after year France continued to demand her pound of flesh from a disarmed Germany. Year after year, instead of disarming and pacifying the world, France, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, the United States, and smaller nations actually increased their armies and navies! Between 1925 and 1931 France, already the most heavily armed country, *doubled her expenditures for armaments.* In 1930 France had not fewer than 3,000,000 well-trained men in her first-line reserve and another 1,000,000 in the second line. In that year Italy had a reserve of not fewer than 2,500,000; little Poland, 1,700,000; tiny Czechoslovakia, 1,000,000.

In the following years armies kept growing larger and larger. In 1936 Russia had a standing army of more than 1,300,000; France, one of more than 600,000; Italy, Great Britain, and Germany each, of more than 500,000. To these must be added trained reserve troops numbering several millions. Today military service is required of practically all young men in France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and other smaller nations.

The history of the increase in naval armaments is very similar to that of the increase in armies. In 1931 five powers alone — Great Britain, the United States, France, Japan, and Italy — had 4,400,000 tons of warships afloat!

The whole mad race of the world toward preparation for organized destruction is shown in the increases of expenditures for armaments. In 1913 the nations of the world spent for armaments $2,500,000,000; in 1930 they spent $4,300,000,000; and in 1935, more than $9,000,000,000.

All this, the observers maintain, can mean only one thing — preparation for *another war.* Between what countries? Why?

IMPERIALISM DIVIDED THE EARTH INTO TWO GROUPS: THE "HAVES" AND THE "HAVE-NOTS"

We have already learned that for three centuries, and especially since 1850, each of the leading industrial nations of the world has vigorously engaged in "economic imperialism." This expression means that, in each country, private business men have taken advantage of, actually exploited, "backward" regions — all, of course, under the economic and military protection of their governments at home. In this world-wide movement of conquest and colonization Great Britain led all other nations. It built an empire which now embraces about one fourth of all the lands and people of the world. During the first two centuries England's East India Company and other adventuring companies spread out to build up Great Britain's empire. They explored and seized lands, conquered and governed poorly armed peoples in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the seven seas. Most of this was done by private companies, with no interference from, indeed, with the partnership of, the king or the queen, the cabinet, and the Parliament, and finally with the backing of the British navy and army. In the third century — the one that has just passed — the British government formally took over these possessions, and to this day has ruled them directly by an elaborate system of well-trained and experienced civil and military servants.

It is important to note that this imperialism split the seven major powers into two groups, the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots."

The "Haves" — Great Britain and France (and their empires), Russia, and the United States — occupy or control the leading places in the imperial sun. They have command over nearly half of the earth's surface and over half of the world's people. Because of this, they all have gained great prestige and have won vast economic resources.

The "Have-Nots" — Italy, Japan, and Germany — are smaller countries. All are overpopulated. All lack raw materials and need places in the imperial sun for settlement and trade. All three are controlled by dictatorial governments. In each one a dictator craves the prestige that goes with these things.

But, as we now know, the continents of the earth are already all staked out! Hence, on the one hand, there is the ambition of the "Have-Nots" to get more territory, and, on the other hand, there is the determination of the "Haves" to keep what they already possess. As a result three chief regions of the earth today are international storm centers, or danger spots: (1) central Europe, (2) the Mediterranean, and (3) eastern Asia.

Let us study the problems presented in each one.

THE FIRST DANGER SPOT: GERMANY AND CENTRAL EUROPE

German resentment against conditions of the Versailles peace treaty

The entire continent of Europe is upset today by the international problems which have arisen there since the World War. As we saw in Chapter XXV, some of these problems are economic, having grown out of great losses of trade suffered by the European nations. Others are political, centering in the relation of Germany to other countries. Indeed, the crucial world problems of today can be understood only by recognizing the tensions that have been caused by the terms of the peace treaty which were imposed upon Germany by the countries victorious in the World War.

Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles contains the following sentence:

> Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.

Although the German leaders did sign this, neither they nor their successors really approved it. In one public utterance after another German leaders have made clear their belief that Germany did no more to cause the war than did the other world powers.

Furthermore, an increasing number of students of government and history in other countries, after studying a multitude of new documents which have been published since 1917, have also accepted this view. The war, they maintain (as we have shown in *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, as well as in this book), was the outcome of many factors which were produced by the development of the new industrial civilization. Among these were (1) the increasingly keen competition between the European industrial countries for trade, raw materials, and colonial territories; (2) the construction of great navies and armies; (3) the secret military alliances between certain countries; (4) the propaganda used by the different countries, through which nationalistic loyalties were strengthened and suspicion and hatred of other peoples created. Many scholars believe that in such a complex development Germany was little more guilty, perhaps no more, than were the other powers — France, Great Britain, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. And, they say, it was the combination of these things — not merely Germany's aggression — that brought on the war.

A chief source of unrest, therefore, is the increased resentment among the German people at being compelled to accept responsibility for war guilt. This is felt particularly in two ways. First, Germany has resented being forced to pay to France and her allies reparations which totaled billions of dollars. The Germans insisted, first, that they were actually unable to pay the huge reparations demanded of them, and, second, that it was not fair of their conquerors to expect them to do so. After years of conflict over that problem, the Allies finally gave in and reduced the amount demanded.

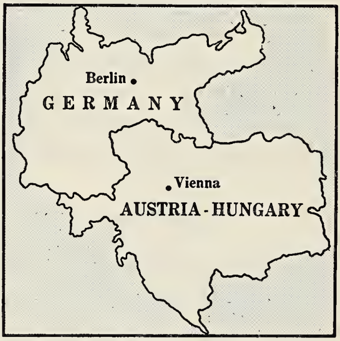

Fig. 228. Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1918. Compare this map with figure 229

Germany is bitter for a second reason. She was forced to forfeit much territory: Alsace-Lorraine to France, the eastern territory known as the "Polish Corridor" to Poland, other lands to Czechoslovakia and Poland, and all her colonies in Africa and Asia, which are now mandatories of Great Britain and France.

In Alsace-Lorraine, which had been under German rule since 1871, large numbers of the people either are of German descent or have developed loyalty to Germany. These people, of course, are now ruled by a foreign government. Some of them speak German; some speak French. Naturally the German-speaking people resent the change which has been made. Indeed, the whole region is in a turmoil of ill feeling.

The "Polish Corridor" is an even greater source of friction between Germany and her neighbors. The Treaty of Versailles gave Poland a direct path to the Baltic Sea. This was done by taking a considerable slice of territory, now commonly called the

"Polish Corridor," from Germany and adding it to Poland. Thus the German district of East Prussia was separated from the central, western, and southern parts of Germany. It also placed a large number of German subjects under the new Polish government, and many of the people in the "Corridor" resent being ruled by a foreign government. So it appears likely that there will be no peace in north-central Europe until this question is settled to the real satisfaction of all concerned. During most of the time since the war, France has held the key to this problem. Poland, remember, was set up as an independent state at France's demand. Many authorities maintain that the difficulty can be solved only by France's agreeing to a revision of the Treaty of Versailles — a revision which would restore this land to Germany but also give Poland a direct path to the Baltic Sea.

How Hitler has moved to change treaty terms

As we have seen, the first few years after the war saw economic chaos in Germany. During the 1920's some recovery did take place, but the effect of the Treaty of Versailles was keenly felt. As soon as Hitler became powerful in Germany, he promised the German people that the treaty would be scrapped. He demanded that the former German colonies be returned to Germany. He openly stated that Germany would not pay the reparations demanded. He promised to make Germany a strong military nation in spite of the fact that such a move was forbidden by the treaty. He was determined to bring all the German people under his control — even those who live in other countries.

One by one these promises have been kept by Hitler. One by one the terms of the Treaty of Versailles are being scrapped. For example, in 1936 Hitler declared that Germany would no longer permit a neutral zone along the Rhine. Accordingly he moved German troops into that area. He has made military service for all young men compulsory. He has organized an army larger than France's European army. A strong navy and air force is being built. Germany has withdrawn from the League of Nations. Hitler has made new treaties with Japan and Italy on the one hand and with Great Britain on the other.

But each new step by the Hitler government has increased the tension between Germany and her former enemies, especially France and Russia.

The mixture of peoples in central Europe

At the Peace Conference in 1919 President Wilson and the Allied prime ministers tried to rearrange the boundaries between countries. They wanted to divide central and eastern Europe in such a way as to give independence to various small populations which spoke similar languages and felt that they belonged to the same racial groups. For example, out of territory belonging to Germany and Austria-Hungary the new state of Czechoslovakia was formed. Out of land belonging to Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary the independent republic of Poland was set up. Out of Serbia and lands belonging to Austria-Hungary and other Balkan territory the new national state of Yugoslavia was made. Thus Austria and Hungary were separated, and the territory of each was reduced approximately one half. The boundaries of Rumania, Greece, Armenia, Bulgaria, and Turkey were also rearranged.

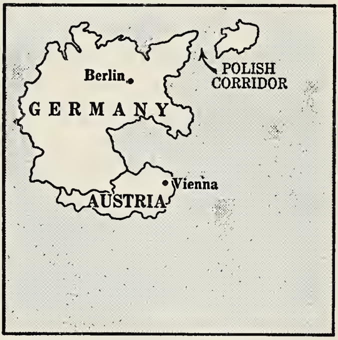

FIG. 229. Germany and Austria after the Treaty of Versailles. Note the Polish Corridor, which cut Germany in two

Were the various minor groups of central and eastern Europe satisfied with these changes? Authorities agree that they were not and raise the serious question as to whether it is possible to satisfy them in this way. As you have already learned, the racial and language groups of central and eastern Europe are indeed mixed up. For example, one finds whole villages of light-haired German-speaking people in central Hungary or in Russia. Greeks, Turks, Armenians, and natives of other national groups live mixed together in the Balkans and in the Near East. Hundreds of thousands of Germans now live under Czechoslovakian, Austrian, Polish, and Hungarian rule.

Altogether it is estimated that not less than 30,000,000 people of the 475,000,000 inhabitants of Europe are in these so-called "racial minorities." This mix-up is the result of the movement of people from one region to another during several hundred years. It is due also to the constant recurrence of wars and to the frequent changes of national borders. It is doubtful if any rearrangement of national boundaries can place each group under a government in which the people and their neighbors will be completely satisfied.

In this rearranging of territories the Allied Powers created a ring of buffer states around Germany. They hoped thereby to prevent Germany from becoming a powerful nation again. But today, by the clever maneuvers of Hitler and Mussolini, this ring seems to have been smashed. Several of these same buffer states, formerly allied with France, are now forming a fairly solid bloc of Fascist nations with Germany and Italy as the center. Several examples illustrate the change:

1. With Mussolini's approval Austria and Germany have built up secret trade arrangements.
2. In Greece the constitutional democracy has been ousted and a dictatorship set up.
3. Changes in the Bulgarian national government indicate that it too is tending toward acceptance of Fascist leadership.
4. German and Italian ministers of propaganda are building joint policies of fighting the communist movement.
5. Similar secret agreements by the political and military leaders of Hungary, Austria, and Germany (and, it is believed, of Italy also) are reported.

These are a few of the known events that lead many people to conclude that the Fascist leaders in a dozen countries or more are joining with Hitler and Mussolini in making a definite union of Fascist countries.

Dictatorship against dictatorship: Fascism against communism

Out of this confused tangle of war preparations, secret and announced alliances, and diplomatic sparring matches, one alignment of the contending forces stands out boldly: (1) those governments and political groups which are determined to preserve private capitalism against (2) those which are determined to kill it or drastically reconstruct it. The former (although they differ somewhat as to the details of their plans) are generally called *Fascists.* The latter (and they too vary somewhat in their programs) are called *communists* or *socialists.* Although this conflict is beginning to appear in most of the countries of the world, it is most sharply illustrated by the Fascist governments of Mussolini and Hitler as against the communist government of Stalin and his associates.

It is important to note, first, that each of these governments — both the Fascist and the communist — is a *dictatorship.*

It is important to note, second, that the struggle over property and government is not confined to Italy, Germany, and Russia. It is world-wide.

Moreover, it now appears from the public demands and threats of Hitler and Mussolini that it is to be an offensive league primarily against communism. Thus the struggle between Fascism and communism is sharpening. It is a struggle for control within numerous countries, but it is also a struggle which carries the antagonistic ideas beyond national borders. It is a struggle to impose one or another set of ideas — either Fascist or communist — upon the world.

Spain: an example

As an illustration of this current conflict over property and government, let us consider the 1936–1937 revolution in Spain. To understand it we must bear in mind

1. That three fairly distinct groups fought for control of property and government: (1) the Fascists, — defenders of Big Property, — including the Church, the nobility and friends of the monarchy, and the leaders of the army and navy; (2) the liberal "republican" group, which believed in "democracy" and also in private ownership of property, but which strove to "reform" both ownership of property (for example, by breaking up monopolies and dividing enormous landed estates among the people) and political government; (3) the radicals — communists, socialists, syndicalists, anarchists, mostly in the larger cities.

2. That the liberal "republican" government, which was in power when the Fascist revolution started in 1936, came about as a result of widespread unrest among the people, who had been oppressed for centuries, who lived in poverty-stricken misery, and half of whom could not even read and write.

3. That, as in Russia in 1917, the people had had little, almost no, practice in democratic government.

4. That, therefore, in a time of economic and political chaos, with a "liberal" government in power, hatreds and emotions controlled the action of town and city populations, and their excesses ran beyond the control of the "tolerant" government.

5. That the Fascists, — the "rebels," — although they were the "outs," had by far the larger resources.

6. That each of the three leading dictatorship governments — Fascist Italy, Fascist Germany, and communist Russia — knew that the defeat of their cause in Spain would be a real setback to their success in the world generally. Hence, even though they publicly announced neutrality, they actually aided their respective sides.

Do these examples illustrate the manner in which it is feared that another World War will start in Europe? In a tense atmosphere of dictatorial demands and acts the people are held in the constant fear that some spark may be ignited that may set off a big enough explosion to draw all the major governments into a Second World War.

What will Hitler's next move be? No one knows. But we must remember that the Fascist dictators, Mussolini and Hitler, must act dramatically to hold the loyalty of their restless peoples and make good their promises. Therefore they act boldly and cast caution to the winds; they bluff and storm; they challenge and defy the leaders of other countries. And these leaders of other countries, fearful of a spark that will ignite another world explosion, are cautious, uncertain, and seem to have no definite policy. Witness Great Britain letting Germany rearm and at the same time making naval treaties with her, and, as we shall see later, letting Mussolini bluff her over Ethiopia.

What will be the outcome? No one can guess how far Hitler and Mussolini will go, or how much they will help other Fascist leaders. Nor can one predict to what extent Russia will aid Leftist movements in other countries. But, if Fascist aggression against Great Britain's empire becomes too great, it is unthinkable that the British will continue to acquiesce.

The Second Danger Spot: Italy's Expansion in the Mediterranean

In the Mediterranean there are many contenders, but the leading ones are Italy and Great Britain. Mussolini, another Fascist dictator, binds his people together by a campaign of propaganda as Hitler does. One aspect of that campaign is the glorifying of war!

War in a great patriotic cause! he shouts. War for the glory that once was ancient Rome's! War to get back the colonies that Great Britain and France promised Italy when she turned against Germany in 1915, and which they refused to give her at Versailles in 1919! War to give Italy a greater place in the imperial sun, away from which she had been pushed by earlier comers in the nineteenth century! War for coal and iron and oil and an agriculture which would give Italy the resources she needs!

Where could this war be most profitably and safely fought? Surely not against Great Britain, France, Japan, or the other powerful competitors! No — war against little Ethiopia (Abyssinia), which Mussolini said was Italy's "special enemy." To support this attitude he published questionable statements of instances of Ethiopian "aggression" against Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, which are Italy's colonies on each side of Ethiopia.

So the dictator, needing a war to strengthen his own prestige, shouted for "a war to avenge the battle of Aduwa." It was at this battle, in 1896, that the Ethiopians completely defeated an Italian army.

This, in brief, was the emotional appeal that caused an enthusiastic revival of national support for the dictator. It led in 1935 and 1936 to his mobilizing a million men, his flouting of the League of Nations, and his successful defiance of Great Britain and France.

During 1935 and 1936 the Italian armies did conquer Ethiopia. And by the "conquest" Mussolini got control over 350,000 square miles of land in northeast Africa, lying between Italy's own colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, and bordering on French and British colonies. It is inhabited by a mixed population of from 5,500,000 to 7,000,000 Bantus and Negroes. The land on the eastern border of Ethiopia is hot semidesert. The central area is a high, temperate, and fairly fertile mountain plateau, cut by great gorges, across which it would be exceedingly difficult and enormously expensive to construct modern facilities for transportation and communication. On this middle table-land some grains, coffee, and cattle are raised and exported. On the lower, hotter lands, cotton, sugar cane, and rubber trees might be raised, if efficient labor could be provided. The land as a whole contains only moderate supplies of iron, coal, copper, sulphur, potash, gold, and platinum. Was it such resources that Mussolini hoped to gain by his conquest of Ethiopia? It is important to note in this connection that the entire export trade of Ethiopia in 1929 was only $15,000,000, and in 1933 about half that much.

Through many centuries the people of Ethiopia have become a complicated mixture of Hamitic and Semitic stock, with a multitude of races and religions. They are divided into two classes: (1) wealthy ruling Amharic nobles and (2) a mass of primitive peasants. It is doubtful if it is possible to educate these peasants sufficiently to make of them modern agricultural or industrial laborers. Moreover, because of climatic conditions Europeans find it difficult, if not physically impossible, to do manual labor in much of the territory.

Because they live at a pitifully low standard of life, earning but a few cents a day, these nature peoples can provide practically no market for Italy's manufactured goods, the principal one of which is cotton textiles. We must not forget that in 1934 Japan (which has practically eliminated Italy in the cotton trade) sold only $1,200,000 worth in all Ethiopia.

Can the increasing surplus population of Italy be exported to this region and live successfully there? Italy's experience in her near-by colonies, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, affords convincing evidence that it cannot. After a generation of experiment in sending people to Eritrea to live, there are today only 4600 Italians there, and they are mostly officials. Moreover, Italy's two colonies in Africa cost her a subsidy of $65,000,000 a year.

Britain's stake in Mussolini's war: control of world empire

We have seen, therefore, that in 1935 and 1936 Mussolini openly carried on a campaign of aggression and "expansion" in Ethiopia. An army of a quarter-million seized and "annexed" the territory, bombed undefended towns, and engaged in a general advance into the country with the announced purpose of forcing Ethiopian subjugation. Yet for this small territory Mussolini defied the world and the League of Nations.

Great Britain rose to oppose Mussolini and did it so vigorously that for a long time it was feared that at last a spark was being ignited that would start the Second World War. Under British leadership the League of Nations declared that Italy was an "aggressor nation" and that she had violated Article XV of the Covenant. For the first time in all history a world organization of nations speedily moved to apply drastic economic sanctions against such an aggressor. In the meantime Great Britain independently moved a huge fleet of battleships into the Mediterranean.

Why did Great Britain do this? Although the complete answer is a long and complicated one, the cue lies in a consideration of Britain's imperial stake. Mussolini was threatening the very life line of Great Britain's empire (see figure 4). That means that he was threatening her control of the seas, her commanding position in the economic world, her dependence on and mastery over the uninterrupted flow of world trade, and hence the very lives of the 47,000,000 people in the United Kingdom.

The stake was too big! England had to move! To understand this "stake" recall quickly from your study of Man and His Changing Society the historical and geographic facts of the rise of the British Empire and the sea routes of trade which bind it together. Recall also the interests of France and other European countries in the Mediterranean region.

The chief trade artery of the Empire: the Mediterranean-Suez-Red-Sea line

Britain's stake in the international conflict of 1935–1936 was, as it has been for nearly a hundred years, the uninterrupted control of the industry, business, and government of some 400,000,000 people in her empire, scattered over six continents. Only about one tenth of these (47,000,000) are in the "mother country," the United Kingdom. Less than a tenth (35,000,000) are in Africa. Seventy-odd per cent (350,000,000 plus) are in Asia — 10,000 miles from the seat of the imperial government in London. Hence any situation which involves a threat to this empire must be studied first in the light of its geography, its policies, its economics, and its history.

This vast British Empire is held together by several arteries of trade and naval defense, but one is more important than all the others. That is the Mediterranean-Suez-Red-Sea line — the one shown by the black line in the map of figure 4. Note how it connects Great Britain's ports with her all-important naval and trade bases: Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, Haifa (in Palestine), the oil fields of Iraq, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and on to India, the Far East, and Australia. Back and forth over this main artery beats the economic blood of the British Empire. Cut this trade artery and the Empire stands a good chance of bleeding to death.

There are perhaps several spots where a strong and bold power could cut this artery. But the most vital one is undoubtedly the spot that Mussolini is threatening — the historic eastern-Mediterranean region between the Nile and the Mesopotamian valleys.

Within this region — which joins Africa and Asia — lie Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan, and each one is of great importance to the preservation of the British Empire. Egypt is perhaps the most important because within it lies the Suez Canal, which cuts Asia apart from Africa. French engineers dug that canal in 1869, but the British have largely controlled it since 1875. Officially, of course, it is managed by an international board of directors. The world trade map of the Empire shows why the British are so much concerned about the Suez Canal. The sea route from London to the ports of the Far East via the Suez Canal is 5000 miles shorter than the route around Africa by way of Capetown. This means a difference of from ten to fifteen days' sailing for an average steamer. What a saving in human and financial costs, as well as an increase in protection to the Empire!

But Egypt, and especially the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, is important for other reasons. Its tropical climate and soil are favorable for the production of cotton, provided the flow of the Blue Nile can be regulated for the irrigation of large areas of land. But the Blue Nile, upon which the cotton-producers of the Sudan depend for water, rises out of Lake Tana in Ethiopia. Whoever controls this source, controls the irrigation of the Sudan cotton land, and hence can seriously affect England's textile factories.

Moreover, Egypt herself, with 15,000,000 people, has long provided a good market for Britain's goods. It is also significant that in the past generation British companies have secured by far the greatest number of building and manufacturing contracts in Egypt. British firms build the dams, irrigation works, railways, and locomotives. As a market and a place for investment, therefore, as well as because it is the site of the Suez Canal, Egypt is important to England. Britain must control Egypt at all costs.

The rôle of oil

So much for England's keen interest in Egypt, the Sudan, and the Suez Canal. Near by, just east of the canal, lies another vital spot in Great Britain's imperial life line — Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan. Ancient Mesopotamia, now called Iraq, has once more become an international center of attention because of the rich oil fields which have been discovered there. As usual England was on hand as soon as the first strike of oil was made. Today she largely controls both the economic and the political destiny of the new country.

Moreover, across Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine she has built a pipe line which delivers Iraq oil directly to British ships in the new British-built port of Haifa, Palestine. With 90-odd per cent of her naval ships burning oil — to say nothing of her enormous private, marine, and industrial use of oil — Great Britain will let nothing stand in the way of her overlordship of Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan.

Hence because of (1) the short sea route via the Suez Canal, (2) the cotton production, the markets, and the strategic location of Egypt, and (3) the oil and naval bases of the eastern Mediterranean, Britain finally took steps to stop Mussolini in Ethiopia. Her stake in Mussolini's colonial adventures was too great. Whether by definite intention or by mere geographic coincidence, the Italian armies attacking Ethiopia were creating a potential thrust at the British Empire. Although Great Britain's leaders long misunderstood and ignored Mussolini's repeated public announcements of his intentions in northeast Africa, finally in June, 1935, they began to recognize the threat which those intentions constituted. Their behavior since that date can be realistically interpreted only in the light of that threat.

But in the Ethiopian episode they were beaten. Despite the League's activity, despite world opinion, and despite Great Britain's vigorous action, Mussolini marched on. He conquered Ethiopia and demanded more power in the Mediterranean. Where will he move next? Will Great Britain allow more aggression? Or will she strike back?

The answers to these questions depend upon the events of the next few years.

The Third Danger Spot: Japan and Eastern Asia

As we have seen in Chapters I and XXI,[1] Japan followed the lead set by other countries, beginning her empire-building as early as 1875. In that year she took the Ryukyu Islands. Twenty years later she defeated China and secured Taiwan (Formosa) and the Pescadores Islands. In 1904–1905 Japan defeated Russia, secured economic rights formerly held by Russia in southern Manchuria, established a protectorate over Korea (Chosen), and recovered the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. Five years later she annexed Korea. In 1919, at the close of the World War she received the German rights in Shantung, got more economic rights from China, and obtained a mandate over German islands in the Pacific. However, in 1922 Shantung was returned to China.

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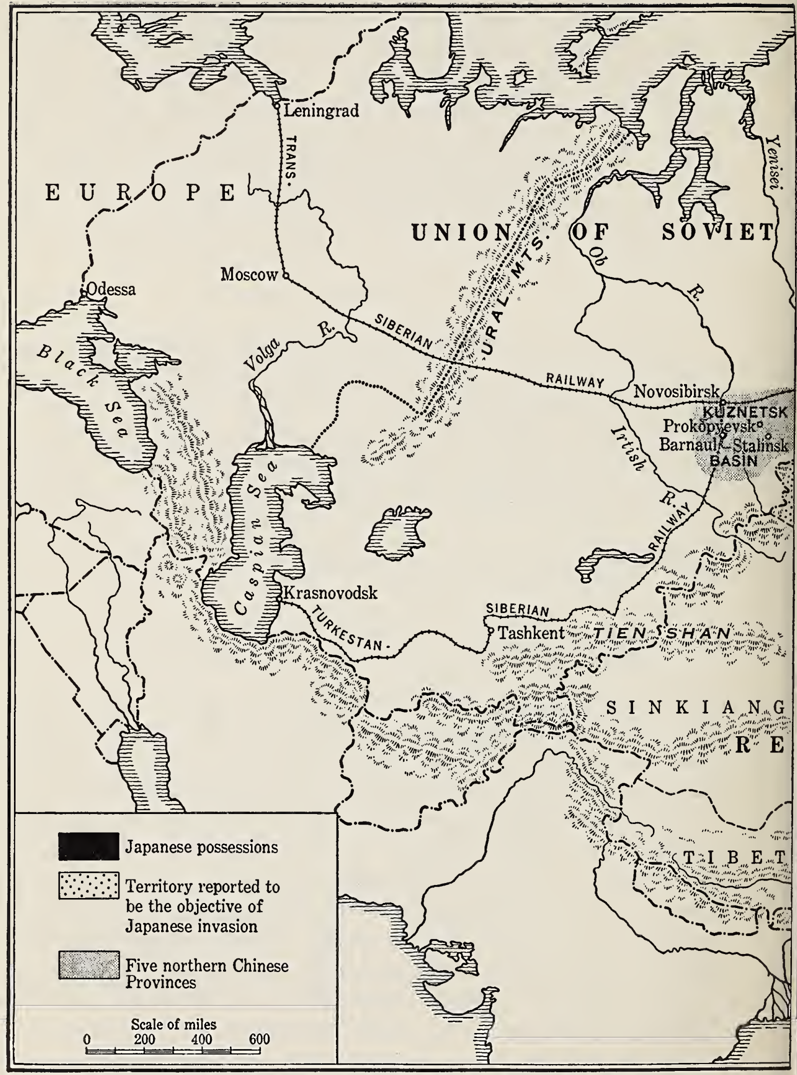
[1] At this point you will probably want to reread pages 551–555.

The history of imperialism is repeating itself in eastern Asia. Japan is rapidly making herself dictator of the Far East. Eighty years ago she was an isolated country of primitive farming people, 29,000,000 in number, who lived in warring feudal clans. Today she is one of the leading industrial and military nations of the world. As overlord of eastern Asia, she is defying the League of Nations, breaking treaties, ignoring the great powers, and declaring that she alone shall decide all international questions in the Far East.

Bold buccaneering in Asia

Japan has become the overlord of eastern Asia by bold adoption of that nineteenth-century-model imperialism which was invented by Great Britain and her European neighbors and practiced in the continents of the entire earth. Being an alert and imitative pupil, she has learned her lessons in imperialist aggression well. The Japanese war party, in control of civil as well as military affairs at home, has intrigued in Manchuria, Peiping, Shanghai, Nanking, and in Outer as well as Inner Mongolia. It has interfered in the domestic affairs of these regions. It has threatened and deposed governors and generals, and has created such puppet "emperors" as Henry Pu-yi of Manchukuo. It has censored the native newspaper editors and writers, and has spread propaganda. It has created border and internal friction as pretexts for forcible intervention. Finally it has subdued whole regions by armed invasion. Thus steadily, by twentieth-century buccaneering, Japan is building a vast empire in eastern Asia.

What does Japan want? She wants economic and political control over the entire region from the Yellow River (Hwang Ho) on the south to the Sea of Okhotsk on the north and east, including Inner and Outer Mongolia on the west and that part of Siberia roughly north and east of Lake Baikal. This is a region of several million square miles, in which are living upward of 200,000,000 people, including Japan's 70,000,000. A large portion of this territory is already under Japanese control, and advance into Outer as well as Inner Mongolia and northern China is proceeding rapidly.


Leningrad
TRANS.
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UNION OF SOVIET
Yenisei
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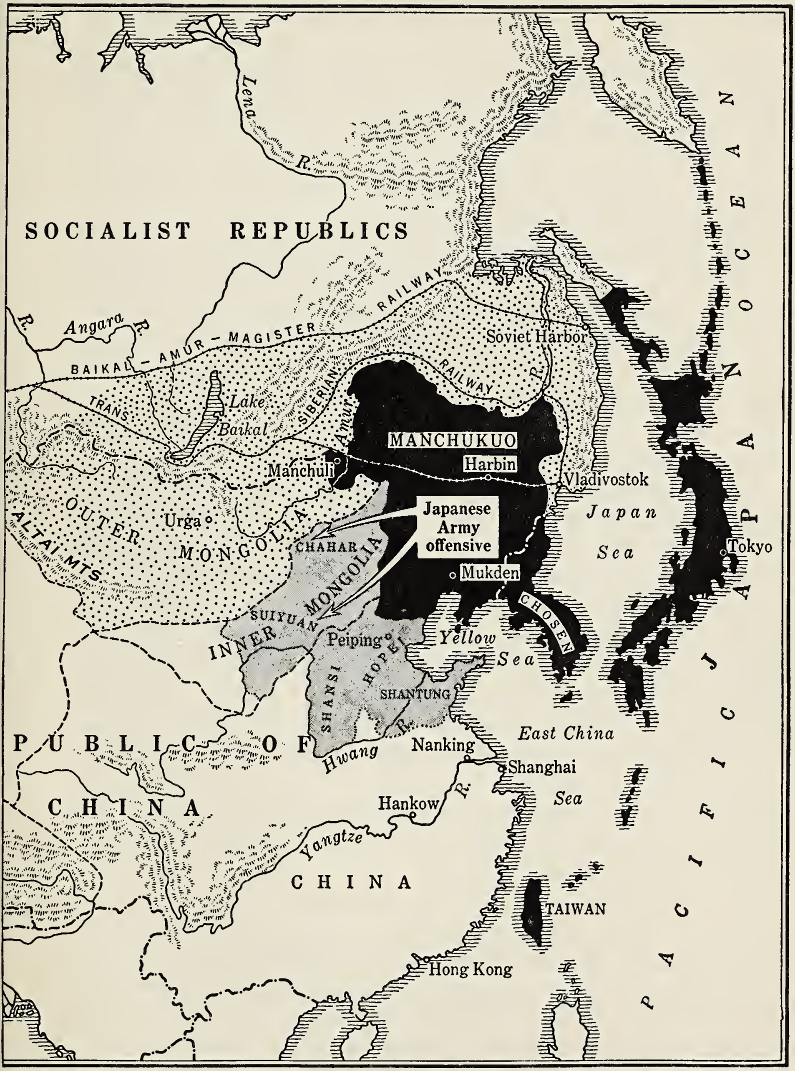
Moscow
Odessa
SIBERIAN
Volga R.
Black Sea
RAILWAY
Novosibirsk
KUZNETSK
Prokopyevsk
Barnaul
Stalinsk
BASIN
Irtish R.
Caspian Sea
RAILWAY
Krasnovodsk
TURKESTAN-
SIBERIAN
Tashkent
TIEN SHAN
SINKIANG
RE
TIBET
Japanese possessions
Territory reported to be the objective of Japanese invasion
Five northern Chinese Provinces
Scale of miles
0
200
400
600

Fig. 230. The danger spot in Asia.


SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
Lena R.
Angara R.
BAIKAL – AMUR – MAGISTER RAILWAY
TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY
Lake Baikal
Amur R.
Soviet Harbor
MANCHUKUO
Harbin
Manchuli
Vladivostok
Japanese Army offensive
Urga
OUTER MONGOLIA
ALTAI MTS.
CHAHAR
INNER MONGOLIA
SUIYUAN
Mukden
CHOSEN
Japan Sea
Tokyo
Peiping
HOPEI
SHANSI
SHANTUNG
Yellow Sea
Hwang R.
Nanking
Shanghai
East China Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAPAN
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Hankow
Yangtze R.
CHINA
TAIWAN
Hong Kong

After map from the *New York Times*

What does Japan hope to get?

What Japan expects to get

Why do imperialist countries do these things? For several reasons: for example, to get power, world prestige, trade, a better standard of living for their own people, a new place for emigration. This last reason is one of great importance to all over-populated countries of small territory. They need a place in which to settle their surplus people.

The ruling factors are economic. Behind the acts of the government and its army and navy are the powerful industrialists, bankers, and business men. These people demand the chance to develop their businesses in the "undeveloped" countries. Specifically they want (1) raw materials for their industries, (2) a market in which to sell their goods, and (3) a place in which to invest their surplus capital in factories, mines, railroads, and other utilities.

It was precisely these wants that led Japan to take Manchuria in 1931–1932, and that drove her on to force all of northern China into a puppet pro-Japanese "country" in 1936. She needs iron and other metals, cotton, rubber, and other materials for her growing factories. She needs a "market" — many millions of people to buy her goods. She needs new places in which her business men can set up their industries. She needs land to which millions of her surplus population can go to live. For these reasons she has forcibly seized Korea (Chosen), Formosa (Taiwan), and Manchuria. So she is now forcibly taking the five northern Chinese provinces and Inner Mongolia. And so, if necessary, she will fight Russia to get Outer Mongolia and eastern Siberia. All these regions promise to satisfy one or more of her needs as an industrial military world power.

As a single example, consider the economic resources of northern China. Take cotton, which Japan needs so urgently for her textile factories. Hopeh, Shantung, and Shansi raise 43 per cent of all China's cotton. Japanese investigators claim that the Chinese farmers of the Yellow River valley alone can produce enough cotton to satisfy Japan's total needs.

Take metals. There are large iron and coal deposits in Shantung and in the Altai Mountains of Outer Mongolia — larger than those of Manchukuo, which are already proving to be a disappointment. In the five northern provinces lie 59 per cent of all China's iron and 58 per cent of her coal reserves. There 82 per cent of her mineral oil is produced, 53 per cent of her cement, 94 per cent of her soda, and 58 per cent of her sulphur. Also 44 per cent of the railroads of China are in these provinces.

In the Russian Siberian territory north of Manchukuo, only a three-day trip from the Japanese homeland, are enormous forests, millions of acres of fertile unsettled land, and a climate suitable for agricultural development.

These, then, are brief illustrations of the gains Japan can expect from her new aggression in eastern Asia.

An example of a danger spot: Japan's undeclared war on China, 1931–1932

For an excellent example of the way in which Japan carried on her expansion, let us review briefly the Sino-Japanese conflict during 1931 and 1932. The conflict was concentrated in two spots, Manchuria and Shanghai.

In the months following September 18, 1931, Japanese troops cleared Manchuria of the "regular" Chinese troops. The Chinese people replied to the attack, not with guns, because they lacked the military force with which to give armed resistance, but with "passive resistance." They resorted to their historic weapon, the boycott. They refused to buy goods from Japan. Almost at once Japan's very profitable trade with China dwindled. A neutral government report states that in the month of February, 1932, Japan's trade with the various sections of China was less than in the same month of 1931. In northern China it was 50 per cent less; in central China, 60 to 70 per cent less; in southern China, 80 to 90 per cent less.

The Japanese business men, working in close coöperation with the militarists, sought by political and military pressure to compel the Chinese to trade with them. The Japanese consular officers in Shanghai also demanded that the boycott be stopped. All anti-Japanese societies and newspapers campaigned for the boycott. By January 18, 1932, feeling was intense on both sides. On that day five Japanese Buddhist monks angered crowds of

Chinese by parading down the streets of Shanghai playing patriotic Japanese airs. They were attacked; three of them were wounded, and later one died. One day later Japanese youths had their revenge by setting fire to a factory where the ringleaders of the Chinese crowds worked. Fighting between the police of the International Settlement and the Japanese started. People were killed on both sides. In the following week the Japanese consular and naval officers stationed at Shanghai delivered ultimatums, demanding satisfaction for the attacks upon Japanese nationals and the suppression of all anti-Japanese movements.

On the afternoon of January 28, Mayor Wu Te-chen humiliated and endangered himself by accepting, without question, all the Japanese demands. In spite of that, at midnight of the same day, Japanese marines were sent by Admiral Shiosawa to attack the Chinese district of Chapei. The Chinese 19th Route Army, stationed near by, dug in with barbed wire and sandbags and fought to a standstill the increasing numbers of Japanese.

Then the Japanese deliberately went on a drive to destroy tens of thousands of homes, schools, libraries and museums, refugee and hospital camps.

This attack by the Japanese on the fifth largest port city of the world was made without even the formality of declaring war. At once it aroused the attention of the entire world. Both China and Japan were members of the League of Nations. China appealed for help, asking the League to investigate and settle the conflict.

Many people in the United States and other countries demanded that the leading powers in the world should boycott Japanese goods and withdraw their ambassadors from Tokyo. Fiery articles filled the pages of newspapers in the world capitals, and the possibility of world war was openly discussed.

In spite of the pressure of public opinion the League Council delayed action, permitting lengthy discussions in the Assembly. Finally it appointed five men to form a Commission of Inquiry: Lord Lytton, of Great Britain, chairman; Count Luigi Aldrovandi-Marescotti, of Italy; General Henri Claudel, of France; Dr. Heinrich Schnee, of Germany; and Major General Frank R. McCoy, of the United States. The commission was instructed to "find the facts" and make a report which could be used as the basis of a peaceful solution of the conflict. This the commission did, with the aid of a staff of experts in Far Eastern affairs. As a result of six months' intensive study in the Far East, they presented to the League of Nations a document named, after the chairman of the commission, the Lytton Report.

The Lytton Report on Japanese aggression in China

The chief facts the Lytton Report presented were

1. That nearly all the people living in Manchuria were of Chinese ancestry and loyalty and that there had been no real movement among them for political independence from China.
2. That "without declaration of war" Japan had "forcibly seized" China's three northeastern provinces and established under Japanese control the government of "Manchukuo."
3. That in doing so, Japan had violated the League Covenant, the Kellogg Pact, and the Nine-Power Treaty.
4. That during the preceding thirty years Japanese industrial leaders had steadily developed large businesses in Manchuria, building railroads, erecting factories, securing control over mines, and establishing many active trading businesses of very great value.
5. That there had been no responsible Chinese government able to maintain order in Manchuria and that Japanese interests had been increasingly endangered by aggression from rival Chinese war lords and petty Chinese "bandits."
6. That the widespread boycott of Japanese goods by the Chinese people had been encouraged by the Kuomintang, the political party which controlled the nearest thing to a "national" government in China.
7. The report conveyed the impression that the Japanese civil government had not aspired to political control of Manchuria; that, on the contrary, it wanted merely to develop and extend Japanese business and industrial interests.
8. That the aggressive war party in Japan, constitutionally independent of the civil government, had acted largely on its own initiative in the destruction of Shanghai and the seizure of Manchuria. The report also gave the impression that if the more peaceably inclined business men had believed that a responsible

Chinese government would develop soon in Manchuria, they would have held the war party in check. However, there was political chaos in China; the communist movement was growing in power, and the Nanking government had no control over Manchuria.

The commission did more than find the facts; it also suggested a peaceable solution for the conflict. It proposed direct negotiation between the Chinese and Japanese governments and suggested a way by which each could "save its face." The Chinese were offered a way of keeping their sovereignty over Manchuria, at least in name; the Japanese economic interests were offered security. The proposal was that the League Council call an advisory conference to be participated in by the Chinese and Japanese governments and by two groups of native representatives from Manchuria, one chosen by China, the other by Japan. The commission hoped that this conference would bring about a new autonomous government in Manchuria, with the chief officials appointed by the Chinese national government, but with foreigners supervising the finances and the police force. It was also anticipated that new trade agreements would be made between Japan and China which would protect the interests of Japanese business men as well as those of other countries. Other treaties were planned which would regulate and perhaps prevent future boycotts.

Thus the commission proposed to give Japan an important position in the development of Manchuria, but it also offered suggestions to prevent Manchuria from eventually becoming a mere protectorate of Japan. It proposed boards of conciliation and arbitration, that is, committees which would deal with disputes arising in Manchuria in the future. It urged the withdrawal of Japanese soldiers and the development of a native police force under foreign supervision.

On the publication of the Lytton Report loud protests came from both Tokyo and Nanking. The Japanese government declared that what she had done could not be undone; that she had recognized Manchukuo, that her honor was at stake, and that she could not change her policy. The Nanking leaders protested that the report provided for a weak surrender of China to Japan and that nothing would satisfy the Chinese but the immediate withdrawal of Japanese from Manchuria.

What happened? Japan, thwarted by the League and public opinion, withdrew from the League of Nations. She then proceeded to make her control over Manchukuo more complete than ever.

Why is the whole world interested in Japan's imperial ambitions in Asia?

The actions and ambitions of Japan involve more than a local fight between two traditional enemies. Japan's desire for greater control in eastern Asia possesses fearsome possibilities of inciting another world explosion. The Soviet government of Russia has assembled large bodies of troops on the frontier from Manchouli to Vladivostok. *Isvestia*, the semiofficial organ of the Moscow government, repeatedly points out the possibility, even the probability, of war between Russia and Japan. These conditions, considered in connection with the proposals of rival Chinese militarists to unite in a northern expedition against Japan and the new Manchukuo government, tend to center the attention of observers of the Far East once more upon the northeastern frontier.

But the conflict is not confined to China, Russia, and Japan. The great powers of the Western world are also vitally interested. Even the American State Department abandoned its traditional policy of isolation, and has given Japan and the world at large to understand that it does not approve the violation of treaties.

What are the interests of these other powers? First, the corporations and business men of Great Britain, France, Japan, the United States, and other countries have valuable economic interests in the trading cities of China. Japan already has more than a billion dollars invested in Manchuria and an unknown amount in China. But Great Britain, France, the United States, and other countries have also built up valuable centers in their respective "concessions." They have developed great factories, banks, business institutions, and rich residential sections in Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Hankow, and other cities. Although they have kept citizenship in their own countries, thousands of people from each of these countries have set up residences permanently in China.

But there is a second and underlying reason, namely, the economic interdependence of the whole world. Japan, for example, cannot live without the gigantic trade of these hundreds of millions of Chinese, nor without the food and raw materials of Manchuria. This, more than any other reason, causes the business men of Japan to support her war lords.

Similarly each of the other powers will continue to exert pressure to retain its foreign trade with China. China has certainly not less than 450,000,000 people, a population which must have enormous amounts of commodities, most of which as yet the people cannot produce themselves. It is this economic prize which, more than any other single factor, is causing the competition among the leading industrial nations. It is this prize which drives the Japanese business men and militarists on in their attempt to compel the Chinese to trade with them — even if it means isolation from the rest of the world.

So Fascism threatens War in the World's Danger Spots

Thus we have had examples illustrating the difficult international problems which confront the peoples of the world today. Of course there are other danger spots, but no one of them is as critical as any one of these three: (1) middle Europe with Fascist Germany threatening Russia on the east and France on the west; (2) Fascist Italy demanding expansion in the territories around the Mediterranean and thus threatening the British Empire; (3) Fascist Japan advancing its ambitious career as overlord of eastern Asia and threatening war with Russia and the democratic countries.

No doubt, as you have read of the setback to democratic government and the advancing threat to the peace of the world, you have asked: But have there not been great achievements by the development of our new civilization? Are there not people and leaders among the statesmen of the world who are devising plans for international coöperation to prevent another terrible war? To the answer to both these questions we shall turn in the next and concluding chapter of this book.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

BARNES, J., and FIELD, F. V. Behind the Far Eastern Conflict. Institute of Pacific Relations, American Council, New York.

BISSON, T. A., and GOSLIN, R. A. Clash in the Pacific. Grosset & Dunlap, New York. One of the Headline Books, prepared by the Foreign Policy Association.

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE. The Dangerous Year. Foreign Policy Association, New York.

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE. The World Adrift. Foreign Policy Association, New York. A World Affairs pamphlet.

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE, and GOSLIN, R. A. War Drums and Peace Plans. Grosset & Dunlap, New York. One of the Headline Books, prepared by the Foreign Policy Association.

OWEN, D. E. Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East. Henry Holt and Company, New York.

Conflict in the Far East, 1931–1932. American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. A pamphlet on the Manchurian crisis.

European Diplomacy in the Spanish Crisis. Foreign Policy Reports, Foreign Policy Association, New York, December 1, 1936.

Struggle of the Powers in China. Foreign Policy Reports, Foreign Policy Association, New York, August 1, 1936.

War Tomorrow. Will We Keep Out? Foreign Policy Association, New York. One of the Headline Books, prepared by the Foreign Policy Association.

In addition to these specific references, students should scan the weekly and monthly magazines for important current material.

CHAPTER XXVII

WORLD CONFLICT VERSUS WORLD ORGANIZATION

The world's march toward democracy and the current challenge of dictatorship have now been studied in ten great centers — the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, China, Japan, India, and Latin America. The study of these ten nations provides us with the facts needed to judge the changing governments and changing cultures of the world. More than 1,200,000,000 people — two thirds of the inhabitants of the earth — are living under these ten governments. The cultures of most of these countries are changing swiftly; some are being completely transformed. From them we can see the significant conditions and problems of our modern world.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

Looking back at the thrilling struggle of the peoples of the world for a better way of living, we can see now the astonishing accomplishments of the scientific method of thought. In the 300-odd years since 1600 the new ways of thinking suggested by Roger Bacon, Francis Bacon, Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and a host of other scientists have been applied to the world's problems by hundreds of clever and industrious workers. To the physical aspects of life especially they have applied the new method — to industry, to agriculture, to business, to government, to warfare. Each has been transformed, and totally new ways of living have been produced.

On the physical side the achievements of the new European civilization, now being adopted in every continent of the earth, are epoch-making. Note them briefly:

First, the world's highest standard of living — more food, more shelter, more clothing, more necessities, and more comforts and luxuries than the world has ever known before.

Second, longer life for hundreds of millions of human beings. People in industrial countries of the West, for example, live, on the average, about 56 years; those of undeveloped regions, such as the Far East, live only about half that long.

Third, shorter hours of labor than people have hitherto been compelled to work — eight to nine hours a day instead of twelve to fourteen hours a day.

Fourth, much fatigue and pain already eliminated from the world because of the machine production of food, shelter, and clothing.

Fifth, new "lively arts" — a great variety of activities for the increased leisure of the common man in the industrial nations.

Sixth, increased enlightenment and less superstition. Knowledge is taking the place of myth and legend.

Seventh, world-shaking experiments in government. Already it is possible for a considerable proportion of the population of industrial countries to share in government. Paper guaranties (written constitutions) of civil liberties are carried into practice in many countries.

Eighth, human slavery — that is, the ownership of human bodies — eliminated from modern civilizations.

Magnificent achievements, indeed! Clear evidence of the accomplishments of the new ways of thinking which the early modern scientists discovered and developed after 1500!

The Weaknesses of the New Civilization

But on the ledger of this new civilization there are debits as well as credits. In the preceding chapters of this book we have tried to confront those debits honestly and courageously. First, we have stated that there is a current, sharp challenge to the long-time development of democracy. Second, we have made clear that there is an ever-present fear that another world war is on the horizon.

The imperative need for international coöperation and control

There is no one who does not recognize that this new civilization has brought about a multitude of achievements. But, confronted by serious current problems, the leaders of the entire earth are baffled; they are uncertain as to what to do about them. They are beginning to raise such questions as these: Have the new industrial ways of living produced problems beyond the power of men's minds to solve? Is there no possible way to prevent the actual coming of another world war?

Those who are interested in a peaceful solution say there is but one answer: international coöperation and control.

In the remaining pages of this volume we shall study the efforts which have been made toward such a solution, and their prospects of success in the future. The study can be conveniently divided into two phases: first, the decade of the 1920's, during which hope for international coöperation was high; second, the decade of the 1930's, during which doubt has prevailed.

THE 1920'S: A DECADE OF HOPE

During the early years which followed the World War the leaders of European countries increasingly turned toward international coöperation and *planning* as the way out. Many of them said frankly: "We are ruining the entire Continent by this mad race for trade, by the building of these gigantic armies and navies which take so much of our people's hard-earned money. Let us join hands and form a 'Union.' Let us plan together how much food, fuel, and manufactured goods we need. Let us agree through frank discussion on how much each shall produce. Let us put an end to this constant warfare. Let us really try to find the road to permanent world peace."

It was with the idea in mind of the urgent need for international coöperation and control that Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States during the World War, went in person to the Peace Conference in 1919. And it was largely as a result of his determined efforts that a great world organization — the League of Nations — was created in 1920 and was joined by 42 nations. Many leading Americans believe that a great danger came to the peace of the world when President Wilson's opponents in the United States Senate succeeded in keeping the United States out of the League.

But one fact is clear: for the first time in all recorded history most of the nations of the world seriously discussed together the problems of world organization. Two definite plans were

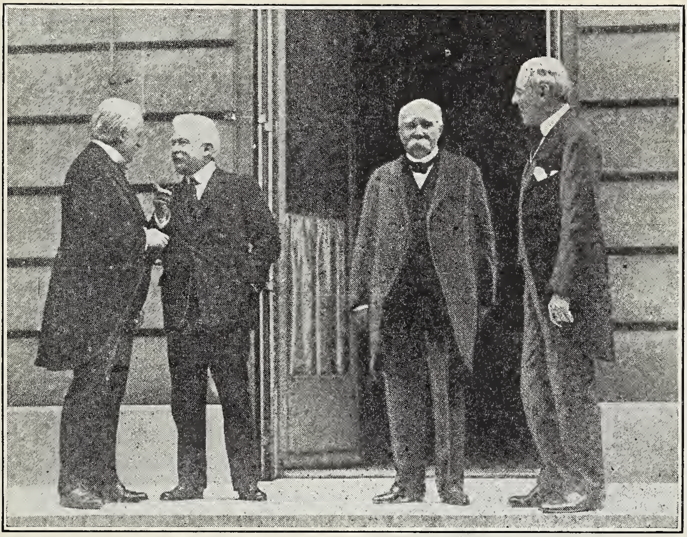


FIG. 231. These men were called "the Big Four" at the Peace Conference in 1919 because of the important parts they took. They are (from left to right) David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States

proposed: (1) the League of Nations and (2) the United States of Europe. The former was to embrace the nations of the world; the latter, the countries of Europe. Let us see what happened to each of these proposals.

SOME EARLIER PROPOSALS TO ORGANIZE THE WORLD FOR PEACE

This post-war movement for world organization was not new. Many similar proposals have been made during the past 150 years. In the 1780's Voltaire, whose pen exerted such a tremendous influence all over Europe, discussed the necessity of organizing the world to keep quarreling nations at peace. This student of society hated war, calling it "the code of murder." He also said that wars were nothing but robbery. He described Europe as a vast fair, in which many peoples were buying and selling from one another. He claimed that trade between nations must be free — not hampered by tariff barriers. Furthermore, he said that the continent of Europe must be organized. He made a practical proposal: the establishment of a European Diet and the building up of an international code of rules for settling disputes between countries.

Fig. 232. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)

Then, in 1795, Immanuel Kant's *Eternal Peace* was published. Within a year the famous German philosopher's book achieved a large sale. In it he too set forth advanced views. He denounced all peace treaties which contained within them the seeds of new wars, and he urged that all standing armies be abolished. He said, "No independent state should be acquired by any other state in any way whatsoever, and no state should be allowed to use force to interfere in the affairs of another state." He denied governments the right to contract national debts, because then the people of a nation are in the hands of those who control money. Finally, he said that no state should make war in such a way that confidence should be destroyed when the time came to make peace. Thus in Kant's suggestion that all nations renounce the right to go to war and that all organize a "State of Nations" we have the idea of a world federation.

In the next century several proposals for a European union were made. In 1848 the poet and statesman Lamartine issued his *Manifesto to Europe*, proclaiming that "war is nearly always a dictatorship. Soldiers forget institutions for men. Thrones tempt the ambitious; patriotism is dazzled by glory." He urged political leaders to believe that the "world . . . wishes to advance to brotherhood and peace."

In 1869, at the International Peace Congress, another Frenchman, the famous novelist Victor Hugo, urged the formation of a federal European republic, a United States of Europe. He said that the frontiers of Europe were making slaves of the people and of their leaders. "The first slavery is the frontier . . . wipe out the frontier, close down the customhouse, dismiss the soldier; in other words, be free, and peace will follow."

In 1883 Jean Godin, who attempted to build an ideal community in France, presented suggestions for the way to world peace in a book on socialism. He demanded the setting up of a universal republic, the organization of international federations to bring about world peace, and international laws and codes for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In his writing he urged nations to defend the peace of the world "by the joint action of all the federated powers." Then he said, "The constitution of the United States of Europe may, in a near future, inaugurate a definitive peace on the Continent."

Godin pointed to tariff barriers as one of the worst sore spots: "Large fortunes are built up in every country as the result of the disguised monopoly created by the customs [tariffs]." Thus, because of the greed of the privileged classes, the only way to solve the problem, he believed, was to wipe out the tariffs.

A Dream come True: the League of Nations

When the various peace treaties were signed in 1919, the yearning for a world union was put into workable form. An actual League of Nations came into existence. A great catastrophe, the World War, had opened the minds even of prime ministers, bound by the political practices of Europe, to the need for open coöperation. Twenty-four nations signed the preamble of the Covenant of the League, which reads:

> The High Contracting Parties
>
> In order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security.
>
> by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
>
> by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations,
>
> by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and
>
> by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Once organized, the League gripped the imaginations of peoples all over the earth, and soon 54 nations had joined hands in the attempt to bring about a true world union. The United States and Soviet Russia stood out among those that did not join. The list of countries whose governments were not willing to unite with the other governments of the world as members of the League includes the following names:

The United States
Russia
Turkey
Egypt
Ecuador
Afghanistan
Brazil
Costa Rica
Nejd
Yemen

Almost exactly half the countries in the League were in Europe, and almost half in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. It was truly a world organization.

To become a member of the League the applying government had to agree (1) to settle all its disputes by arbitration, before either the Council of the League or some other arbitrating body; (2) to pay its share of the cost of running the League; (3) to send delegates to all meetings.

Allied to the League of Nations there are two other important international bodies: (1) the International Labor Organization, whose office is located at Geneva, and (2) the World Court, located at The Hague, Holland. These three great organizations for the promotion of world coöperation cost altogether only $5,000,000 a year. This is indeed a tiny sum compared with the annual expenditure of any one large country for armament. The amount to be paid by each of the countries depends upon its population and wealth. Thus the larger powers pay about one third of the total expense.

How the League of Nations is Organized

The League of Nations provided at last the practical working application of the dream of the social philosophers. There are three main divisions: (1) the Assembly, (2) the Council, and (3) the Secretariat. In addition there are allied bodies of experts and advisers. Chief among the expert bodies are three technical organizations: (1) Communications and Transit, (2) Health, and (3) Economic and Financial. There are also various advisory bodies; for example, the commissions on Mandates, on Intellectual Coöperation, on Opium, and on the Traffic in Women and the Protection of Children.

The Assembly, meeting annually in September at the League headquarters at Geneva, is composed of not more than three representatives from each member country and is the supreme legislative body. The Council, of fourteen members, meets at least four times a year and is the real executive head. The Secretariat, composed of about 600 permanent, expert "civil service" employees of the League, works chiefly at Geneva, analyzing and reporting on each matter that is submitted to the League. The expert and advisory bodies are temporary associates of the League organization, who assemble at special call for expert assistance.

The World Court, the official title of which is the Permanent Court of International Justice, is composed of eleven judges (aided by four deputy judges) chosen for terms of nine years by the League Council and Assembly. Already the judgments of the World Court, which are binding on the people concerned, have played an important part in international relations.

In the field of labor problems the International Labor Organization is an equally great influence. Its Geneva office makes studies and issues reports of urgent problems and conditions of labor in various parts of the world. Annual conferences are held, to which come representatives of capital, of labor, and of official departments and bureaus of various governments. Most important of all, the International Labor Organization has already succeeded in leading many countries to enact labor laws, based on its suggestions, concerning hours of labor and conditions of work.

What are the Aims of the League's Work?

1. To make new international laws

Because of the interdependence of the modern world there is a great need for definite international laws. Without such laws the many disputes that arise between countries are more likely to have serious consequences. During the 1920's the League did a great service in interpreting and developing international law.

To improve the existing system of international communication in Europe, the League Assembly in 1922 voted appropriations authorizing a European railway conference to be held in 1923. As soon as this step was taken the permanent officials in the Transit Section of the Secretariat collected all available information in regard to the railway problem. The next step was to sound out railway experts throughout the Continent as to how the problems could best be solved. Finally a plan was presented to the technical organization of Communications and Transit, which is composed of officials and representatives of business organizations interested in communications. After studying the problem, the Transit organization drew up a draft convention laying down new international rules for European railway traffic. This convention was then sent to each government concerned, together with a report of the Committee. This report and draft convention were then studied by each government as the basis for the diplomatic conference which the Council had in the meantime called. The governments therefore knew what the main proposals were to be and they had the opportunity of forming conclusions beforehand. In other words, the diplomatic conference was the last step in a carefully worked out process, in which the knowledge of experts and the negotiating ability of diplomats were combined.

Once a convention is signed, each government considers whether or not to ratify. Formerly many conventions went by default simply because of neglect. But if a government does not act upon a League convention within a reasonable length of time, the Council, Assembly or the Secretariat may make inquiries, and the League has been specially effective in this type of follow-up work. As a result of the creation of this League machinery — a machinery which is continuously in operation and necessarily complicated — the world may claim for the first time in its history that it has devised a method by which international problems may be intelligently solved.[1]

2. To settle disputes and prevent war

But the real test of the League is whether it has power to prevent countries from going to war. Does it have such power? It has, indeed, an elaborate machinery for preventing war. In the written agreement of the nations belonging to the League, Article XI states definitely that "any threat of war" is a matter of concern to the whole League, "and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

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[1] Raymond Leslie Buell, *Europe: a History of Ten Years*, pp. 424–425. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1930.

What action can the League take if a country threatens to make war on another? Let us consider an actual incident.

How the League prevented war between Bulgaria and Greece in 1925

On October 19, 1925, a Bulgarian sentry returned the fire of a Greek soldier who had crossed the Bulgarian border to kill him. Three days later the Greek government sent detachments of troops across the Bulgarian border. At this threat of war the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs telegraphed to the League of Nations headquarters at Geneva, ask- the League to intervene. The acting president of the Council telegraphed both the Greek and the Bulgarian government, reminding them that in signing Article XII of the Covenant of the League they had solemnly promised not to resort to war, and urging them to prevent hostilities.

When the Council met, Greece was given 60 hours in which to withdraw from Bulgarian territory, and military attachés of Great Britain, France, and Germany were sent to the place of hostilities to report on what was done. Eight hours before the end of the time limit the Council's orders were obeyed. The Council then proceeded to investigate the facts in the controversy. When the report was made in December the Council ordered the Greek government to pay Bulgaria a penalty. It was done, and the incident was closed.

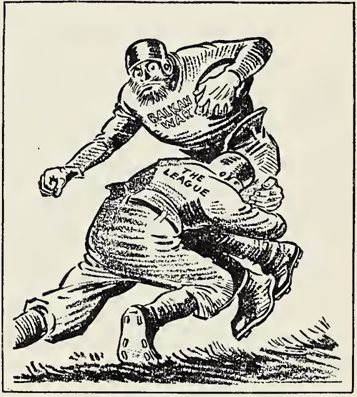


FIG. 233. A cartoon which appeared in 1925 during the League's negotiations with Bulgaria and Greece. What does it illustrate? (From the Dallas *News*)

This, then, is an example in which the League actually succeeded in settling quarrels. From 1920 to 1928, inclusive, the League handled 24 disputes between countries, eight of which involved hostilities. In none of these eight instances did the disputing countries go to war. In the other cases the Council or its commissions were able to give valuable aid in bringing about peaceful settlement of the disputes.

It is clear, then, that the League of Nations was of great service to the cause of international coöperation during the 1920's. An organization was developed by which nations could discuss and take action to improve the health of the world and the conditions of labor, to regulate tariffs, and to develop international law and cultural relations between countries. Certainly much was accomplished in a decade.

PRACTICAL PROPOSALS FOR A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Besides the League of Nations, which is an organization of countries of the entire world, proposals were made also during the 1920's for a union of the European nations. As we have seen, such proposals were not new; but after the World War increased attention was given to them.

The most important plan was launched by a group of liberal students under the leadership of Count Richard M. Coudenhove-Kalergi, professor at the University of Vienna and president of the Pan-European Union. He and his group presented a definite proposal for a European organization for peace. They established branches in practically every European country, and issued regularly from France and Austria a magazine called *Paneurope.* In the United States the Foreign Policy Association and other groups held meetings, issued pamphlets, and otherwise supported the movement.

Twenty-seven European governments discussed forming a United States of Europe

On May 17, 1930, Aristide Briand, foreign minister of France, submitted to the other 26 European governments represented in the League of Nations a proposal that the nations of Europe join together in a trading and political union — a so-called United States of Europe. This plan took into account the fact that the countries of Europe are thoroughly interdependent, even though they are free, independent political states. It proposed that an actual organization be set up to work out friendly business arrangements between the several countries. This organization was to have a "European Conference," a Political Committee, and a Secretariat Service. It was to protect the sovereignty of each nation and work in close relationship with the League.

All the 26 other European governments to which the proposal was sent replied to it. All admitted general interest in it, but most of the governments pointed out grave dangers. Chief among these was the danger that Europe herself would become organized against the other sections of the world and that great disputes might arise between continents which would be more harmful than any wars between separate nations. There were also many differences of opinion about the way such a plan should be worked out. For example, some nations believed that Russia should be excluded from the union because of the great difference between her social life and political government and those of other countries.

However, despite the proposal and the interest in the plan, the events of the late 1920's and early 1930's swept the movement aside. Since then, as we have seen, no peaceful effort to unite all the European nations has been made.

The 1930's: a Decade of Doubt

The hope for international coöperation during the 1920's was displaced by doubt and fear during the 1930's. As we have seen, some nations openly denounced the League of Nations. They glorified war. For international coöperation they substituted open aggression and intense nationalism. In the remaining pages of this book let us note a few of the incidents which illustrate the trend away from international coöperation.

The League and the Manchurian Crisis

We must note that not one of the 24 disputes brought before the League during the 1920's concerned a major power within the League. But, as we have seen in the previous chapter, in September, 1931, there arose in far-off Manchuria a crisis between Japan and China. This crisis was to prove a real test of the League's power.

Ever since the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) the Japanese government had stationed at various points along the South Manchurian Railway bodies of troops for the protection of this valuable property. On the night of September 18 the Japanese military authorities at Mukden, alleging an attempt by Chinese soldiers to destroy the tracks of the railway, seized the city, occupied the arsenals and barracks, and disarmed or dispersed all the Chinese troops in the vicinity.

At the moment of this extraordinary action the Council of the League was in session, and the Chinese government promptly laid before this body a protest against the armed invasion of Chinese territory in violation of the League Covenant. In reply to China's protest the Japanese government stated that Japan's action was not aggressive, that she had merely taken reasonable and necessary measures for the defense of legitimate treaty rights, and that she had no intention of seizing any Chinese territory or of otherwise trespassing upon China's sovereignty.

The first concern of the League was to prevent the development of an openly declared state of war. Hence on September 22 the Council passed unanimously (the Japanese and Chinese members being present and voting) a resolution calling upon the two powers to take no steps which might make the situation any worse. In spite of this resolution the Japanese armed forces during the next three months steadily extended the field of their activities. Bodies of Japanese troops were sent out to occupy strategic points on the various railways connecting with the South Manchuria line. All Chinese armed forces showing hostility to the extension of Japanese power were described as bandits, and a widespread campaign for the extermination of these "bandits" was undertaken. By the end of December the Japanese had almost complete control of all Manchuria between the Great Wall and the Russian-operated Chinese Eastern Railway. In view of these increasingly dangerous developments the Council on December 10 resolved to appoint a commission of five experts who would go directly to the scene of the conflict. There they would study the situation and report to the League.

By the time the League commission, headed by Lord Lytton, arrived in the Far East to commence its studies the situation had been complicated by a fresh development. The disarming and dispersal of the Chinese troops at Mukden and other Manchurian cities had been followed by the total disappearance of the previous government. To provide some form of civil administration, local government committees, friendly to Japan, had quickly come into existence. On March 9, 1932, a self-appointed group of local leaders, assisted by a large number of Japanese advisers, inaugurated the government of "the independent state of *Manchukuo*."

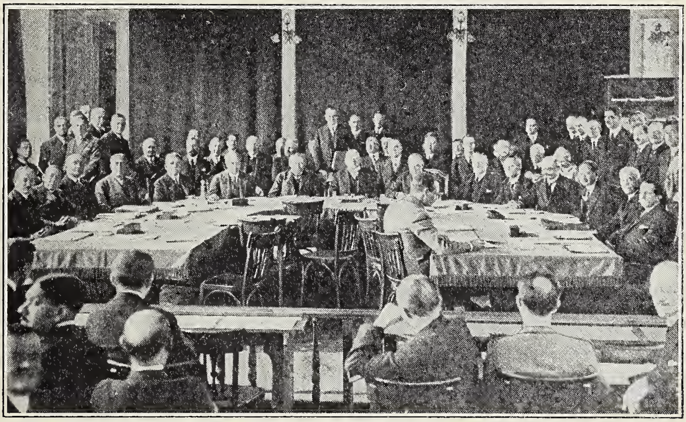


Fig. 234. At the opening of a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations

Early in September, 1932, the Lytton commission, after nearly six months of study, completed its report, which was made public on October 2. Between the completion of the Lytton Report and its publication, however, the situation in Manchuria had undergone still another important change. On September 15 the Japanese government had concluded a treaty (practically amounting to an offensive and defensive alliance) with the government of Manchukuo, thus formally recognizing Manchukuo as an independent sovereign state and pledging Japan to support this state by force of arms against attack by any other country. Following the conclusion of this treaty, moreover, responsible officials of the Japanese government announced that Japan's policy with respect to Manchuria was *irrevocable,* could not be altered, and that any attempt by the League to force a change in that policy would be followed, if necessary, by Japan's withdrawal from membership in the organization.

Here, then, was the first major crisis in which the League took part. But its efforts did not prevent Japan's aggression. As we know, Japan withdrew its membership from the League.

The League and Italy's Attack on Ethiopia

Testing the world economic boycott

The second major test of the League arose out of Italy's "unprovoked attack" on Ethiopia. As a result of this attack the League of Nations started, on November 18, 1935, an almost world-wide economic boycott against Italy. This was an epoch-making event. For the first time in modern history a nation was officially branded as an outlaw before the bar of world opinion. The League declared Italy to be an "aggressor nation," and under Britain's vigorous leadership the Council of the League voted "economic sanctions." In the incredibly short time of one week the cabinets of four fifths of the countries of the world, some of them 10,000 miles away, confirmed by radio and air mail the action of their representatives at Geneva.

Witness the five outstanding provisions of the sanctions and the number of countries which coöperated in them:

1. An embargo on shipments to Italy of any implements of war, plus the lifting of previous restrictions on such shipments to Ethiopia (49 countries).
2. A complete credit boycott of Italy (47 countries).
3. A complete "buy nothing" boycott against all Italian products (46 countries).
4. Refusal of countries to sell to Italy key products required in the manufacture of war materials (46 countries).
5. Mutual assistance to League members that suffered economically from the trade stoppage.

Despite this positive action by the League there were grave difficulties in the path of its effectiveness. The United States, Japan, and Germany — three of the major world powers — were outside the League, although the United States and Germany had already taken some steps to stop their people from trading with Italy. Moreover, four member nations in Italy's immediate neighborhood — Albania, Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland — refused to ratify.

What happened? The action of the League and world opinion had little effect on Italy; Mussolini marched on and "conquered" Ethiopia. Again the League had not been able to stop war.

This, then, is a brief picture of international coöperation in the 1930's. In two major tests the League was proved to be inadequate. Although Russia in 1934 became a member of the League, Japan and Germany withdrew from it, and Italy, in 1935, defied it. The efforts of the League to bring about international agreements in controversies — financial and economic — between the major powers have failed. Its program of promoting disarmament has been a complete failure.

Thus, the sole organization for international coöperation has not been able to meet the forces opposed to it. It has no great superarmy or supernavy with which to police the world. It has merely the force of boycott, and even that failed in 1935. Boycott proved to be practically worthless without both the willingness of *all* member nations to live up to the Covenant and the coöperation of nonmembers.

If those nations really believed in the power of the League to enforce world peace, would they not disarm?

In this connection most authorities point out that one of the most powerful factors weakening the League is the obstinate refusal of the United States Senate to permit the United States to join. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the League is still definitely under the control of the countries which won the World War.

Under these circumstances the prospects for international coöperation are clouded with doubt, fear, and hopelessness.

ORGANIZING THE WORLD FOR SECURITY

It is clear, then, that our new industrial civilization does have debits as well as credits on its ledger. And the debits have become very, very large. Baffling problems that confront us demand solutions. Problems of production of goods . . . problems of exports and imports . . . problems of tariff barriers between nations . . . problems of great armaments . . . problems of huge debts . . . problems of disputed boundaries between nations . . . problems of oppressed minor peoples. Difficult problems, indeed, confront the leaders of our new civilization.

But, authorities on international affairs tell us, these problems all reduce to one: How shall the world be organized to guarantee security? Every man, woman, and child on the earth wants security. Every government wants to guarantee security to its people. Back of France's demand for a large army and back of England's insistence upon the world's largest navy is this desire for security. Back of alliances between France and Germany's neighbors is the desire for security. This desire is also back of the increasing tariff barriers which are being erected around every nation of the Western world.

We have already studied many of the most pressing problems which threaten the security of the world: the carrying on of our fragile interdependent scheme of trade; the planning of new international ways of trading to fit changing conditions; the question of war guilt and reparations, and of territories taken from Germany; and the mixed-up populations of European nations. But there are other problems equally pressing. In concluding our discussion we can do little more than enumerate them.

Costly armaments versus world disarmament

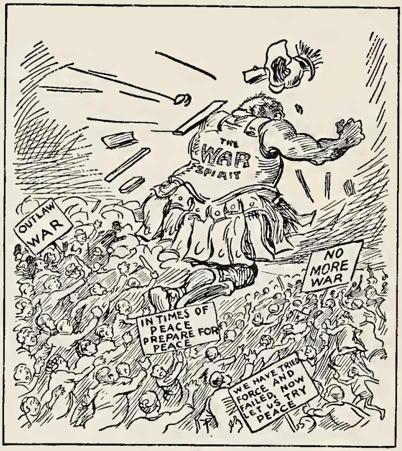
No issue concerning world security is more important than this one. What are the two alternatives? First, all the leading nations must arm or, second, all must lay down their arms. Most of them are now heavily armed. The result is a Europe that is in constant turmoil and that is now approaching bankruptcy and the wreck of her industrial civilization.

It is clear that the first alternative has been tried and has failed. Should not the world now resort to the other? Should it not scrap its great navies, armies, and fortifications, and in the future refuse to build more than enough to be thrown into a common pool as an international police force? This is what many careful students of the problem are urging.

International control of natural resources

No problem is more serious today than that of the overproduction of goods, food, fuel, and raw materials. With modern power-driven machines the world now produces more goods than people are able to purchase. Furthermore, without scientific planning and control within each industrial country and without international planning and control for all countries, we shall continue to produce more goods than the world can buy. Experts tell us that, as this happens, we shall from time to time confront destructive hard times, in which millions of men, even tens of millions, will be thrown out of work and a vast number of human beings will come close to starvation.

These conditions can be avoided only by international coöperation. Far-seeing leaders are now suggesting that coal, oil, and other fuels, iron and other basic raw materials, should be controlled by a world economic council. Only by scientific planning of the amount produced in each country and distributed to various parts of the world can terrible future crises be avoided.


THE WAR SPIRIT
OUTLAW WAR
NO MORE WAR
IN TIMES OF PEACE PREPARE FOR PEACE
WE HAVE TRIED FORCE AND FAILED, NOW LET US TRY PEACE

© George Matthew Adams Service

FIG. 235. Through this cartoon the artist shows us that there is a strong feeling against the militaristic, or war, spirit. What else does the cartoon illustrate?

International control of world trade

If the production and distribution of the world's resources are planned and controlled by a world body, should not international trade be planned and controlled in the same manner? This is the query of leaders in world affairs. They raise the general question: How can trade be carried on among nations with fair prices to business men and fair wages to workers?

Many difficult questions are involved in this great one. For example: What part is played by the sharp differences in standards of living in the various countries? What is the relation of these to wages, prices, and costs of production?

There is also the baffling problem of tariffs. Since the World War each of the principal countries of the world has erected tariffs against foreign goods. These have been a constant cause of friction and a real source of danger to the peace of the world.

Should there not be an international body to study scientifically these problems of differing standards of living and of differing costs of production, prices, wages, and profits? Should not the tariffs be decided by scientific study of the needs and the resources of the peoples of the world?

Difficult problems of the control of money and credit

No problem confronting the modern world needs international discussion and decision more urgently than that of the control of money and credit. After the World War the money of nearly every leading country shrank in value. This happened to the French franc, to the German mark, to the Italian lira, and even to the British pound. Furthermore, the gold supplies in the national treasuries of most of the countries of the world had dwindled to a dangerously low point. So low was it that in the autumn of 1931 the vaults of the national treasuries of the United States and France together contained more than three fifths of the entire world's gold supply. Such a situation spells serious danger to money systems and to the trade of the world.

These conditions point to the urgent need for international bodies which will study scientifically how to distribute fairly the world's supply of precious metals and which will discover better ways of protecting world trade. Students are also questioning whether the world should continue to use the gold standard as the means by which the money systems of the world are guaranteed. One fact is clear: nations need a system which will guarantee credit to every individual, community, and nation that needs it and deserves it. Only through international coöperation and study can such a system be devised.

Important problems of changing culture

Throughout this book we have studied examples of the changing cultures of countries in which industrial ways of living have been adopted. Villages and towns long isolated from one another are becoming tied to the far corners of the world by instantaneous electrical communication. Automobiles, paved roads, swift trains, motion pictures, radios, and printed material — magazines, newspapers, and books — are transforming both outward ways of living and the inner attitudes of the people themselves. The habit of restlessness, the desire for bigger and better things, the artificial increase in wants, the speeding up of life, — all characteristics of the United States under the New Industrial Revolution, — are beginning to grip the people of Europe, even those of Asia. Some people in these other countries maintain that what is now taking place is "the Americanization of the earth."

At any rate it is clear that new cultures are forming in most of the chief centers of the world. To study these changing cultures international bureaus should be established, and information concerning the changing ways of living should be given to schools all over the earth. The peoples of various nations should be encouraged not only to preserve the valuable things in their own cultures but at the same time to adopt those aspects of the new industrialism which will add most to their well-being.

Permanent security and international understanding

The world's political leaders should at once make such agreements as will establish a feeling of real security. The people should be freed from the burdens of gigantic debts and armaments, and the credit of the leading industrial nations should be made stable.

At best, however, the solution of these immediate problems will provide only temporary security. A more permanent basis must also be achieved. This can be done only by a world-wide program of education — education for adults as well as for children and youth. Permanent security can rest only upon true understanding; the peoples of the world must realize their common needs and interests and their dependence upon one another.

Marked beginnings are already being made through the motion picture, the radio, and the daily newspaper. Through such mediums the people of each nation are recognizing the similarities between their ways of living and those of other peoples. Thus the basis for mutual understanding is being laid.

But more must be done. The schools of the 60-odd nations of the earth must consciously build tolerant understanding. In these schools are more than 100,000,000 children and youth, who should be given the sympathetic understanding of other peoples which is the very foundation of security. Through well-informed teachers, through rich libraries of reading materials, through motion pictures, through music and the arts, new attitudes of mutual respect and admiration must be developed. Then, when one believes in and understands his neighbor, one will feel secure with him.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Bowman, Isaiah. The New World. World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York.

Buell, Raymond Leslie, and Goslin, R. A. War Drums and Peace Plans. Grosset & Dunlap, New York. One of the Headline Books, prepared by the Foreign Policy Association.

Davis, William Stearns. Europe since Waterloo. The Century Co., New York. See Part III, "Armageddon: the World War."

Dodd, William E. Woodrow Wilson and his Work. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.

Ford, Henry J. Woodrow Wilson, the Man and his Work. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

Gibbons, Herbert Adams. Europe since 1918. The Century Co., New York.

Gibbons, Herbert Adams. The New Map of Asia. The Century Co., New York.

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Myers, D. P. Handbook of the League of Nations since 1920. World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Phelps, Edith M. (Compiler). A League of Nations. The H. W. Wilson Company, New York. A collection of articles on a League of Nations.

Robinson, James Harvey. Medieval and Modern Times. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapters XXXIV and XXXV.

Rugg, Harold. Changing Civilizations in the Modern World. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Unit VIII, "Europe from 1914 until Today."

Van Loon, Hendrik. The Story of Mankind. Horace Liveright, New York. See pages 456–465.

Wallace, Henry A. America Must Choose. Foreign Policy Association, New York. A World Affairs pamphlet.

In addition to these specific references, students should scan the weekly and monthly magazines for important current material.

APPENDIX

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The following is an extract from the American Declaration of Independence, 1776:

We hold these truths to be self-evident:— That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We also give the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These amendments went into effect in 1791:

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ENGLAND

Extracts from Magna Carta (1215):

JOHN, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, LORD OF IRELAND, DUKE OF NORMANDY AND AQUITAINE, AND EARL OF ANJOU: To the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Foresters, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and all Bailiffs and others, his faithful subjects, Greeting. Know ye that We, in the presence of God, and for the health of Our soul, and the souls of Our ancestors and heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of Holy Church, and amendment of Our Kingdom, by the advice of Our reverend Fathers, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury [and others] . . . have, in the first place, granted to God, and by this Our present Charter confirmed for Us and Our heirs for ever —

1. That the English Church shall be free and enjoy all her rights in their integrity and her liberties untouched. . . .

2. We have also granted to all the free men of Our Kingdom, for Us and Our heirs for ever, all the liberties underwritten, to have and to hold to them and their heirs of Us and Our heirs. . . .

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in Our kingdom unless by common council thereof, except to ransom Our person, make Our eldest son a knight, and once to marry Our eldest daughter, and for this a reasonable aid only shall be paid. So shall it be with regard to aids from the City of London.

13. And the City of London shall have all her ancient liberties and free customs, both by land and water. Moreover We will and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. And for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of aids other than in the three cases aforesaid or of scutage, We will cause to be summoned, severally by Our letters, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and great Barons; and in addition We will also cause to be summoned, generally, by Our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of Us in chief, to meet at a certain day, to wit, at the end of forty days, at least, and at a certain place; and in all letters of such summons We will explain the cause thereof, and the summons being thus made the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of those who shall be present, notwithstanding that the whole number of persons summoned shall not have come. . . .

39. No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will We proceed against or prosecute him except by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

40. To no one will We sell, to none will We deny or defer, right or justice.

The following are extracts from the Petition of Right, 1628:

The Petition exhibited to his Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with the King's Majesty's royal answer thereunto in full Parliament.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

Humbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non Concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other law of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent, in Parliament. . . .

III. And whereas also by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law. . . .

X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of Parliament . . . and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained. . . .

The Bill of Rights (1689), after enumerating the evil practices of government committed by the King and his ministers, makes the following declaration of rights:

> And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:
>
> 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.
> 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.
> 3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.
> 4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.
> 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.
> 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.
> 7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.
> 8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.
> 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.
> 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
> 11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.
> 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.
> 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently. . . .

FRANCE

After the French Revolution the following constitutions were adopted:

1. The Constitution of September 3, 1791: a limited monarchy, which fell with the King.
2. The Constitution of June 24, 1793: framed by the Jacobins for a republic.
3. The Constitution of August 22, 1795: a conservative reaction from the Jacobin Constitution; it reposed the executive power in a Directory of Five, and the legislative power in a Council of Five Hundred and a Council of Ancients.
4. The Constitution of December 13, 1799: under this a Consulate of Three assumed autocratic powers; in this Consulate Napoleon ultimately obtained the supreme executive authority.

5. The Constitution of May 18, 1804: under this the Consulate was replaced with the Empire, and Napoleon assumed the title of Emperor.

6. The Constitutional Bourbon Charter of June 4, 1814, when the Bourbons were restored, with Louis XVIII as king: under it a parliamentary system was established.

7. The Constitution of August 14, 1830: this reëstablished constitutional monarchy in France.

8. The Constitution of November 4, 1848: the Republic restored; this conferred universal [male] suffrage, created a single-chamber government, forced the separation of powers, and appointed a president elected by universal [male] suffrage for a period of four years.

9. The Constitution of November 7, 1852: the Empire reëstablished; Louis Napoleon assumed the title of Emperor.

10. The Constitution of May 1, 1870: actually a new imperial constitution, submitted as such to a vote of the people and confirmed by that vote.

11. The Constitution of September 4, 1870: creating a provisional government, which gave way in February, 1871, to the National Assembly.[1]

The following is an extract from the Declaration of the Rights of Man made by the National Assembly of France, August, 1791:

Men are born and continue equal in respect of their rights.

The end of political society is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body, no individual, can exert any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

All citizens have a right to concur personally, or through their representatives, in making the law. Being equal in its eyes, then, they are all equally admissible to all dignities, posts, and public employments.

No one ought to be molested on account of his opinions, even his religious opinions.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (1847)

In *The Communist Manifesto* of 1847 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels reviewed the historical development of the struggle between various social classes and stated the fundamental principles upon which communists would try to socialize government in the future. The *Manifesto* itself is long, totaling, in the printed edition from which these extracts are taken, 44 pages. It is difficult, if not impossible, to select a few paragraphs which shall represent adequately the entire *Manifesto.* We give herewith, however, ten fundamental changes in economic, political, and social life which the authors maintain must come in the socialization of collective life.

1. Expropriation of landed property and the use of land rents to defray State expenditure.
2. A vigorously graduated income tax.

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[1] Adapted from *Select Constitutions of the World*, pp. 385–386. Prepared for presentation to Dail Eireann, by Order of the Irish Provisional Government. Messrs. Eason and Son, Ltd., Dublin, 1922.

3. Abolition of the right of inheritance.

4. Confiscation of the property of all *émigrés* and rebels.

5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.

6. Centralisation of the means of transport in the hands of the State.

7. Increase of national factories and means of production, cultivation of uncultivated land, and improvement of cultivated land in accordance with a general plan.

8. Universal and equal obligation to work; organisation of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Agriculture and urban industry to work hand-in-hand in such a way as, by degrees, to obliterate the distinction between town and country.

10. Public and free education of all children. Abolition of factory work for children in its present form. Education and material production to be combined.[1]

CHINA

Sun Yat-sen's *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* (there are 25 articles altogether. Only the first four are given here):

I. The National Government shall reconstruct the Republic of China upon the basis of the revolutionary principles known as the *San Min Chu I* ("The Three Principles of the People") and the Five-Power Constitution.

II. The first principle of reconstruction is that of popular livelihood or the promotion of general welfare. In order to meet the most urgent needs of the people for food, clothing, shelter, and communication with one another, the Government shall coöperate with the people in the improvement of agriculture so that all may have sufficient food, in the development of the textile industry so that all may have sufficient clothing, in the building of houses on a large scale so that all may have comfortable homes, and in the building and improvement of roads and waterways so that all may conveniently travel and transport their goods.

III. The next principle of reconstruction is democracy. In order that the people may be fitted for participation in government, the Government shall instruct them in the exercise of their rights of voting for public officers, and of initiative, referendum, and recall.

IV. The third principle of reconstruction is nationalism. The Government shall protect the racial minorities within the country and assist them so that they may become able to exercise their rights of self-determination and self-government. It shall also resist oppression from foreign powers and at the same time shall revise the treaties with the powers so as to secure national independence and equality with all nations.[2]

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[1] *The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, pp. 52–53. International Publishers, New York, 1930.

[2] Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Chinese Revolution*, p. 352. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931.

MEXICO

Extracts from the Political Constitution of the United States of Mexico. Adopted on January 31, 1917, amending that of January 5, 1857:

. . . Article 27. The ownership of lands and waters comprised within the limits of the national territory is vested originally in the Nation, which has had, and has, the right to transmit title thereof to private persons, thereby constituting private property. . . .

. . . Legal capacity to acquire ownership of lands and waters of the Nation shall be governed by the following provisions:

I. — Only Mexicans by birth or naturalisation and Mexican companies have the right to acquire authority over lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The Nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their Governments in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the Nation of property so acquired. Within a zone of 100 kilometres from the frontiers, and of 50 kilometres from the sea coast, no foreigner shall under any conditions acquire direct authority over lands and waters.

II. — The religious institutions known as churches, irrespective of creed, shall in no case have legal capacity to acquire, hold, or administer real property or loans made on such real property; all such real property or loans as may be at present held by the said religious institutions, either on their own behalf or through third parties, shall vest in the Nation, and anyone may give information as to property so held. . . . Places of public worship are the property of the Nation, as represented by the Federal Government, which shall determine which of them may continue to be devoted to this purpose. Episcopal residences, rectories, seminaries, asylums or collegiate establishments of religious institutions, convents or any other buildings built or designed for the administration, propaganda, or teaching of the tenets of any religious creed shall forthwith vest, as of full right, directly in the Nation, to be used exclusively for the public services of the Federation or of the States, within their respective jurisdictions. . . .

OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE

. . . Article 123. The Congress and the State Legislatures shall make laws relative to labour with due regard for the needs of each region, and in conformity with the following principles, and these principles and laws shall govern the labour of skilled and unskilled workmen, employees, domestic servants and artisans, and in general every contract of labour.

I.— Eight hours shall be the maximum limit of a day's work.

II.— The maximum limit of night work shall be seven hours. Unhealthy and dangerous occupations are forbidden to all women and to children under sixteen years of age. Night work in factories is likewise forbidden to women and to children under sixteen years of age; nor shall they be employed in commercial establishments after ten o'clock at night.

III.— The maximum limit of a day's work for children over twelve and under sixteen years of age shall be six hours. The work of children under twelve years of age shall not be made the subject of a contract.

IV.— Every workman shall enjoy at least one day's rest for every six days' work. . . .

VI.— The minimum wage to be received by a workman shall be that considered sufficient, according to the conditions prevailing in the respective region of the country, to satisfy the normal needs of the life of the workman, his education and his lawful pleasures, considering him as the head of a family. In all agricultural, commercial, manufacturing or mining enterprises the workman shall have the right to participate in the profits in the manner fixed in Clause IX of this Article.[1]

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[1] *Select Constitutions of the World*, pp. 248–249, 282–283. Prepared for presentation to Dail Eireann, by Order of the Irish Provisional Government. Messrs. Eason and Son, Ltd., Dublin, 1922.

RUSSIA

The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of 1918 of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Adopted by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at the Session of July 10, 1918:

PART I

Declaration of Rights of the Labouring and Exploited Masses

Chapter I

1. Russia is declared a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All central and local authority is vested in these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of national Soviet Republics.

Chapter II

3. With the fundamental aim of suppressing all exploitation of man by man, of abolishing forever the division of society into classes, of ruthlessly suppressing all exploiters, of bringing about the Socialist organisation of society, and of establishing the triumph of Socialism in all countries, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets further decrees:

a. In order to establish the socialisation of land, private ownership of land is abolished; all land is declared national property, and is handed over to the workers, without compensation, on the basis of an equitable division, carrying with it the right of use only.

b. All forests, underground mineral wealth, and waters of national importance, all live stock and appurtenances, together with all model farms and agricultural concerns, are declared public property. . . .

PART II

General Principles of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

Chapter V

. . . 13. To ensure for the workers genuine liberty of conscience, the Church is separated from the State and the school from the Church; and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is assured to every citizen.

14. To ensure for the workers effective liberty of opinion, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic puts an end to the dependence of the press upon capital: transfers to the working class and to the peasants all the technical and material resources necessary for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, and other printed matter; and guarantees their unobstructed circulation throughout the country.

15. To ensure for the workers complete freedom of meeting, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, recognising the right of its citizens freely to organise meetings, processions, and so on, places at the disposal of the workers and peasants all premises convenient for public gatherings, together with lighting, heating, and furniture. . . .

17. To ensure for the workers effective access to education the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic sets before itself the task of providing for the workers and poorer peasants a complete, universal, and free education.

18. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic proclaims it the duty of all citizens to work, on the principle "He that does not work, neither shall he eat." . . .

22. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, recognising the equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of race or nationality, declares it contrary to the fundamental laws of the Republic to institute or tolerate privileges, or any prerogative whatsoever, founded on such grounds, or to repress national minorities, or in any way to limit their rights.

23. In the general interest of the working class, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic deprives individuals and sections of the community of any privileges which may be used by them to the detriment of the Socialist revolution. . . .

GERMANY

Extracts from the Constitution of the German Commonwealth of August 11, 1919:

The German people, united in every branch and inspired by the determination to renew and establish its realm in freedom and justice, to be of service to the cause of peace at home and abroad, and to further social progress, has given itself this Constitution. . . .

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF GERMANS

Section I. The Individual

Article 109. All Germans are equal before the law.

Men and women have fundamentally the same civic rights and duties.

Public legal privileges or disadvantages of birth or rank shall be abolished. Titles of nobility shall be simply a part of the name, and may no longer be conferred. . . .

Article 114. Personal liberty is inviolable. No encroachment on or deprivation of personal liberty by any public authority is permissible except in virtue of a law.

Persons who have been deprived of their liberty shall be informed — at the latest on the following day — by what authority and on what grounds the deprivation of liberty has been ordered; opportunity shall be given them without delay to make legal complaint against such deprivation.

Article 115. The residence of every German is an inviolable sanctuary for him; exceptions are admissible only in virtue of laws.

Article 116. No punishment may be inflicted for any action unless the action was designated by law as punishable, before it was committed.

Article 117. The secrecy of correspondence and of the postal, telegraph, and telephone services, is inviolable. Exceptions may be permitted only by law of the Reich.

Article 118. Every German has the right, within the limits of general laws, to express his opinion freely, by word of mouth, writing, printed matter, or picture, or in any other manner. This right must not be affected by any conditions of his work or appointment, and no one is permitted to injure him on account of his making use of such rights.

No censorship shall be enforced, but restrictive regulations may be introduced by law in reference to cinematograph entertainments. Legal measures are also admissible for the purpose of combating bad and obscene literature, as well as for the protection of youth in public exhibitions and performances.[1]

[1] *Select Constitutions of the World*, pp. 179, 197–199. Prepared for presentation to Dail Eireann, by Order of the Irish Provisional Government. Messrs. Eason and Son, Ltd., Dublin, 1922.

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

ā as in āce
ā̇ as in senā̇te
ă as in ăm
ă as in *ă*ffect
ä as in ärm
ȧ as in ȧsk
ȧ as in *ȧ*bout
â as in câre
ē as in ēve
ē̇ as in ē̇vent
ĕ as in ĕbb
ĕ as in nov*ĕ*l
ẽ as in pẽrhaps
ī as in īce
ĭ as in ĭll
ō as in tōne
ō̇ as in ō̇bey
ô as in ôrb
ŏ as in ŏdd
ŏ as in c*ŏ*nnect
ū as in ūse
ū̇ as in ū̇nite
û as in ûrn
ŭ as in ŭp
ŭ as in s*ŭ*btract
ü as in menü
o͞o as in fo͞od
o͝o as in fo͝ot
oi as in oil
ou as in out
ŋ as in iŋk
N nasal as in boN
th as in thin
t̶h̶ as in t̶h̶is
K guttural as ch in loch

Aduwa: ä′do͝o wä
Æschylus: ĕs′kĭ lŭs
Agra: ä′gr*ȧ*
Aldrovandi-Marescotti, Luigi: lo͝oē′jē äl drō vän′dē-mä rĕs kŏt′-tē
Alhambra: *ȧ*l hăm′br*ȧ*
Alsace-Lorraine: ăl säs′-lō̇ rān′
Altai: äl tī′
Amati: ä mä′tē
Amharic: ăm hăr′ĭk
Amritsar: ŭm rĭt′s*ȧ*r
***Andromaque*:** äN drō̇ mȧK′
Angevin: ăn′jē̇ vĭn
Anjou: äN zho͞o′
Annam: ăn näm′
Antoine, André: äN drā′ äN twȧn′
Aquitaine: ăk′wĭ tān′
Aristophanes: ăr ĭs tŏf′*ȧ* nēz
Aristotle: ăr ĭs tŏt″l
Arouet, François Marie: fräN swä′ mȧ rē′ ä ro͝o ĕ′
Assab: ȧs säb′
Assam: ă săm′
***Athalie*:** ȧ tȧ lē′
attaché: ȧ tȧ shā′
Auber: ō bâr′
Austerlitz: ôs′tẽr lĭts
autokraton: ô tŏk′r*ȧ* tŏn
Averröes: *ȧ* vĕr′ō̇ ēz
Azerbaidzhan: ä zẽr bī jän′

Babeuf: bȧ bûf′
Bach, Johann Sebastian: yō′hän zā̇ bäs tē̇ än′ bäK
Baden: bä′d*ĕ*n
***baillis*:** bȧ yē′
Baisal: bī säl′
Bakunin, Mikhail: mē Kȧ yil′ bȧko͞o′nyĭn
Balakirev, Mili: mē lē′ bä lä kē′rĕf
Balkash: bȧl Kȧsh′
Bangkok: băŋ kŏk′
Barnaul: bär nä o͝ol′
Baroda: b*ȧ* rō′d*ȧ*
Beaconsfield: bĕk′*ŭ*nz fēld
Beauharnais, Eugène de: û zhĕn′ dẽ bō ȧr nĕ′
Bebel, August: ou go͝ost′ bā′b*ĕ*l
Bechuanaland: bĕch o͝o ä′n*ȧ* lănd
Beethoven, Ludwig van: lo͞ot′vḯK vän bā′tō v*ĕ*n
Bengali: bĕn gôl′ē̇
***Beowulf*:** bā′ō̇ wo͝olf
Berar: bā rär′
Berkeley, Bishop: bärk′lĭ
Berlioz: bârl yō̇z′

Bernhardt: bĕrn′härt; *Fr.* bĕr′nȧr′
Bihar: bē̇ här′
Blanc, Louis: lo͞o ē′ bläɴ′
Blücher: blü′ᴋẽr
Boccaccio: bŏ̇k kä′chō
Boleyn: bo͝ol′ĭn
Bordeaux: bôr′dō′
Borodin: b*ȧ* r*ȧ* dĭn′
Boucher, François: fräɴ swä′ bo͞o-shā′
***bourgeois*:** bo͞or zhwȧ′
Brahe, Tycho: tü′kō brä′ĕ
Brahmaputra: brä m*ȧ* po͞o′tr*ȧ*
Briand, Aristide: ȧ rē stēd′ brē̇ äɴ′
Brieux, Eugène: û zhĕn′ brē û′
Brontë: brŏn′tĕ
Buddhist: bo͝od′ĭst
***Bundesrat*:** bo͝on′dĕs rät
Byzantine: bĭ zăn′tĭn

Cadiz: k*ȧ*′dĭz; *Sp.* kä′t͟hēth
Cæsar, Julius: jo͞ol′y*ŭ*s sē′z*ȧ*r
Calais: kăl′ā; *Fr.* kȧ lâ′
Calonne: kȧ lō̇n′
campanile: käm pä nē′lā
Canton: kăn tŏn′
Capet: kȧ pĕ′
Capetians: k*ȧ* pē′sh*ă*ns
Carmona: kär mō′nä
Carranza: kär rän′sä
Catalan: kăt′*ȧ* lăn
celesta: sē̇ lĕs′t*ă*
Celtic: sĕl′tĭk
Cervantes: sĕr văn′tēz; *Sp.* thĕr-vän′tās
Cézanne, Paul: pōl sā zȧn′
Champagne: shăm pān′; *Fr.* shäɴ-pȧn′y’
***Chanson de Roland*:** shäɴ sôɴ′ dẽ rô-läɴ′
Chapei: chă′pā′
Charlemagne: shär′lē̇ mān
Chaucer: chô′sẽr
Chekhov, Anton: än′tōn chĕ′ᴋō̇f
Cherubini: kā ro͞o bē′nē
Chiang Kai-shek: chē̇ äŋ′ kī′-shĕk′
Chichen Itza: chē̇ chĕn′ ēt sä′
Chios: kī′ŏs
Chopin: shō̇ păɴ′
Chosen: chō′sĕn′
Chosun: chō so͞on′
Christofori: krē̇s tô′fō̇ rē̇
Cimabue: chē mä bo͞o′ā
***citoyen*:** sē twȧ yăɴ′
Claudel, Henri: äɴ rē′ klō̇ dĕl′
Coblenz: kō′blĕnts
Coleridge: kōl′rĕj
Cologne: kō̇ lōn′
Comintern: kŏm′ĭn tûrn′
Commissars: kŏm′ĭ sârz
***conquistadores*:** kō̇n kē̇s tä t͟hō′rās
Copeau, Jacques: zhȧk kō̇ pō′
Copernicus: kō̇ pûr′nĭ k*ŭ*s
Coquelin, Benoît: bẽ nwä′ kō̇k lăɴ′
Cordova: kôr′dō̇ vä
Corneille, Pierre: pyâr kôr nā′y’
Coudenhove-Kalergi: ko͞o′d*ĕ*n hō vẽ-kä lĕr′gē
***coup d’état*:** ko͞o dā tȧ′
Crédit Suisse: krā dē′ swēs′
Cremona: krē̇ mō′n*ȧ*
Crimean: krī mē′*ȧ*n
Czech: chĕk
Czechoslovakia: chĕk′ō̇ slō̇ vä′kĭ *ȧ*

Dadaism: dä′d*ȧ* ĭz’m
Dalcroze, Jacques: zhȧk dȧl krōz′
Danchenko: dän chĕŋ′kō
Dante: dăn′tē̇; *It.* dän′tā
Danton, Georges Jacques: zhō̇rzh zhȧk däɴ tôɴ′
d’Artagnan: där tä nyäɴ′
***Das Kapital*:** däs kä pē täl′
Daumier, Honoré: ō̇ nō̇ rā′ dō myā′
***Decameron*:** dē̇ kām′ẽr ŏn
Degas, Hilaire: ē lâr′ dẽ gȧ′
Dekkan: dĕk′*ă*n
Delacroix, Eugène: û zhĕn′ dẽ lȧ-krwä′
Delhi: dĕl′ē̇

Descartes, René: rẽ nā′ dā kärt′
Desmoulins, Camille: kȧ mē′y’ dā-mo͞o lăɴ′
dessiatine: dĕs′y*ȧ* tēn
Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung: doi′-chẽ äl gẽ mī′nẽ tsī′to͞oŋ
de Vega, Lope: lȱ′pā dā vā′gä
Diaz, Porfirio: pȯ̂r fē′ryō dē′äs
Diderot: dē d’rō′
Dionysiac: dī ȱ nĭsh′ĭ ăk
Dionysus: dī ȱ nī′s*ŭ*s
Disraeli: dĭz rā′lĭ
Dnieper: nē′pẽr
Donetz: dŏ nyĕts′
Donizetti: dō nē̇ dzĕt′tē
Don Juan: dȱn hwän′
Don Quixote: dȱn kē̇ hō′tā
Dostoievsky, Feodor: fā̇ ô′dȱr dô-stȧ yĕf′skē̇
Duce, il: ēl do͞o′chā̇
Dudevant: dü d’väɴ′
Dumas: dü mä′
Dunwich: dŭn′ĭch
Dürer, Albrecht: äl′brĕᴋt dü′rẽr
Durham: dŭr′*ă*m
Duse: do͞o′zā
Düsseldorf: düs′*ĕ*l dôrf

Ekaterinburg: yĕ kȧ′tyĕ rē̇n bo͝orᴋ′
encomenderos: ĕn kō′mĕn dā′r*ŏ*s
Endymion: ĕn dĭm′ĭ *ŏ*n
Engels, Friedrich: frē′drĭᴋ ĕŋ′*ĕ*ls
epitome: ē̇ pĭt′ȱ mē̇
Ethiopia: ē thĭ ō′pĭ *ȧ*
Euclid: ū′klĭd
Eugénie Grandet: û zhā nē′ gräɴ dĕ′
Euripides: û rĭp′ĭ dēz
eurythmics: û rĭth′mĭks
Evelyn: ēv′lĭn

Faerie Queene: fâr′ĭ kwēn
Fascist: făsh′ĭst
Faust: foust
Feder: fā′dẽr
fief: fēf
Finplan: fĭn′plăn
Fokine: fȱ kēn′
Fourier, François Marie: fräɴ swä′ mȧ rē′ fo͞o rē̇ ā′
Francia: frän′sē̇ ä
Franck, César: sā zär′ fräɴk′
Frankfurter Zeitung: fräŋk fo͝or tẽr tsī′to͞oŋ
Freie Bühne: frī′ẽ bü′nẽ
Führer, der: dĕr fü′rẽr

Galilei, Galileo: gä′lē̇ lā′ō gä lē lā′ē
Galvani, Luigi: lo͝o ē′jē gäl vä′nē
Gandhi, Mohandas: mō hän′däs gänd′hē̇
Gascony: găs′kȱ nĭ
Gauguin: gō găɴ′
Genghis Khan: jĕn′gĭz kän′
Genro: gĕn rō′
Ghiberti: gē bĕr′tē
Giotto di Bondone: jôt′tō dē bȱn-dō′nā
glockenspiel: glŏk′*ĕ*n spēl
Godin, Jean: zhän gȱ dăɴ′
Goering: gû′rĭŋ
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von: yō′hän vȱlf′gäŋ fȱn gû′tẽ
Gogol: gô′gȱl y’
Gosplan: gŏs plän′
Gottfried: gŏt′frēt
Goya: gō′yä
Granada: gr*ȧ* nä′d*ȧ*; *Sp.* grä nä′-thä
Greuze, Jean: zhäɴ grûz
Guadalajara: gwä thä lä hä′rä
Guadalupe: gwä thä lo͞o′pā
Guericke: gā′rĭ kẽ
Guido of Arezzo: gwē′dō ä rĕt′sō
Guienne: gē ĕn′
Gustavus Vasa: go͝os tä′vo͝os vä′sä
Gutenberg: go͞o′t*ĕ*n bĕrᴋ
Gwalior: gwä′lĭ ōr

habeas corpus: hā′bē̇ *ă*s kôr′p*ŭ*s
hacendado: ä thĕn dä′thō

hacienda: ä thyĕn′dä
Halberstadt: häl′bẽr shtät
Halévy: ȧ lā′vē′
Hammurabi: hȧm o͝o rä′bē̇
Händel: hĕn′dĕl
Harbin: här bēn′
Harun-al-Rashid: hä ro͞on′-ȧr-rȧ-shēd′
Haydn: hī d’n
hectare: hĕk′târ *or* ĕk tȧr′
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich: gā ōrK′ vĭl′hĕlm frē′drĭK hā′gĕl
Heine, Heinrich: hīn′rĭK hī′nẽ
heptarchy: hĕp′tär kĭ
Hesse-Cassel: hĕs-käs′ĕl
Hildalgo y Costilla, Miguel: mē̇ gāl′ ē thäl′gō′ ē kōs tēl′yä
Hizen: hē̇zĕn′
Hohenzollern: hō ĕn tsōl′ĕrn
Hokkaido: hō̇k kī′dō
Holstein: hōl′shtīn
Honegger: hō̇n′ĕg ẽr
hsien: shyĕn
Huerta: wĕr′tä
Hugenberg: ho͞o′gĕn bĕrK
Huguenot: hū′gẽ nŏt
Huygens: hī′gĕnz
Hwang: hwäŋ
Hyakuzo, Kurata: ko͞o rä′tȧ hyȧ ko͞o′zō
Hyderabad: hī dẽr ä bäd′
hypothesis: hī pŏth′ē̇ sĭs

Ilyich, Ivan: ē vän′ ĕ̇l′yĭch
Iraq: ē̇′räk′
Isolde: ē̇ zō̇l′dẽ
Itagaki: ē̇ tȧ gä′kē̇
Ito: ē′tō
Iturbide, Agustín de: ä go͞os tēn′ dā ē to͞or bē′thā

Jain: jīn
Jane Eyre: jān âr
Jena: yā′nä
Jimmu Tenno: jĭm′o͞o tĕn ō′
Journal des Débats: zho͞or nȧl′ dā dā bä′
Journal des Savants: zho͞or nȧl′ dā sȧ väN′
Juárez, Benito: bȧ nē′tō hwä′rās
Junkers: yo͝oŋ′kẽrz

Kagawa, Toyohiko: tō yō̇ hē′kō̇ kȧ-gä′wȧ
Karakorum: kä ră kō′rŭm
Karamazov: kä′rä mä′zôf
Karsavina, Tamara: tä mä rä kär-sä vē′nȧ
Kashmir: kăsh mēr′
Kazak: kȧ zäk′
Kerensky: kĕr′ĕn skē̇
Kiaochow: kyou′chō′
Kiev: kē′yĕf
Kikuchi Kan: kē̇ ko͞o′chē̇ kän
Kikuchi Yuho: kē̇ ko͞o′chē̇ yo͞o′hō̇
Kin-Sai: kĭn′-sī′
Kirghiz: kĭr gēz′
Knabe: k’nä′bẽ
Kobe: kō′bĕ
kolhoz: kō̇l hôz′
kolhozy: kō̇l hô zē′
Komsomol: kŏm′sō̇ mŏl
Kreutzberg: kroits′bĕrK
Krümper: krüm′pẽr
Kublai Khan: ko͞o′blī kän′
kulak: ko͞o läk′
Kuomintang: kwō′mĭn täŋ
Kuznetsk: ko͝oz nyĕtsk′

La Fontaine, Jean de: zhäN dẽ lȧ fôN tân′
laissez-faire: lĕ′sā-fâr′
Lamartine: lȧ mȧr tēn′
Lancashire: lăŋ′kȧ shĭr
Laokoon: lā ŏk′ō̇ ŏn
La Peau de chagrin: lȧ pō′ dẽ shȧ-grăN′
lapti: lăp tē̇′
Lassalle, Ferdinand: fĕr dē näN′ lȧ sȧl′

Laud: lôd
Lavoisier, Antoine: äɴ twȧn′ lȧvwȧ zyā′
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme: lẽ bo͞orzhwȧ′ zhäɴ tē yȯm′
Le Cid: lẽ sēd
L'École des femmes: lā kōl′ dā fȧm
Lecouvreur, Adrienne: ȧ drē ĕn′ lẽ ko͞o vrûr′
Le Curé de Tours: lẽ kü rā′ dẽ to͞or
Leeuwenhoek: lā′v*ĕ*n ho͝ok
Leibnitz: līp′nĭts
Leipzig: līp′tsĭk
Le Matin: lẽ mä tăn′
Le Misanthrope: lẽ mē zäɴ trȯp′
Lenepveu: lẽ nĕp vû′
Lenin: lĕn′ĭn
Le Père Goriot: lẽ pâr gō ryō′
Le Petit Journal: lẽ pẽ tē′ zho͞or nȧl′
Les Misérables: lā mē zȧ rȧ′b'l
Les Travailleurs de la mer: lā trȧ vȧyûr′ dẽ lȧ mĕr
Le Temps: lẽ täɴ
lettres de cachet: lĕt′r' dẽ kȧ shĕ′
Liaotung: lė ou′to͝oŋ′
liberté, égalité, fraternité: lē bâr tă′, ā gȧ lē tā′, frȧ tĕr nē tā′
Liebknecht, Wilhelm: vĭl′hĕlm lēp′k'nĕᴋt
Liegnitz: lēg′nĭts
Lippershey: lĭp′ẽrs hī
Liszt: lĭst
Lithuania: lĭth′ū ā′nĭ ȧ
Loire: lwȧr
Louis Philippe: lo͞o ē′ fē lēp′
Loyola, Ignatius: ĭg nā′shĭ *ū*s lȯyō′lȧ
Ludendorff: lo͞o′d*ĕ*n dȯrf
lycée: lē sā′
Lyon: lē ôɴ′

Macaulay: mȧ kô′lĭ
Machiavelli: mä kyä vĕl′lē
Madero, Francisco: frän thēs′kō mä thā′rō
Magdeburg: mäg′dẽ bo͝orᴋ
Magnitogorsk: mȧg nē tȯ gôrsk′
Mahatma: mȧ hăt′m*ȧ*
Mainz: mīnts
Malpighi: mäl pē′gē
Manchouli: män′jō′lē′
Manchukuo: män′cho͞o′kwō′
Manet, Édouard: ā dwȧr′ mȧ nĕ′
Marat, Jean Paul: zhäɴ pōl mȧ rȧ′
Marengo: mȧ rĕŋ′gō
Marie Antoinette: mȧ rē′ äɴ twȧnĕt′
Marseillaise: mär sĕ yâz′
Marseille: mȧr′sâ′y'
Martel: mȧr tĕl′
Matisse: mȧ tēs′
Maya: mä′yä
Mazarin: mȧ zȧ răɴ′
Mecklenburg-Schwerin: mĕk′l*ĕ*nbo͝orᴋ-shvȧ rēn′
Medici: mā′dė chē
Meiji: mā′ė jē′
Meistersingers: mīs′tẽr sĭng ẽrz
Mekong: mā kŏŋ′
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Mercia: mûr′shĭ *ȧ*:
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Meyerbeer: mī′ẽr bār
Michelangelo Buonarroti: mē kĕlän′jȧ lō bwô när rô′tē
micrometer: mī krŏm′ė tẽr
Millet, François: fräɴ swä′ mē lĕ′
Minnesingers: mĭn′ė sĭng ẽrz
Minseito: mĭn′sā tō
Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Victor Riquetti, Count: ȯ nȯ rā′ gȧ brēĕl′ vēk tôr′ rē kĕt′tē mē rȧ bō′
Mitsubishi: mĭt so͝o bĭsh′ē
Mitsui: mĭt so͞o′ē
Molière: mȯ lyâr′

Monet, Claude: klōd mō̇ nĕ′
Monsieur: mẽ syû′
Monterrey: mōn tĕr rā′
Montesquieu: môɴ tĕs kyû′
Monteverde, Claudio: klô′dĭ ō̇ mō̇ntȧ vâr′dā
Morelos-Pavon, José María: hō̇ sā′ mä rē′ä mō̇ rā′lōs-pä vōn′
Morissot, Berthe: bârt mō̇ rē sō′
Moussorgsky, Modeste: mō dĕst′ mo͞o sôrg′skė̄
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: vō̇lf′gäng ä mä dā′o͝os mō′tsärt
Murillo: mo͞o rē′lyō
Murmansk: mo͞or mänsk′
Muscovy: mŭs′kō̇ vĭ
Mustafa: Kemal mo͝os′t*ȧ* fȧ k*ĕ* mäl′
Mutsuhito: mo͝ot so͝o hē′tō
Muzhik: mo͞o zhĭk′
Mysore: mī sōr′

Nanking: nȧn′kĭŋ′
Naranjos: nä rän′hōs
Navarre: n*ȧ* vär′
Nazi: nä′tsė̄
***Neue Freie Presse*:** noi′ẽ frī′ẽ prĕs′ẽ
***Neues Wiener Journal*:** noi′ĕs vē′nẽr zho͞or näl′
***Nibelungenlied*:** nē′bẽ lo͝ong *ĕ*n lēt
Nigeria: nī jē′rĭ *ȧ*
nihilist: nī′hĭ lĭst
Nijinsky, Vaslav: väs′läf nĭ jĭn′skė̄
***nitchevo*:** nĭch′ĕ vô′
Nogami, Mrs. Yayoi: yä yoi nō̇gä′mė̄
***Notre-Dame de Paris*:** nô′tr’-dȧm′ dẽ pȧ rē′
Novosibirsk: nô vō̇ sė̄ bērsk′
***Novum Organum*:** nō′v*ŭ*m ō̇r′g*ȧ*n*ŭ*m

Ob: ôp
Ogdai: ŏg′dī
Okuma: ō′ko͝o mȧ
Orissa: ō̇ rīs′*ȧ*
Orléans: ō̇r lā äɴ′
Oudh: oud

Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da: jō̇ vän′nē pyâr lo͝o ē′jē dä pä lȧstrē′nä
Papin, Denis: dẽ nē′ pȧ păɴ′
***parlement*:** pȧr lẽ mäɴ′
Pascal, Blaise: blĕz pȧs kȧl′
Pavlova: pȧv′lō̇ v*ȧ*
Peiping: bā′pĭŋ′
Peking: pē kĭŋ′
Penang: pė̄ năŋ′
Pepys: pēps
Pescadores: pĕs k*ă* dō′rĕs
Petrarch: pē′trärk
***Phèdre*:** fâ′dr’
Pian del Carpini: pyän dĕl kärpē′nē
Picasso, Pablo: pä′blō pė̄ kä′sō
Pisa: pē′zä
Pisistratus: pĭ sĭs′tr*ȧ* tûs
Place de la Concorde: plȧs dẽ lȧ kôɴ kôrd′
Plantagenet, Geoffrey: jĕf′rĭ plăntăj′ė̄ nĕt
plaza: plä′z*ȧ*; *Sp.* plä′thä
plebiscite: plĕb′ĭ sĭt
Politbureau: pŏ lĭt′bū̇ rō
Poquelin, Jean Baptiste: zhäɴ bȧ tēst′ pō̇ klăɴ′
Port Said: pôrt sä ēd′
***Potemkin*:** pō̇ tĕm′kĭn; *Russ.* pȧtyôm′kĭn
Prague: prāg
Presidium: prė̄ sĭd′ĭ *ŭ*m
***Principia*:** prĭn sĭp′ĭ *ȧ*
Prokopyevsk: prō′kŏp yĕfsk
proletariat: prō lė̄ tā′rĭ ăt
protégé: prō̇ tā zhā′
Proudhon, Pierre Joseph: pyâr′ zhō̇ zĕf′ pro͞o dôɴ′
Provençal: prō̇ väɴ säl′
Provence: prō̇ väɴs′
Ptolemaic: tŏl ė̄ mā′ĭk

Puebla: pwā′blä
Punjab: pŭn jäb′
Pushkin: po͝osh′kĭn
Pu-yi: po͞o′yē′
Pythagoras: pĭ thăg′ō̇ r*ȧ*s

Quesnay, François: fräN swä′ kĕ nĕ′

Rabelais: rȧ b’lâ′
Racine, Jean: zhäN rȧ sēn′
Ralahine: răl′ȧ hīn
Raphael: răf′ā ĕl
Ravel, Maurice: mō rēs′ ra vĕl′
Reichsbank: rīKs′bäŋk
Reichstag: rīKs′täK
Réjane, Gabrielle: gȧ brē ĕl′ rāzhän′
Renaissance: rĕn ĕ säNs′
Renoir, Pierre: pyâr′ rẽ nwär′
Rheinische Zeitung: rī′nĭ shẽ tsī′to͞ong
Rhodesia: rō̇ dē′zhĭ *ȧ*
Richelieu: rē shẽ lyû′
Rimski-Korsakov, Nikolay: nē′kōlāy’ rĭm′skĭ-kôr′sȧ kō̇f
Ristori: rē̇s tō′rē̇
Rivera, Primo de: prē′mō̇ dā rē̇vā′rȧ
Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de: mȧk′sē mēlyăN′ fräN swä′ mȧ rē′ ē zē dō̇r′ dẽ rō̇ bẽ̇s pyâr′
Rodin: rō̇ dăN′
Romanov: rō̇ mä′nō̇f
Rossini: rō̇s sē′nē
Rousseau, Jean Jacques: zhäN zhȧk ro͞o sō′
Ruhr: ro͞or
Ryukyu: ryo͞o′kyo͞o

St. Croix: săN krwä′
Saint-Saens: săN-säNs′
Saint-Simon, Henri de: äN rē′ dẽ săN-sē môN′
Sakhalin: sȧ Kȧ lēn′
Salvini: säl vē′nē
Samarkand: sȧm ȧr kȧnt′
San Luis Potosí: sän lo͝o ēs′ pō tō̇ sē′
San Min Chu I: sän mĭn cho͞o ē
Sarajevo: sä′rȧ yĕ vō̇
Satsuma: sät′so͝o mȧ
Sayan: sä yȧn′
Scarlatti: skär lät′tē
Schiller, Johan: yō′hän shĭl′ẽr
Schleswig: shlâs′vĭK
Schnee, Heinrich: hīn′rĭK shnā
Schnitzler: shnĭts′lẽr
Schumann: sho͞o′män
Schwarzenberg: shvärts′*ĕ*n bĕrK
Scriabin: skryȧ bĭn′
Seiyukwai: sā′yo͞o kī
Sergius: sûr′jĭ *ŭ*s
Sévigné: sā vē nyā′
Shanghai: shăŋ hä′ĭ
Shiosawa: shē ō sä′wä
Sierra Leone: sĭ ĕr′*ȧ* lē̇ ō′nē̇
Sieyès, Abbé: ăb bā′ syā yĕs′
Sikh: sēk
Silesia: sĭ lē′shĭ *ȧ*
Solovetsky: sŏ lŏ vĕt′skē
Somaliland: sō mä′lē̇ lănd
Sophocles: sŏf′ō̇ klēz
sovhoz: sôv′hôz
Stalin: stä′lē̇n
Stanislavski: stȧ′nyē̇ släf′skē̇
Stradivarius: străd′ĭ vā′rĭ *ŭ*s
Stravinski, Igor: ē′gôr strȧ vĭn′skē̇
streltsi: strĕl′t’sī
Sudan: so͞o dän′
Sumatra: so͝o mä′tr*ȧ*
Sumitomo: so͝o mē tō′mō
Sverdlovsk: svĕrd lôfsk′
Swaraj: sw*ȧ* räj′
Synge: sĭŋ

Tadzhik: tȧ zhĭk′
Tageblatt: tä′gẽ blät
Tamil: tăm′ĭl
Tanganyika: tăn′găn yē′kä
Tartufe: tȧr tüf′

Tauride: tô′rē̇ dẽ
Telugu: tĕl′o͝o go͞o
Teotihuacan: tā′ō̇ tē′wä kän′
Tetzel: tĕt′s*ĕ*l
Thales: thā′lēz
Théâtre Libre: tā ä′tr’ lē′br’
Théâtre du Vieux Colombier: tā ä′tr’ dü vyû kō̇ lôɴ byā′
Tientsin: tĭ ĕn′tsēn′
Tietz: tēts
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar: bäl gŭn′g*ȧ*där tē läk′
Titian: tĭsh′*ȧ*n
Tokugawa: tō ko͞o gä′w*ȧ*
Tolstoy, Leo Nikolayevich: lē′ō nē kŏ lä′yĕ vĭch tŏl′stoi
Tongking: tŏŋ kĭŋ′
Torricelli: tŏr rē̇ chĕl′lē
Toulouse: to͞o lo͞oz′
Tours: to͞or
Tourte, François: fräɴ zwä′ to͞ort
Trier: trēr
Trotsky: trôt′skē̇
troubadours: tro͞o′bȧ do͞orz
Tschaikowsky: chī kôf′skē̇
Tsingtao: tsĭŋ′tou′
Tudela: to͞o tħā′lä
Tuileries: twēl rē′
Tungchanhai: to͝oŋ chän hī′
Tunisia: tū̇ nĭsh′ĭ *ȧ*
Turcoman: tûr′kō̇ m*ă*n
Turgeniev, Ivan: ē̇ vän′ to͝or gĕn′yĕf
Turgot: tür gō̇′
Turnvereine: to͝orn f*ĕ*r ī′nẽ
Tutuila: to͞o to͞o ē′lä
tympani: tĭm′p*ȧ* nē
Tytherley: tĭth′ẽr lĭ

Uganda: o͞o gän′dä
Ulianov, Vladimir: vlȧ dyē′mēr o͝ol yä′nō̇f
Ulm: o͝olm
Upsala: ŭp′s*ȧ* l*ȧ*
Uraniborg: o͞o′rȧ nē bôrg
Utopia: ū̇ tō′pĭ *ȧ*
Uzbek: o͝oz′bĕk

Valmy: vȧl mē′
Valois: vȧl wä′
Varangians: v*ȧ* răn′jĭ *ă*nz
Varennes: vȧ rĕn′
Velásquez: vā läs′kāth
Vera Cruz: vā′rä kro͞os
Versailles: vẽr sālz′; *Fr.* vĕr sä′y’
Verulam, Lord: vĕr′o͝o l*ă*m
Vinci, Leonardo da: lā ō̇ när′dō dä vēn′chē
violoncello: vē ō̇ lŏn chĕl′ō
Vladivostok: vlȧ dĭ vŏs tôk′
Volksbühne: fō̇lks′bü nẽ
Von Laban: fō̇n lä′bän
Von Moltke: fō̇n mō̇lt′kĕ
Von Roon: fō̇n rōn′
Vorwärts: fôr′vĕrts

Wagner: väg′nẽr
Walter, Bruno: bro͞o′nō väl′tẽr
Weser: vā′zẽr
Wilhelm Meister: vĭl′hĕlm mīs′tẽr
Wittenberg: vĭt′*ĕ*n bĕrᴋ
Wuhan: wo͞o′hän′
Württemberg: vür′t*ĕ*m bĕrᴋ
Wusih: wo͞o′sē′
Wu Te-chen: wo͞o′ tē-chĕn′

xylophone: zī′lō̇ fōn

Yakutsk: yȧ ko͞otsk′
Yangtze: yäŋ′tsĕ
Yenisei: yĕ nē̇ sĕ′ ē̇
Yuaikwai: yo͞o′ī kwī
Yuan Shih-kai: yo͝o än′ shē-kī′
Yugoslavia: yo͞o′gō̇ slä′vĭ *ȧ*

Zacharias: zăk′ȧ rī′*ȧ*s
Zola, Émile: ā mēl′ zō̇ lȧ′
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